

TOWARDS A CLOSING OF THE GENDER PAY GAP



Institute for Practical
Gender Research,
Austria


Towards a Closing of the Gender Pay Gap Country Report Austria

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Country report on pay differentials between Men and Women

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1. Introduction

Austria shows one of the highest gender wage differentials among the European countries; in 1999, Austrian women's average earnings reached only 65 % of that of their male compatriots. This wage gap decreased during the 1980s but again increased in the 1990s, although female employment rates had been rising ever since (Pastner 2000, 2). This already points to the very main characteristic of the Austrian gender wage gap: Most of the increase of female labour market participation has been realized in part-time jobs, which not only decreases gross earnings but also chances to get promoted, and thus access to better paid jobs.

Social benefits tend to be rather high in Austria (at least at a comparable level with other Central European countries) and they are clearly work-centred (not universal). These characteristics have contributed to a situation where men as the main breadwinners earn the larger share of the family income plus the benefits for his "dependants", his wife and children. Women, therefore, are regarded as additional income source only. During the last decades trade unions have followed a strategy of maximum or full employment for full time labourers with acceptable wages and social benefits.

Of course this conception does not reflect the social reality of the increasing number of women who have to earn a living. And there is also no doubt about the discriminating effect of this conception.

The single breadwinner model, however, seems to have been part and parcel of the "conservativ-corporatist" welfare state system in Austria, and its remnants are the very obstacles for a closing of the gender pay gap in Austria.

What follows is a short outline of the legal framework of wage formation in Austria which also covers various actions of public policy in order to promote equality and to reconcile family obligations with women's participation on the labour market. A short statistical overview will give orientation on the national situation concerning labour force, employment and wages. Section 3 describes the overall situation in the three target occupations of the study in Austria: Teachers, workers in the food processing plants and engineers. The wage gap in these professional groups and the relevant factors causing this gap, such as vertical and horizontal segregation, labour market regulations and wage formation systems, are discussed. Section 4 is dedicated to the case studies carried out in this research project and illustrates and also specifies the general remarks of chapter 3 with examples from the work places studied. We conducted interviews in public and private schools, in privately owned dairy and meat manufacturing companies, in an automobile factory, in two companies active in electrical engineering and high tech and in the technical department of the provincial government. Concluding remarks round up our study.

2. Institutional framework: Attitudes, legislation and wage formation

2.1. Institutional Framework

2.1.1. Legal Framework

Two laws regulate equal treatment of men and women at work in Austria: (1) The 1979 Act on Equal Treatment (Gleichbehandlungsgesetz) prohibits any kind of direct or indirect discrimination against an individual on the ground of sex. (2) Since this law is restricted to private industry, in 1993, the Federal Act on Equal Treatment (Bundesgleichbehandlungsgesetz) came into action which regulates equal treatment of men and women in the public sector¹ and further demands positive action for women (Frauenförderung). Both laws ban discrimination in hiring, determination of pay, the award of discretionary company benefits, training, promotion, all other employment conditions and termination of employment. The positive action for women in the public sector addresses hiring, promotion and training practices and demands preferential treatment of women in those areas where they are underrepresented (i.e. 40 % of the hired employees of a job classification).

In order to enforce the regulations, an applicant or employee affected by a breach of the equal treatment can file an application with the equal opportunities commission (Gleichbehandlungskommission) for obtaining a verification of discrimination.

The penalties prescribed for infringements of these anti-discrimination laws include compensations the employer has to pay an applicant or an employee who has been refused promotion. The burden of proof lies with the applicant who alleges discrimination.

An amendment of the Act on Equal Treatment improved the accessibility of the commission by providing the regionalisation of the offices of the spokesperson for equal treatment (Gleichbehandlungsanwältin).

It is important to note that the parties negotiating collective agreements (the unions and the employers) are bound by the provisions of the Act on Equal Treatment.

In the private sector, however, there is no legal obligation for positive action for the advancement of women in work (Frauenförderung). Although an amendment of the labour constitution act (Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz) in 1999 obliges employers to consult with the work councils (Betriebsrat) about measures concerning in-company promotion of women and ways of reconciling child care tasks with employment, such company-level positive action measures in the works agreements (Betriebsvereinbarung) are rare.

In the Act on Equal Treatment it is also stipulated that state subsidies can only be granted to companies that meet the provisions of the Act on Equal Treatment.

2.1.2. Public Policy

In addition to the legislation banning sex discrimination, public policy aims to eliminate gender discrimination by active labour market policies most of which are administered and financed by the Public Employment Service (AMS - Arbeitsmarktservice). Labour policy programmes addressing women have been in action since 1989 (Federal Minister for

¹ <http://www.eiro.eurofound.ie/2001/03/update/TN0103201U.html>

Women's Affairs 1999, 21). These programmes focused on qualification measures with the goal of creating new employment opportunities for women such as, e.g., campaigns to encourage women to get training in traditionally male jobs, job orientation measures, and measures supporting women with child care obligations.

The offices of the Labour Market Service are obliged "to counteract the gender specific partition of the labour market and the discrimination of women on the labour market by appropriately employing the benefits." (ibid.)

NAP National Action Plan for Employment

The National Action Plan for Employment (NAP), a measure of labour market policy, contains explicit guidelines addressing recommendations for narrowing the gender gap². The main goals of the plan are (1) a reduction of the female unemployment rate relative to that of men, and (2) an increase of labour force participation of women relative to that of men (Pastner 2000, 11).

Labour market segregation is addressed by the NAP's setting up of counselling services, educational measures, training of executives in gender equality oriented management, subsidising vocational training for women in non-traditional jobs and others. The measures aiming at a reduction of the gender pay gap are limited to counselling offers to employers in order to promote in-house skills training of women and gender equality within companies, and launching an information campaign on the issue of pay gaps between men and women targeted at the general public, the social partners, and women in general (Pastner 2000, 11).

The Austrian labour market policy grants wage subsidies to employers in a wide range of various circumstances, such as for working time reductions for older employees, e.g., or as an incentive to employ long-term unemployed persons. These subsidies, however, are not limited to women.

In addition to labour market measures addressing employees, business women centres have been set up in two Austrian cities (Vienna and Graz), offering service and assistance to women who have just been founding a company.

Ban on Night Work for Women

When Austria joined the European Economic Area in 1994, it still had in place a formal ban on night work for women. Since this legal regulation had been declared permissible only up to the end of 2001, Austria was due to bring its national legislation into line with EU law during the year. This meant lifting the restrictions on night work for women. However, the relevant legislation had not been adopted by the end of the year.

The ban on night work for women does affect women's opportunities to get access to better paid jobs (because of pay supplements). On the other hand, a new law on labour hours will result in an expansion of the permissible daily labour hours which again will eliminate current pay supplements (i.e. hours that are rated as night-time according to the current law will then be within the permissible time frame of day-labour).

Child Care Facilities

² Work in the civil service at the provincial and municipal level is covered by local legislation following the principles of the Federal Equal Treatment Act.

Under the former coalition government which was under Social Democratic leadership (1995-1999), particular efforts have been made to reconcile family and child care obligations with employment: institutionalised child care facilities have been improved (in terms of expansion of the opening hours) and the number of places was increased³. Further, parental leave was organised in a parental leave time account of max. 24 months⁴ which could be shared by both parents. Women returning from parental leave were eligible to specific qualification programmes which aimed at reintegrating them in the labour market.

Significant changes in government policy have taken place since the inauguration of the conservative/nationalist government coalition of ÖVP (People's Party) and FPÖ (Freedom Party) in February 2000. Several measures which are of big influence on women have been enacted since then: the Minister of Women's Affairs was abolished or rather integrated in the ministry of Social Affairs headed by a man (!)⁵; a new law of parental leave was passed (Kinderbetreuungsgeld) and the subsidies for institutionalised child care were abolished; crucial cuts in health care benefits have been made. A general weakening of the employees' interests plus a reduction of the influence of the social partnership at the cost of an extension of employers' interests can be observed.

Parental leave

The "Kinderbetreuungsgeld" (of 435€ per month) replaces the benefits for employees in parental leave (approximately the same amount of money). In the former system, only employees with sufficient time of employment were eligible to parental leave benefits (just like unemployment benefits). Now every parent who is a citizen of a country of the European Economic Area can apply for the Kinderbetreuungsgeld (KBG)⁶. The KBG is linked to the family benefit of the state.

While the former parental leave benefit was only granted when the parent was exclusively occupied with child care, the KBG can also be obtained when working and earning money. There is, however, an income limit for this "additional earning" of 14.600 € a year (which is rather low).

The KBG is granted for 30 months, but the labour laws regulating the leave from the job only permit a parent to stay away from her job for 24 months. Therefore the KBG encourages women not to return to their job after 24 months but rather stay at home or contribute with marginal or part-time employment to the family income.

The matter of the new parental leave law is extremely complicated; the unions, the opposition Social Democrats as well as the Greens have criticised the KBG as an instrument to cement traditional gender specific segregation. The OECD Economic Survey for Austria 2001 also expects the KBG to be an incentive for parents to abstain from employment. (OECD 2001, 5)⁷

³ The NAP is hereby following the European Commission's Recommendations formulated in the "Joint Employment Report 1999".

⁴ Each year 600 million Austrian Schillings (= 44 million Å) were spent by the Federal government to subsidise additional child care facilities.

⁵ If one parent alone took the leave it was only 18 months, if both partners shared the work on child care it was 24 months.

⁶ It must sound almost ironic to the outward observer that in the very ministry of Women's Affairs a section for matters of discrimination against men (!!!) was established in 2001.

⁷ Migrants from non EEA Countries must have been legal residents for a period of five years or be employed.

2.2. Wage formation

The Austrian political system is marked by democratic corporatism, i.e. the social partners play a highly influential role both in economy and politics. The umbrella organisations of employers and unions are involved in consultation of the state and they are in charge of collective bargaining for the vast majority of employees.

Union⁸ density in Austria is approximately 40 % (i.e. total union-membership as a percentage of total employment (<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/2001/03/update/TN0103201U.html>)). 96 % of all employees work in companies that are represented by the employers' association (Hemerijck et al 2000, 181). Therefore, 97 % of all employees in the private sector are covered by collective agreements on wages (ibid).

Union density is lower among female employees in Austria: while 48 % of the male employees are members of the union, this applies to only 29 % of the female employees (<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/2001/03/update/TN0103201U.html>). Women are underrepresented in union membership (some 30 %) and in particular in the work councils and the higher ranks of the unions.

Two properties of the Austrian industrial relations system contribute to the gender pay gap: (1) Pay differentials are in general very high in Austria, not just in terms of gender, but also between various sectors or between blue and white collar workers. (2) The strategy of Austrian unions has always been to opt for full (or a maximum level of) employment. This priority is based on the concept of the male breadwinner who is a full-time employee enjoying various benefits for his "dependants". Women in this concept play only a marginal role as an additional family-income-earner that is primarily in charge of child care and family work.

2.3. Present public discussion on gender issues

The public discussion on gender issues is strongly affected by the political shift in the 1999 elections when the current conservative/national populist party coalition came into government. Under the Social Democratic coalition governments, gender issues were to some extent covered by government policies.

Further in 1997, an independent women's forum organised a petition for a referendum that aimed at improving the situation of women in society (Frauenvolksbegehren). The petition was signed by 644.665 citizens which accounts for 11,2 % of the electorate (it is among the petitions with the largest number of supporters). The petition called for a minimum wage of 15.000 ATS (=1.090 €), full social benefits for part-time and marginal employment, public child care facilities, a minimum retirement pension for every citizen, full acknowledgement of child care and care of a dependent family member in the pension system etc.

Contrary to the success of the petition in terms of votes, its impact on policy measures in favour of gender equality was negligible.

As mentioned above (Section 2.1.), the change in government also induced a marked change in public policy and in the public discussion on gender issues. As a matter of fact, gender inequality in the labour market plays no role at all in the present public debate. Although the opposition parties and the unions as well as independent women's organisations criticise the

⁸ "Also, the extension of child benefits scheduled for 2002 is likely on balance to reduce working hours supplied by parents, particularly women." (OECD 2001, 5)

ÖVP/FPÖ-government for its outdated conception of gender roles, this does not seem to put much pressure on the government to gain a different profile. On the contrary, the new regulation on parental leave (Kinderbetreuungsgeld, see section 2.1 above) is presented with much pride as a milestone of family policy in Austria.

2.4 Some key labour market statistics

The Austrian labour market's performance improved during the last years, the overall employment rate as well as the female employment rate are close to the targets set by the Lisbon Summit and well above the European Community average (Table 1).

Overall unemployment was reduced to 4 % in 2001 and is still among the lowest in the Community. The increase in the female participation rate is mainly caused by increasing part-time work: Female part-time employment raised from 27,4 % in 1995 to 32,2 % in 2000 (female part-time employment in % of total female employment).

Data on the educational level of employees aged 25 to 64 still show a significant deficit of women: They are over-represented in primary education, and under-represented in secondary as well as in tertiary education. Employment in the public sector plays an important role for Austrian women, therefore the actual budgetary consolidation policy of the Austrian government may have negative effects on female employment (time is too short to see these effects in the presented data).

Table 1. Labour force and employment. National level indicators

	1995			2001		
	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men
Total population ¹⁾	8.045.000	4.144.000	3.901.000	8.103.000	4.168.000	3.935.000
Total population aged 15-64 ¹⁾	5.415.000	2.679.000	2.737.000	5.483.000	2.722.000	2.761.000
Labour force, persons aged 15-64 (LF1564)	3.841.700	1.671.100	2.170.600	3.850.500	1.703.600	2.146.900
Labour force, per cent of P1564	70,9	62,4	79,3	70,2	62,6	77,8
Employment, persons aged 15-64 (EM 1564)	3.674.700	1.589.000	2.085.700	3.743.000	1.618.000	2.125.000
Employment rate (employment /population ratio), EM1564/P1564	67,9	59,3	76,2	68,3	59,4	77,0
Unemployment rate - international definition ²⁾	4,3	4,9	3,9	4,0	4,1	3,9
Unemployment rate - national definition ³⁾	6,6	6,8	6,4	6,1	5,9	6,2
Employment, persons aged 15-64 (EM1564) ⁴⁾	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3.519.316	1.419.261	2.100.055
- in private sector (per cent of EM1564)				78,0	68,5	84,5
- in public sector (per cent of EM1564)				22,0	31,5	15,5
Employment, persons aged 15-64 (EM1564) ⁵⁾	3.674.700	1.589.000	2.085.700	3.743.000	1.618.000	2.125.000
Employment status per cent of EM1564	10,9	9,7	11,5	10,9	8,3	12,8

- employers and self-employed						
- employees (per cent of EM1564)	85,8	85,9	85,6	86,6	87,7	85,7
- family workers (per cent of EM1564)	3,4	5,0	2,2	2,5	3,9	1,5
Education (employees aged 25-64)						
- primary education (ISCED level 0-2)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	442.166	224.809	217.357
per cent of EE 2564				16,9	20,7	14,2
- secondary education (ISCED 3,4)				1.741.701	689.825	1.051.876
per cent of EE 2564				66,5	63,6	68,6
- tertiary education (ISCED 5A, 5B)				433.557	169.514	264.043
per cent of EE 2564				16,6	15,6	17,2
Employees aged 25-64 (EE 2564)				2.617.423	1.084.148	1.533.275

Sources: Mikrozensus 1999, Austrian Labour Force Survey 2001, Joint Employment Report 2001.

Notes: ¹⁾ Data for 2000 instead of 2001; ²⁾ Labour Force Concept ³⁾ Registered unemployment, without self-employed persons ⁴⁾ Austrian Mikrozensus 1999; ⁵⁾ Labour Force Concept - international definition.

n.a.: not available

Slightly more than 40 % of all employees are women. The public and the private sector show clear differences in this aspect: While 58,5 % of all employees in the public sector are female, only 34,6 % of all workers in the private sector are women.⁹ Data on the educational level of the employees still show a deficit for women, especially in the private sector.

Table 2. Employees and wages. National level indicators, 1999

	All			Private sector		Public sector	
	Women	Men	% female	Women	Men	Women	Men
Employment, p. aged 15-64 (EM1564)	1.419.261	2.100.055	40,3%	971.626	1.773.780	447.634	326.276
Employees, persons aged 15-64 (EE1564)	1.236.229	1.824.792	40,4%	800.207	1.514.877	436.021	309.916
Employees, persons aged 25-64 (EE2564)	1.046.108	1.557.517	40,2%	649.097	1.279.596	397.011	277.920
- among EE 1564 (per cent)	84,6%	85,4%		81,1%	84,5%	91,1%	89,7%
Education (per cent of EE2564) ¹⁾							
- primary education (ISCED 0,1,2)	20,7%	14,2%		25,1%	15,7%	13,3%	7,7%
- secondary education (ISCED 3,4)	63,6%	68,6%		67,6%	70,9%	56,9%	58,3%
- tertiary education (ISCED 5)	15,6%	17,2%		7,3%	13,4%	29,7%	34,0%
Migrants / immigrants ²⁾	121.914	211.452	36,6%	98.922	196.845	22.992	14.607
Migrants / immigrants among EE1564	9,9%	11,6%		12,4%	13,0%	5,3%	4,7%

⁹ Unions affiliated to the Austrian Trade Union Federation which has in total 1,5 million members.

Working time, average EE1564							
- Usual working hours per week	32	38		32	38	32	38
Actual working hours per week							
- less than 20 hours per week	11,6%	6,0%		11,6%	5,9%	11,7%	6,7%
- 20 to 29 hours per week	18,2%	4,7%		18,5%	4,6%	17,5%	5,1%
- 30 to 44 hours per week	63,4%	71,3%		63,0%	73,0%	64,3%	62,8%
- 45 hours per week or more	6,8%	18,0%		6,9%	16,5%	6,5%	25,3%
Employees, per cent of EE1564							
- temporary contracts ³⁾	7,8	7,3		n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
- members of unions ⁴⁾	29,1	48,2		n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Wages EE1564 – all (EURO)							
- average net wage rate per hour ⁵⁾	7,5	8,9		7,0	8,7	8,3	9,7
- gender pay gap	84,2%	x		80,6%	x	85,7%	
Wages EE1564 - full time workers (EURO) - average net wage rate per hour ^{5) 6)}	7,4	8,9		6,9	8,7	8,3	9,7
- gender pay gap	83,2%			78,8%		85,6%	

Source: Mikrozensus September 1999; own calculations.

Notes: ¹⁾ Mikrozensus 2001. ²⁾ Migrants = Non Austrian employees; ³⁾ Labour Force Survey 2001; ⁴⁾ Data for 2000; Source: eiroline - european industrial relations observatory on-line: Gender Perspectives - annual update 2000. ⁵⁾ The Austrian Mikrozensus only asks for the net wage; therefore the gender wage gap is relatively narrow (due to progressive income tax); ⁶⁾ all employees working at least 38 hours a week.

n.a.: not available

About 10 % of all employees are migrants (non-Austrian employees). The share of male migrants is higher than that of female migrants because migrants predominantly work in the construction sector. Very few migrants are employed in the public sector.

Data on usual working hours (32 hours for women, 38 hours for men) indicate the different distribution of part-time jobs: Nearly one third of all female employees work part-time, but only 4 % of the male employees.

Austria shows still one of the highest pay gaps in the Community (Joint Employment Report 2001). In table 2, the pay gap seems to be rather low. But if we take into account, that with the calculation of the *net hourly wage rate* differences in the working time as well as tax effects (progressive tax system) are eliminated, the remaining gender gap of about 16 % is high. Not surprisingly, the gender gap is higher in the private sector and lower in the public sector.

3. Three target occupations

3.0 Introduction

Teaching associate professionals

While looking for some public and private schools willing to take part in our case-study, we often found ourselves confronted with the argument that gender differences in payment could not be on the agenda since salaries are exactly prescribed by law which makes no difference between men and women. At the very most, payment differentials could result from the individual teaching load or from working overtime.

What's more, there is quite an imbalance between private and public schools in Austria. While most of the confessional private schools are put on a level with the public ones by concordat, almost all the others are mainly subject to self financing and good-will. Only a few of them have an agreement with the Republic of Austria granting them a certain subsidy. The private school of our sample is said to be 25 % subsidized by public means, the rest comes from (school) fees paid by the students' parents. The different nature of this special institution was of certain attraction to us, so we decided to include it in our study.

Workers of the food processing and manufacturing industry

In Austria, the pay gap between different branches is very high: unskilled workers in the food processing industry earn about half of the technical engineers' salary. We also have to take into account that we are dealing with a heterogeneous group of employees: the term "unskilled" indicates that previous occupational experience as well as vocational training does not count very much in the pay system concerned. But as we will see in the following, there are characteristic gender differences regarding opportunities for getting qualified jobs during the working life of employed women and men. In general, gender distribution in the field examined is rather balanced.

The gender pay gap from within the group of unskilled workers is rather low in relation to the two examined white-collar-occupations: due to statistical data shown below in Table 4, women earn about 88 % of the pay of their male compatriots. Differences between the public and the private sector are rather high, almost 10 %. Since most workers are working 38 hours a week at least, pay differences regarding working time are quite negligible in this group. We will see that this pay gap is due most of the time to the classification of women's work and to a complex bonus pay system, which could be regarded as specific for the situation in Austria.

Technical engineers

In the field of technical engineering, we are dealing with a highly segregated occupation: about 10 % of the employees are women at best. Besides, there is a rather high horizontal segregation among different technical branches, whereas the presence of women is much lower in the so-called hard technical disciplines like mechanical, electrical and construction engineers. In the case studies described in section 4, we have focused on these technical branches.

Within the occupations examined, the gender pay gap is the highest one. Female technical engineers working full-time in the private as well as in the public sector earn about 82 % of the salary of full-time working male technical engineers. Reasons for this can be found in the characteristically male dominated hierarchical structure within the occupation where the mere

presence of women as technical engineers has not been taken seriously until now. A vertical opportunity structure for female technical careers is generated by a process of classifying, negotiating as well as distributing women's work according to definitions of technical competence and occupational expertise.

While several campaigns for active promotion of women and gender equality are currently under way in technical occupations, their effectiveness is often impeded by a narrow orientation towards common-sense beliefs. As we will see in section 4, technicians working in the field are rarely aware of the pay gap as such. Rather, gender issues are subjectively perceived and publicly addressed in terms of women's presence in technical disciplines at all.

3.1 Teaching associate professionals

3.1.1 Presentation of the target occupation, the labour market situation, unemployment and wage level

About 4,5 % of all female employees and 2,2 % of the male employees work as teaching associated professionals. It is a female dominated occupation, nearly 60 % of all teaching associated professionals are women.

Table 3. Teaching associate professionals, key figures 1999¹⁰

	All (only public sector) ¹⁾		
	Women	Men	% female
Employment, persons aged 15-64 (EM1564)	56.132	39.711	58,6%
Employees, persons aged 15-64 (EE1564)	55.897	39.565	58,6%
- among all employees (EE 1564 all)	4,5%	2,2%	
Employees, persons aged 25-64 (EE2564)	55.117	38.994	58,6%
- among EE 1564 (per cent)	98,6 %	98,6 %	
Migrants / immigrants ²⁾	1.185	1.608	42,4%
Migrants / immigrants among EE1564 (per cent)	2,1%	4,1%	
Working time, average EE1564			
- Usual/ contracted working hours per week	32,2	35,3	
Actual working hours per week ³⁾			
- less than 20 hours per week (per cent)	14,6%	7,6%	
- 20 to 29 hours per week (per cent)	19,1%	16,3%	
- 30 to 44 hours per week (per cent)	56,6%	63,5%	
- 45 hours per week or more (per cent)	9,7%	12,6%	
Wages EE1564 – all			
- average net wage rate per hour (EURO) ⁴⁾	9,6	11,6	
- gender pay gap	82,8%		
Wages EE1564 - only full time workers			
- average net wage rate per hour (EURO) ^{4),5)}	9,3	11,6	
- gender pay gap	80,6%		

Source: Mikrozensus September 1999; own calculations.

¹⁰ It has to be noted, that the differentiation into the public and the private sector is based on the NACE-classification. Not all of our employees in the public sector are civil servants or are working in a public enterprise.

Notes: ¹⁾ ISCO: 23 (231-235); NACE 802-804. The differentiation into private and public sector is not possible, private schools are included in the data. ²⁾ Migrants = Non Austrian employees; ³⁾ Because of low numbers difficult to interpret; ⁴⁾ The Austrian Mikrozensus only asks for the net wage; ⁵⁾ all employees working at least 38 hours a week.

Nearly all teaching associated professionals are employees, most of them are older than 25 years and the share of migrants is very low. It is a rather good labour market segment with secure and qualified jobs in the public sector. The usual working time of female teachers corresponds with the average of all female employees. For male teachers, part-time work seems to be more usual than for other male employees.

The wage level within this occupation is clearly above the average (9,6 Euro for women, 11,6 Euro for men), but the gender gap is also higher. This result seems to be astonishing, because these qualified jobs belong in the public sector with transparent wage schemes. The reason for the relatively high gender gap presumably lies in the obvious vertical segregation in this occupational sector: Within teaching associated professionals, we find teachers at secondary schools as well as teachers at universities - the latter are male dominated jobs with a much higher income. Within secondary schools there are also differences: Job oriented colleges (Berufsbildende Schulen) pay their teachers higher wages than Comprehensive schools (Allgemeinbildende Schulen).

Data for temporary contracts are not available, but they are quite a common form of occupation for young teachers. Very often they have to wait several years until they get tenured contracts. Union membership seems to be rather high (information from our reference group).

3.1.2 Present discussion on gender issues within the occupation

Horizontal and vertical segregation

In Austria, the teaching profession is definitely a female dominated one: 65 % of all the teachers are women (Federal ministry for Education, Science and Arts 2000, 33). However, in certain highschools of the technical field, the number of female teachers is significantly low: For the Province of Styria it is about 15 % only (for Austria in general it is about 17 %). Compared to all types of schools in Austria, the number of female teachers is thus the lowest.(ibid.)

The leading positions at those schools, however, are primarily held by men. In other words: The higher we climb the educational ladder, the more striking the difference by gender will be. For better understanding we have to go back to the roots: In former days, the teaching profession was usually followed by men. Later on, as a result of poor payment, a lack of teachers began to set in and suddenly the teaching profession opened its doors to women. The profession as such seemed to change its gender. Nowadays, the profession of teacher is still a female-connoted one except for the more lucrative positions like headmaster or administrator. Why? Well, to come to the very point of it: The historic tradition of men forming alliances by becoming politically involved is as well-known as the political party patronage system for recruiting headmasters. In the case of the occupational group of teaching assistants, political commitment usually starts at an early stage: between the age of 30 and 35, just when women are busily involved in child care duties. If you haven't succeeded in entering any of these committees by then you'll hardly ever succeed later.

Another important reason for women being underrepresented in those top-positions might result from a certain inhibition in taking part in the required assessment-centers or hearings: Role-playing in front of a rather male dominated audience to proof one's competence as potential authority could presumably mean an obstacle to some of them. Anyway, the situation is changing: Today we find more female headmistresses than ever before. This could also result from the legal framework demanding positive action for women in those areas where they are underrepresented like here.

Combination of family obligations and the job

The teaching profession as such offers certain conditions that ease the combination of family duties and the job (as seen from the discussion about the idea of preparing lessons etc. at school instead of at home!) which is certainly an important reason why women feel attracted to it. Especially at the private school in our study, mother teachers are shown special cooperation. Since schools are having their fixed time-tables, certainly not all extra wishes by teachers can be fulfilled. To a certain extent, public schools, too, will make concessions (for instance when making up the time-tables) to (female) teachers, depending on the headmaster's and administrator's good-will.

3.1.3 Programmes, campaigns, measures and agreements between the social partners to support gender equality in education and labour market for the occupation

Legal Framework

Apart from specific measures mentioned below, there is the Federal Act on Equal Treatment (Bundesgleichbehandlungsgesetz) regulating equal treatment of men and women in the public sector and further demanding positive action for women. Women at public schools the type we have chosen have to be given preference in case of similar or better qualification when for example applying for the position of the headmaster - since this is an area where women are significantly underrepresented. In the private sector, however, there is no legal obligation for positive action for the advancement of women in work (Frauenförderung). With respect to employee's rights in general, the situation of certain teachers working in the private sector must be characterised as precarious.

Co-education

In the beginning of gender discussions, co-education and the increased qualification of women in typically male-connoted professions were meant to be guarantors of equality in future professional life. Meanwhile, co-education in school has become th norm, but obviously it hasn't always turned out to be to the women's benefit. Though, today again we find ourselves confronted with a new debate which finally led to the creation of a new type of co-education, the so-called "conscious co-education": Starting with the the 2000/01 school year, it has become a didactic principle in the syllabus of Austrian secondary modern schools and grammar schools. Conscious co-education doesnt only focus on subject-matters that would interest boys and girls equally, but also on teaching methods rewarding both. Moreover, it embraces a climate of mutual respect and the conscious reflection of the way teachers behave towards male and female students (Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Art 2000, 8).

The abstinence of girls in science, too, was originally associated with co-education: Wherever actually realized in Austria, the introduction of monoeducative teaching-elements in specific

subjects has proven worth. In homogeneous groups, the force of gender-acting loses power. Separation at times might thus be a useful instrument to eliminate future gender gap. Nevertheless, in Austria, the number of graduated women in the technical field is unusually small. Compared to Great Britain or Germany, Austria stands out for its rather poor financial and personal resources available to counter-active measures (although there are ambitious women in the various ministries and initiatives working hard on it).

Here some typical Austrian projects and measures pointing the way ahead:

Overview 1. Action-plan 2003

<p>Within the period of 2001 and 2003 the Ministry of Education, Science and Art is taking special measures in terms of gender-mainstreaming and positive action for women on national level as well as based on European cooperations (Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture 2000, 44):</p>	
<p>I School quality and equality</p>	<p>i.e. education to equality between women and men as educational principle by the national syllabus; conscious-coeducation as didactic principle; support to pilot schools; specific information and discussion (via internet) on gender issues.</p>
<p>II Gender-sensitive vocational guidance and orientation/Girls and technology</p>	<p>Project “READY” at schools (ESF- sponsoring) Target group: girls aged 12 - 15</p> <p>Project MIT (1998 – Girls/Women into Technology) Target group: technical schools; including specific measures in order to improve the situation of female students at school as well as increasing the number of female students</p> <p>Project FIT (1991 – Females into Technology) aimed at girls aged 17 to 19; Open day for girls only at technical universities; ESF-sponsoring</p> <p>Project “Female technicians as mentors” (union-initiative EQUAL, EU-sponsoring) in cooperation with various companies.</p> <p>Program ”Gender-culture goes School” (Aktion ”Geschlechter-Kultur macht Schule”): Male and female experts from non-traditional professional fields visit schools</p> <p>Improvement of the girl-specific preconditions on entering technical schools</p> <p>Support to counseling centres for girls towards measures on vocational guidance</p>
<p>III Development of networks embracing teachers, educators, educationalists of various institutions to realize the Action plan 2003</p>	
<p>IV Equal treatment and positive action for women</p>	<p>Public measures on the creation of consciousness towards the advantage of a more balanced relationship of men and</p>

	women in decision-making processes; increased qualification of women in future leading positions; motivation of women-teachers to apply for top-positions.
V Adult education - Women and New Media	Support of educational measures in the field of new media; networks on women's projects; transfer of national and international project-experiences etc.

3.1.4 Labour market regulations that may affect gender segregation (horizontal and vertical) and gender pay gap within the occupation.

As a rule, we have to distinguish between two types of contractual relationships for teaching assistants at public schools, either basing on 1. private law or 2. public law.

1. Beginners (or those teachers who stand in for somebody on leave, e.g.) in the public sector are always (except for schools in the technical field) given temporary contracts which may be extended on a yearly basis. Thus, their professional status is often insecure. For formal reasons, after seven years the temporary contractual relationship has to be converted into an unlimited one which can be definitely defined as being more secure. For teachers working on a temporarily contractual basis, there is no biennial increasement considered.
2. Given that a person is an Austrian citizen, not older than 40 years when entering the public sector (with some exceptions) and meeting the required personal and professional conditions, a full-time teacher working on private law basis in the public sector may attain permanent civil servant status (tenure) per decree.

In some way, the sort of contract teachers are working on might have an impact on the gender gap:

If somebody is ambitious to become a headmaster one day, he/she has to be a full-time teacher with permanent civil servant status. Part-time teachers, however, may not apply for this position. Anyway, this special point is still under discussion.

The situation of our selected private school is basically different. All the teaching staff is under private-law and thus certainly disadvantaged compared to their colleagues in the public sector. Their contracts are unlimited as a rule. Temporary contracts are given to new teachers who are on trial for a year or to those deputizing for maternal leave or only teaching on short-time projects.

3.1.5 Wage formation system: Bargaining institutions, level of bargaining, the role of unions, and the pay

Payment for public teachers is ruled by the law for civil servants (Gehaltsgesetz) and by the law for contractual-employees (Vertragsbedienstetengesetz). The wages of the target occupation are negotiated with the social partners (above all the teacher's union, the ministry of educational affairs, the minister of finance, the vice-chancellor in charge of educational affairs) on a national level, usually for a period of one year. Gender differences on payment are no issue there.

The role of unions

In general, the teacher's union is one of the most powerful: Regularly, up to 90 % of all the teachers are members of the teacher's union. As a matter of fact, the number of teachers resigning from their union-membership has been growing for the last few years. Since there have been some economy measures based on a new civil service law which meant certain losses of income to them, many don't feel adequately represented in their interests anymore. Actually, the salary of the Austrian teachers is below the OECD average (<http://www.iwkoeln.de/iwd/I-Archiv/iwd05-02/i05-02-h.htm>).

In the case of the private school in our sample, things are a bit different, not only because this is a self-administrating institution. The wages of private school teachers are settled by collective agreements combined with individual adjustments partly negotiated on a national level: "Payment is settled according to the rules of the school. In any case, the minimum wage rate for employees at private educational establishments, category B, is being guaranteed" (manager). How such agreements are usually settled (procedures etc.) could not be answered by the interviewee. Union-membership of those teaching associates might be very low: The manager could not even tell us the name of the union in charge of his teaching colleagues.

3.2 Food processing manufacturing labourers

3.2.1 Presentation of the target occupation, the labour market situation and wage level

Only 1,2 % of all female employees and less than 1 % of the male employees work in this occupation.

In this occupation, there are nearly no self-employed, most employees are older than 25 years, the share of migrants is rather high. The share of female employees in this occupation lies slightly above the average. Usual working time for women is 32 hours, for men less than 35 hours - in this occupation it is not usual to work over-time.

The wage level is rather low, these workers earn only half of the income of engineers. This result shows that in Austria there is not only a *gender* pay gap, but there are also large pay gaps between different industries, between blue and white collar workers, between occupations. The gender pay gap within food processing workers is not very high, it is a sector with low qualified jobs for women *and* men.

Table 4. Food processing workers, key figures 1999

	All ¹⁾			Private sector		Public sector	
	Women	Men	% female	Women	Men	Women	Men
Employment, persons aged 15-64 (EM1564)	14.620	16.326	47,2%	14.941	14.225	1.385	395
Employees, persons aged 15-64 (EE1564)	14.573	16.326	47,2%	14.941	14.177	1.385	395
- among all employees (EE 1564 all)	1,2%	0,9%					
Employees, persons aged 25-64 (EE2564)	13.475	13.826	49,4%	12.744	13.080	1.082	395
- among EE 1564 (per cent)	92,5%	84,7%		85,3%	92,3%	78,1%	100,0%
Migrants / immigrants ²⁾	4.444	6.974	38,9%	6.974	4.444		
Migrants / immigrants among EE1564 (per cent)	30,5%	42,7%		46,7%	31,3%		
Working time, average EE1564 - Usual/ contracted working hours per week	32,2	34,9		35,9	32,3	24,4	28,7
Actual working hours per week ³⁾ - less than 20 hours per week (per cent)	11,3%	8,5%		5,2%	11,6%	45,0%	
- 20 to 29 hours per week (per cent)	14,0%	3,8%		4,1%	12,3%		74,0%
- 30 to 44 hours per week (per cent)	73,4%	85,3%		88,1%	74,7%	55,0%	26,0%
- 45 hours per week or more (per cent)	1,4%	2,4%		2,6%	1,4%		
Wages EE1564 – all - average net wage rate per hour (EURO) ⁴⁾	6,3	7,1		6,3	7,2	6,1	6,3
- gender pay gap	88,3%			87,4%		96,0%	
Wages EE1564 - only full time workers - average net wage rate per hour (EURO) ^{4) 5)}	6,2	6,9		6,2	7,0	5,8	6,3
- gender pay gap	89,1%			88,3%		92,0%	

Source: Mikrozensus September 1999; own calculations.

Notes: ¹⁾ ISCO: 923; NACE: many different branches; public sector: NACE 751, 753, 851, 853, 900. ²⁾

Migrants = Non Austrian employees; ³⁾ Because of low numbers difficult to interpret; ⁴⁾ The Austrian Mikrozensus only asks for the net wage; ⁵⁾ all employees working at least 38 hours a week.

Recently, rapid developments and major changes in the food processing industries' general structuration have set in which continue to have strong effects on this blue collar-occupation. Starting with some of the central issues, let us give you some background information regarding the recent developments in the Austrian food industry as a whole.

"Working trusts"

During the last ten years, approximately two thirds of the milk processing industries in Styria had to be closed - this is no doubt closely linked to Austria becoming a member state of the European Union. As an intended influence of this multifold process, many labour market employment regulations took place especially in the field of the food processing and manufacturing industry. Since the beginning of the nineties, about 350 of the food industries' employees¹¹ were to enter so-called "working trusts" (Arbeitsstiftungen).

The central idea and aim of the working trusts was to support and care for the security of those workers, to support them for a certain period of time, and to enable them - with the help of vocational training and similar qualification measures - to get hired as qualified workers in the industry again. While being paid for a period of some months or even years, they had the opportunity to attend to vocational trainings and schools.

In sum, after massively supporting and campaigning for working trusts during the nineties, at the first planned end of the measures in 2000, the results and outcomes were alarmingly disappointing: only 2 percent of all of the people trained in these working trusts for a duration of four years were able to find work in the food processing industry again¹². As we will see below, this fact has been consequential especially for younger women who could not use those qualification measures in the same ways as their male colleagues.

3.2.2 Present discussion on gender issues within the occupation

The higher positions of the unions of the social partners in Austria have been strongly male dominated since many years. The very close linkage between social partner organisations and other political institutions in Austria have strong consequences regarding women's possibilities for presence and participation in the political process.

In fact, women have been excluded from organisations of the social partners, which have always been almost totally male dominated, on all levels of political participation until now. In 1994, for the first time a woman was elected as president of one of the four umbrella organisations of the social partners and therefore took part in the central institution of the social partners, the Parity Commission for Wage and Price Issues (Paritätische Kommission für Lohn- und Preisfragen).

Nevertheless, the question arises in which way mechanisms of decisions and recruitment of the social partners contribute to political marginalisation of women in Austria. Of all of the Austrian unions, 30 per cent of the members are women (see section 2 above). Because of women-specific legal statutes coming into force in 1979 and 1983, on a national level, four among 59 voting members of the National Directory (Bundesvorstand) have to be women; this amounts to 6,8 per cent (Rösslhumer/ Appelt 2001, 36).

Therefore, also with respect to forms of political representation, the question of vertical segregation arises for women in general and in particular for those employed in the food processing and manufacturing industries. As one of many occupational-structured unions (Fachgewerkschaften), the Union for Agriculture & Food tries to organise women by

¹¹ Some required information is not available for Austria: Employees with temporary contracts: Because of the low numbers it is not possible to calculate them at the ISCO-level. Members of unions: Such a question is not part of any official statistics. Covered by collective agreements: Nearly all employees are covered by collective agreements (Kollektivverträge).

¹² Mentioned by the Provincial Secretary of the Union for Agriculture, Food and Semi-Luxury Food.

founding a separate Womens' Committee from within the union and motivating and promoting women on an in-company level for work councils.

3.2.3 Comment on horizontal and vertical segregation within the occupation

Massive gender inequality exists regarding career opportunities for women working in the food processing and manufacturing industry. First of all, women run the risk of being classified in a lower payment group from the very beginning of their working contract, although there have been some changes in this field in recent years (see above). Secondly, women are excluded implicitly from qualified activities which are bound to operating machinery. Perspectives of women in this occupation are structured in a way that a model of justification and orientation could easily be applied which turns out to be the complement to the (fictious) "male breadwinner". In our case studies it is being implicitly imputed by the interviewees that women are not even motivated to gain a higher qualified and better paid job. This seems to be the case although, in this branch of the food processing industry, the number of part-time working contracts is negligible and most of the women and men are working full time.

3.2.4 Programmes, campaigns and measures and agreements between social partners to support gender equality in education and labour market for the occupation

In discussing strategies for gender equality and equal treatment in the Austrian food processing industry, we have to put a focus on the so-called working trusts already introduced above. The working trusts started in the nineties and were clearly promoted by unions as qualification measures for men and women formerly employed in the Austrian food processing industry. However, according to the Provincial Secretary of the Union for Agriculture, Food and Semi-Luxury Food, these working trusts brought about effects that that were alarmingly different for women and men: while the provided training and education could be of use to many young men who were enabled to do some higher qualified jobs, the strategy did not work for young women and older people. While men ceased their opportunity to get higher qualification (some even graduated at university), the women tried to find work again as quickly as possible and so had only the opportunity to begin in marketing, supermarkets, or service industries of the tertiary sector. In other words, even by qualification measures women could not find any jobs in the food processing and manufacturing branch again. Now they are doing jobs in the tertiary sector where they are paid less and gain less social insurances, sometimes even less than before.

3.2.5 Labour market regulations that may affect gender segregation (horizontal and vertical) and gender pay gap within the occupation

At present, the formal ban on night work for women (see section 2.1.2. above) does strongly affect the possibilities for getting access to better paid jobs. Due to these legal regulations, women are being excluded from any pay supplements for working hours rated as night-time on the grounds of their sex. Current public discussions on this ban on night work are dealt with in association with a possible new law on labour hours. But this again will eliminate pay supplements for women since it will result in an expansion of the permissible daily labour hours.

Irrespective of this gender specific regulation, the fact that there were differences in collective agreements between wages of women and men is an issue of the past. Meanwhile, in most of the collective pay agreements, though still not in all of them, job descriptions are phrased

gender-neutral. But this consequence of the Act of Equal Treatment coming into force in 1979 has not diminished the gender pay gap itself until now. The main reason for this fact can be found in the practices of recruitment and hiring: women are classified by personnel officers almost automatically in lower payment groups. Men are expected as qualified employees, are classified in higher payment groups and are paid much higher. In other words, direct forms of discrimination are substituted by indirect and covert forms.

However, there are unions such as the Union for Metal, Mining and Energy, which have reduced their payment classification groups after the Act of Equal Payment coming into force. For many women this meant being classified in a higher paid classification group. Meanwhile, other unions have been following, for example the Union for Agriculture and Food relevant for the examined group of unskilled workers. The union eliminated the lowest classification group of payment, in which only or predominantly women were classified. For women, this had the effect of a rising income level in the occupation as a whole.

3.2.6. Wage formation system: Bargaining institutions, level of bargaining, the role of unions, and the pay

Compared to technicians, food processing and manufacturing industry workers appear to be highly organised on a union level. About 70 % to 95 % of the workers in the examined workplaces are organised in a union (see section 4.2 below). Collective payments are negotiated once a year, not at an in-company level, but for the whole occupational groups in the countries. These are applied to employees irrespective of their membership in the several unions. Central actors are the unions' representatives at the provincial and national level, from within the referred occupation.

Are gender differences on the agenda in these pay negotiations? Well, according to the interviewees, usually this is not the case. On an in-company level, it simply depends on the involvement of individual women in the work council. Traditionally, the Austrian unions are quite male dominated organisations, at least on the representational level, whereas the percentage of women female unions' members is about thirty percent. We were lucky to interview two women who are or were active as work council members in the food manufacturing industry (see section 4.2 below).

After all, the overall gender pay gap is relatively low among unskilled workers in the food manufacturing industry. On the other hand, as we found out as one of the results of our case studies, the bonus system as a central part of the payment system seems to be highly gendered. This fact turns out to be a key factor of implicit and indirect pay discrimination. The bonus system in the food processing industry is structured in a way which discriminates against women both in their everyday working activities and in their career opportunities at the same time: for women there are no bonus payments for operating machinery, for hard work in the sense of physical strength, for night work, for foreman activities, simply because they rarely work in these jobs. Unfortunately, the bonus system as a central part of the wage system has not been picked up by the Austrian unions until now.

3.3 Engineering professionals

3.3.1 Presentation of the target occupation, the labour market situation, unemployment and wage level

Only 0,3 % of all female employees and 1,4 % of male employees work as engineering professionals. It is a highly segregated occupation - nine out of ten employees are men.

Nearly 10 % of female engineers and 17 % of their male colleagues are self-employed. Among the employees, nearly all are over 25 years of age (not surprisingly - they had to graduate at university), the share of migrants lies near the average. Remarkable is the high level of usual working hours, especially for female engineers: They work 6 hours more per week than their female colleagues in other occupations, while male engineers work 2,5 hours more. In this occupation, long working hours are usual, part-time work is rare.

The wage level is the highest among the three target groups, the gender pay gap is on an average level. The main problem within this occupation seems to be the low representation of women - only 10 % of employees are women.

Table 5. Engineering professionals, key figures 1999

	All ¹⁾			Private sector		Public sector	
	Women	Men	% female	Women	Men	Women	Men
Employment, persons aged 15-64 (EM1564)	3.570	30.225	10,6%	3.189	28.522	381	1.702
Employees, persons aged 15-64 (EE1564)	3.191	25.064	11,3%	2.811	23.362	381	1.702
- among all employees (EE 1564 all)	0,3%	1,4%					
Employees, persons aged 25-64 (EE2564)	3.191	24.967	11,3%	2.811	23.265	381	1.702
- among EE 1564 (per cent)	100,0%	99,6%		100,0%	99,6%	100,0%	100,0%
Migrants / immigrants ²⁾	332	3.418		332	3.418	0	0
Migrants / immigrants among EE1564	10,4%	13,6%		11,8%	14,6%		
Working time, average EE1564 - Usual/ contracted working hours per week	38,0	40,5		37,0	40,6	45,1	39,1
Actual working hours per week ³⁾ - less than 20 hours per week (per cent)	4,6%	6,4%		5,19%	5,9%		12,9%
- 20 to 29 hours per week (per cent)	1,2%	3,0%		1,4%	3,3%		
- 30 to 44 hours per week (per cent)	78,9%	53,6%		81,6%	53,0%	58,5%	61,7%
- 45 hours per week or more (per cent)	15,3%	37,0%		11,8%	37,8%	41,5%	25,4%
Wages EE1564 – all (EURO) - average net wage rate per hour ⁴⁾	11,2	13,4		11,3	13,5	10,2	11,9
- gender pay gap	83,4%			83,3%		85,8%	
Wages EE1564 - full time workers (EURO) - average net wage rate per hour ^{4),5)}	10,2	11,7		11,0	13,5	11,1	13,6
- gender pay gap	87,8%			82,0%		81,9%	

Source: Mikrozensus September 1999; own calculations.

Notes: ¹⁾ ISCO: 21 (211-214); NACE different branches; public sector: NACE 751, 753, 851, 853, 900. ²⁾

Migrants = Non Austrian employees; ³⁾ Because of low numbers difficult to interpret; ⁴⁾ The Austrian Mikrozensus only asks for the net wage; ⁵⁾ all employees working at least 38 hours a week.

We are dealing with a highly segregated field featuring very few employed women and at the same time showing a relatively high gender pay gap. In relation to the other two target occupations, the income level is rather high, which is not surprising. The high gender pay gap could be the result of a strong vertical differential within the technical professions, as our case studies in the field indicate. Thus, even - or especially ? - in this highly paid so-called primary segment, we are obviously facing a remarkable vertical segregation.

3.3.2 Present discussion on gender issues within the occupation

The main problem concerning gender issues in technical professions seems to be that, at an average percentage of 10 percent, there are only very few women employed in the higher qualified technical sector as a whole. Gender issues within the technical professions are addressed mainly with respect to this real situation. Methodologically, this fact makes it difficult to interpret the relevant statistical results: The number of cases is so small that we should not put too much analytical weight in the figures.

It should be mentioned that as a relevant pattern for legitimisation and orientation, the argument of female under-representation in the technical field is also present within the occupation. But as we will see in the description of the workplaces in section 4, for the women actually working as technical engineers, it is far more important to make a career and to contribute substantially to technological research and development. In addition, we can observe that many women working in this field do so in branches that show a relatively low degree of professionalism and which do have an innovative and relatively new status. With increasing professionalism, however, female technicians often have to leave their disciplines in favour of their male colleagues.

In fact, women working in the technical professions seem to have an exceptionally hard standing - that there are only few women does not guarantee a better starting position for those who are working in technical professions. According to recent studies undertaken in Germany, women's risks of losing their jobs as civil engineers and electrical engineers are almost three times higher than those of their male colleagues (Erlemann 2001, 21). Taking this background into account, it may seem rather ironic to point to possible future developments which may finally place lots of well educated women in the highest ranks of technical companies. Even though, today, this perspective may sound far too optimistic, we will get back to it in later chapters.

3.3.3 Comment on horizontal and vertical segregation within the occupation

Starting in the 1970s, co-education of girls and boys was strongly promoted in all forms of Austrian public education. Currently, however, educational discussions relating to gender issues increasingly mention that there are special studies and disciplines in which girls and boys are better educated separately. This discussion concerns especially the new informational and technological professions. Women's institutions argue that separate education in these fields is especially helpful for girls gaining experience of practical support and teamwork among the same sex.

With respect to the horizontal segregation in the field, it can be stated in general that women educated and employed in technical fields will have better chances when they focus rather on disciplines more or less interdisciplinarily associated with technology, like the fields of marketing, ecology, and so on. In the so-called hard technical disciplines, like engineering and electrical engineering, male dominance has as yet remained untouched.

The public institution in our sample, e.g., constitutes one of these last "strongholds of men". As is well known, the professional group of technical engineers is and has always been a male dominated one at least for historic reasons. Austria, by the way, is one of the very last European countries to open its university doors to women especially in the technical field. This certainly might be one of the reasons why women have been under-represented there for

such a long time. Gradually, things are going to change: Nowadays you'll hardly find a "typical male" course of study without any woman at all.

For this "stronghold of men", a rather strict and recently even stiffened hierarchy is characteristic. Significantly, the top management of the site we studied featured only three women (out of 378 in total) versus 20 men. In other words: The higher we climb the ladder the fewer women we shall find. An important reason for the high vertical segregation in this field is to be found in the fact that the number of women studying technical courses has always been extremely low. As a consequence, the number of women who possibly could apply for top positions will be significantly lower than the number of their male competitors. However, promotion is not only a matter of personal willingness and effort, but also a matter of political patronage at least to some extent: It appears that, compared to women, men are better in forming and pragmatically using their own power networks.

In fields where women are that significantly underrepresented, they will certainly need some mentor. Mental support by the immediate superior shouldn't be underestimated, although he has no chance to reward personal effort directly because of the rigid pay system (which could be rather demotivating especially for the young ambitious people). This aspect is subject to change since from the year 2003, a new wage system should come into force rewarding those from the start who are busily involved. Perhaps this is a good chance for ambitious young women as well.

3.3.4 Programmes, campaigns and measures and agreements between social partners to support gender equality in education and labour market for the occupation

Public Sector

Apart from the Federal Act on Equal Treatment (1993) there is the Provincial Act on Equal Treatment (1997) applied to employees of the Province of Styria. It is meant to guarantee "material" equality of opportunity to women as provided in the Austrian constitutional law and the European law. It demands claim for compensation in case of sexual harassment, the obligation of repetition in case of infringement of neutral hiring as well as special supportive measures for women. In addition to the Provincial Act on Equal Treatment (Landes-Gleichbehandlungsgesetz), the civil servants of the provincial government can appeal to a Provincial Advocate for Equal Treatment (Regionalanwältin für Gleichbehandlungsfragen). This position is currently held by a woman. One of the Commission's main duties focuses on the elaboration of supportive measures for women in the provincial service. In detail:

- Preference of women with equal qualification as their male competitors in terms of recruitment and promotion in departments where women are underrepresented (i.e. less than 40 %)
- In hiring interviews, criteria or questions of discriminating character are not allowed.
- Equal treatment and positive action for women have to be part of the personnel planning.
- Leading positions have to be accessible to part-time employees.
- There have to be measures to ensure the combination of job and family obligations. Furthermore, special supportive measures on training also for women returning to the job after a break of family leave.
- In management training, topics such as support of women are to be covered. Furthermore, special training for potential/future female managers has to be offered.

Private Sector

Measures of training and qualification

As mentioned above in sector 3.1., the Act of Equal Treatment addresses training practices as well as hiring and promotion of women in the public sector of the technical industries. In the private sector, however, there is still no legal obligation for positive action furthering the advancement of women in work. Though, the technical industry has had to begin to focus on gender issues and themes of equal opportunities.

As part of the so-called "active" labour market policies, measures and programmes for positive action for women are financed and administered by the Public Employment Office, if they are to meet specific requirements. State subsidies by the Public Employment Office are guaranteed if the trained women are unemployed for a duration of one year or when women are returning after parental leave.

Participating actors are industries engaging in cooperations with the Public Employment Service and women-specific institutions which are competent and experienced in the field of technical training and qualifying women and girls. Women are being trained for about two years in a cooperation of educational institutions (women-specific and others) and in-company training on the job. Job orientation measures as well as measures supporting women with child care obligations are offered by the women-specific institutions too. For motivated women it is sometimes hard to get an adequate position: procedures are associated with several tests, and as experiences in the last years have shown: 15 among 500 interested women are selected for the programmes and will pass the exams¹³.

Training programmes and job orientation measures concerning younger women

Measures of information specifically targeted at younger women and girls as well as qualification programmes for them are offered since the beginning of the 1990s in quite similar institutional cooperations: women-specific institutions, the Public Employment Service, special private technical companies, schools, also the Technical University of the local city. Campaigns like "Just4Girls" and "FIT" (Females into Technology) started in schools in order to encourage young women and to inform them about training opportunities in traditionally male jobs.

Measures concerning in-company promotion of women

Gender mainstreaming as an in-company measurement, or mentoring systems at universities are under way and highly wanted predominantly by female technicians in the field. As experts from our reference group have told us, mentoring programmes probably would be the most effective method for women to reach higher positions. But the good will indispensable for any working scheme of in-company promotion of women is quite rare.

Let me mention some positive action programmes for women in the scientific-technical field which in Austria until now is organised predominantly in the public sector. The activities are promoting women in the course of their university studies in order to generate special women groups, workshops and mentoring programmes for participating in the university and starting an academic career. Experts in this field opt for a model of financial incentives for universities which are promoting women actively. The fact that under the conservative

¹³ Mentioned by the Provincial Secretary of the Union for Agriculture, Food and Semi-Luxury Food.

government in Austria the public tasks of science and education are currently rapidly reduced does affect women in two ways: as students, and as employees, who in general have better chances getting hired in the public sector.

3.3.5 Wage formation system: Bargaining institutions, level of bargaining, the role of unions, and the pay system

Private Sector

Since collective payment agreements are organised for specific branches and occupations, the field of technicians and technical engineers is quite split up. There is no unique union for technicians and technical engineers which could cover all of the members of technical professions. This leads to some insecurities concerning collective agreements and political representations of the occupation as a whole. Additionally, in this highly qualified field of professions, the organisational degree and the role of the unions is hardly to estimate. So in the process of our case studies, it was not possible to get into contact with technicians who were organised within unions.

Table 5 shows that the gender pay gap for engineering professionals is much higher in the private sector than it is in the public one. Why are women being paid less in the private sector? For public male structural dominance in form of groups and clubs is even bigger in the public sector. In this regard we have to talk about a kind of male bureaucratic hierarchy, as well as sometimes in the unions too:

Public Sector

The wages for graduated engineers in the public sector are usually negotiated once a year on a regional level taking account of the national guidelines. The bargaining institutions are the chief administrative officers of the Federal Province, the staff council and the personnel department of the government of the province.

The salaries for graduated engineers are either ruled in the salary law for civil servants (Gehaltsgesetz) or in the law for contractual employees (Vertragsbedienstetengesetz). The pay system as such is characterised by its rigidity and it is based mainly on seniority and formal education. Aspects such as special personal effort are obviously not rewarded adequately which shall be subject to change in the future: In a new pay system, criteria like performance or functional position shall finally be given greater emphasis.

As to contracts: At the beginning, technical engineers are always given (special) temporary contracts which are going to be converted into unlimited contracts after two years of trial. After another two years at the earliest, graduated engineers may attain permanent status via decree.

4. The workplace study

4.0 Introduction

Purpose of Study

Seen from within all the analyses accomplished in this report, we regard the case study descriptions as illustrations of the key facts and figures concerning mainly the institutional dimensions and statistical representations of the examined gender pay gap. Now it turned out to be a central part of the study itself. As mentioned in previous chapters, the case study relies on various sources of statistical information and abstract descriptions of the institutional framework, like working conditions, the wage setting processes and gender equality. In what follows, some first-hand observations from workplaces in the region will be given which can be seen as quite typical and illustrative examples for the institutional frameworks and statistical indicators of the three relevant target occupations.

The analysis of the gender pay gap was done in three occupational groups, namely unskilled workers in the food processing industry, teaching assistants in secondary schools and technical engineers with a university degree. We got in close contact with women and men at work in those industries, schools, and companies, who provided an insight into their working lives and workplaces. This was done so primarily through contacting the relevant Chief Executive Officers first. In the case of food processing industries, the already existing partnership with the unions played a central role in the process of deciding upon the sample.

Method and Design

The interviews were conducted in February and March 2002. On average, one interview lasted about 50 minutes; most were taped, of two of the interviews notes were taken without taping¹⁴. The interviews were conducted according to specific interview guides that were adapted to the specific workplaces. In one case study, the staff manager was interested in taking a look at the guide before deciding to give us an interview. In getting into contact with different companies and schools, we were supported by members of our reference group; this concerns especially the selected food processing industries where previous contacts to the unions and work councils existed. In addition to the interview guides, we undertook our fieldwork and analysis using the methods of observation and documentation analysis.

Fieldwork and Selection of Workplaces

In sum, within the process of this case study, we contacted 10 companies, firms and schools and interviewed 28 persons. In detail, we examined three food-processing and manufacturing industries, all of them from within the private sector; two of them are processing milk and one is processing and manufacturing meat. Furthermore, we got in contact with three secondary schools, two of them private, one of them a public school. There were also four different technical companies visited, three of which are privately owned. The food-processing industries are located in rural areas in Eastern and Upper Styria, the other interviews were undertaken in Graz, the capital town of the Austrian Province of Styria (approximately 250.000 residents).

¹⁴ Mentioned by an interviewed technical chief of staff, see section 4 below.

We came to realise that some of the selected workplaces would not meet all of the requirements defined for the case study; this was particularly so concerning the number of migrant workers and women workers in each workplace. So we decided not to include them in our sample. By studying them, however, we had the possibility to gain insight into a variety of different circumstances and we, therefore, could develop a broader understanding of the connected problems. For example, we could compare different rural regions in the case of food processing industries, observe factors closely related to the mere size of the technical workplaces, and gain insights into the different status of private schools in Austria. Throughout the following descriptions you will find reference to those additional workplaces which we studied but did not describe in detail, for we think this is helpful for an adequate understanding of the matter as a whole.

With respect to the engineering professionals of the public sector, we decided to choose one of the last "strongholds of men" in the field of building and construction work. Although the number of male engineers still by far exceeds the number of female engineers, one can realise a certain good-will at least on a legal basis towards having things changed. We were lucky to find a Chief Executive Officer open-minded enough about gender-issues to busily support us on finding the desired interviewees. Unfortunately, since the legal pre-conditions for entering into public service are rather rigid, we didn't find any migrants as interviewees.

Because two of the food processing industries were located in the same rural area (Upper Styria), we decided to select a third workplace in a different region (Eastern Styria). There are differences also in the size of these food processing industries: while two of them are part of a big group which is also the largest employer in the whole rural area, the one located in Eastern Styria is only of minor size. It was subject to massive lay-offs and "re-structuration" two years ago. In the Eastern Styrian company we did not find any migrant workers in the workplace.

We wanted to examine relations between small-sized and relatively big technical workplaces from within the private sector. The automobile cluster industry is very dominant in the province. In addition, we could examine what this means in similar branches for technical engineers employed at small-size workplaces.

The situation in Austria concerning the public and private status of schools is quite unique: Almost all of the schools are publicly administered and financed. The typical private school is a confessional one. But due to the concordat, there are no differences in the wage system of the confessional and public schools allowed (see above in detail). Therefore, wage differentials between public and private confessional schools were not observable. So we were looking for a quite "exotic" private school, which we expected to tell us more about possible wage differentials, though, in other German-speaking countries it is already more established than in Austria itself. This also led to some results concerning the education of teaching assistants and the percentage of "migrants" among them.

Specific Situation in Austria

With respect to the selection of workplaces, it was necessary to adapt the recommended design according to the sociohistorical and cultural conditions of Austria:

First of all, due to its specific geographical location, Austria has no fish processing industry like the other countries where the study takes place. So we decided to select the food processing and manufacturing one.

Secondly, the definition of "migrants" has turned out to be quite variable in this respect: Graz, a relatively big city where most of the schools and technical companies examined are situated, is located very close to Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary, Italy and Germany. Especially in the white-collar target occupations, the percentage of highly qualified working migrants coming from these countries turned out to be much higher than we expected. So bear in mind that the concept of migrant work does not tell us very much about the class status of the employed persons examined.

Third, union membership in the selected workplaces and of our interviewees respectively was very different. Selecting workplaces in the food processing industries was done in cooperation with the Provincial Secretary of the Union for Agriculture, Food and Semi-luxury Food; certainly this had an influence on the results insofar as the food processing industries contacted were quite well organised and, thus, considerations concerning the role of the unions within the very group of unskilled manufacturing workers in this industry were quite obvious. In the case of teaching professionals and technical engineers, the selection of workplaces primarily depended on considerations if and how typical and representative they were for the Graz area. Since we wanted to examine how and how well positive action policies for women and measurements of equal treatment are practically taking place, the selection of workplaces was also hinged on the availability of such measures at a workplace in question. This holds notably for private technical companies.

4.1. Teaching associate professionals

4.1.1 Private School: All ages comprehensive school for children aged 6 to 18

The workplace

This type of school situated in an urban area is an all ages comprehensive school for children aged 6 to 18. From the legal point of view, this is a private and independent institution. Its legal employer is a private association.

Furthermore, this special institution does depend on teachers from abroad, so called "guest-teachers". For private reasons, not all of them want to stay here for good. This fact may also contribute to some fluctuation which is characterised as more or less problematic not only for the pupils but also for the teachers. At the moment, there are three "migrant teachers": a female Mexican, a female Pole and a male American. When it comes to changes due to the system of guest-teaching, a difference between men and women can be stated: guest-teachers are reported to be men in general. Fluctuation by women is primarily due to motherhood. The fact that sometimes teachers who do not get a job at the so-called "state-school" temporarily teach at this special institution may also contribute to some fluctuation. They tend to leave when they get the chance of teaching at the public school for more money and fewer hours.

The selected workplace was approached through a (male) member of the school management in charge of economic affairs. Our interviewees were a male and a female teacher and (deputizing for the only formally existing headmaster) a member of the school's management in charge of economic affairs. While the female teacher was simply teaching part-time as subject teacher, the male teacher was kind of multi-functional: he wasn't only a class teacher but also member of the school management and the executive committee. Since teaching professionals belong to those segregated occupations the number of female teachers (21) exceeds the number of male teachers (16).

Internal organisation

Let us say it right away: The school focussed upon does not only differ from the so called "regular school" with respect to its educational ideals, but also as regards its internal structure: It is subject to private administration. Consequently, each teacher (16 men, 21 women) has his share of responsibility and will try hard to keep the school alive. Thus, the survival of this institution highly depends on the teachers' and also on the students' parents' idealism.

In contrast to the regular school-system, there is no headmaster at the top. (There does exist a formal headmaster but he does not have any special rights nor has he any special authority.) Two different levels of hierarchy can be stated instead: First, each teacher is member of the so-called "General teaching committee" (37 persons). Its main duty consists in dealing with general educational affairs. Second, there is - as a kind of top-management - the "School managing committee" formed by 18 teachers (ten men and eight women in charge of financial as well as personnel affairs). As shown above, there are more women teachers than male teachers. Even so, some vertical segregation has to be noticed. To become member of the "School managing committee", one must have been a teacher there for at least one year and prepared to take on additional chores. Most of the Members of the School managing committee are on the School's Executive committee as well.

Working time and working contracts

As to working contracts, most of them are unlimited as a rule. New teachers who are on trial for a year or those deputising for parental leave or teachers only teaching on short-time projects are given limited contracts.

Not only for fundamental ideas, but also for financial reasons, the concept of "working overtime" does not seem to exist: "Nobody is counting hours here", the manager reported. A full time teacher having the normal teaching load of 20 hours or more a week will (and is supposed to) make more of an effort than a part-time teacher. *"Every human being has its own personal level of energy that can be spent on work. Someone who has to feed the family cannot do as much work for school as someone who lives alone."* (Female Teacher) The colleagues at work are supposed to tolerate this.

This institution puts much emphasis on its very special relationship to parenthood and motherhood, in particular. Children are the centre of attention and, thus, the female teacher is seen as a mother. Contrary to other schools, it therefore seeks to offer special arrangements to make the combination of family life and the job easier. For instance, they offer day-care for schoolchildren of the teachers at a lower fee.

"Teaching part-time especially for those women who are glad to be at home with their youngsters can be a real blessing" the male teacher told us. Thus, part-time mother-teachers are given special consideration when making up the timetable. Currently, 17 women and 11 men are teaching part-time. The fact that there are only nine persons teaching full time points to a serious problem: some teachers want to work more hours, but there are simply not enough lessons to teach, because of the current allotment of the lessons. Most teachers only want a part-time job, anyway, especially women as mentioned above.

Wage system and wage agreements

The wages of these private teachers are settled by collective agreements combined with individual adjustments partly negotiated on a national level. Pay equality between men and women is no issue on these negotiations. How such agreements are usually settled (procedures etc.) could not be answered by the interviewee. In any case, the minimum wage rate for employees at private educational establishments of the category B is being guaranteed.

Basically, the very base of payment is formed by the individual number of lessons taught by each teacher. As a matter of principle, any further commitment (preparing lessons, higher responsibility for tutors and class teachers, work of curators, membership in any committee, meetings etc.) "is voluntary" (manager) and not taken into account. Criteria such as responsibility, effort, dangerous work, formal education, training, working experience, performance in previous jobs have no impact on the payment at all. Age and marital status (apart from the individual teaching load) are thus the only influencing factors concerning the level of payment.¹⁵

Bonus: According to the social character of this institution, there exists a certain bonus system. As to fringe benefits (of substantial value), there are

- A welfare-fund for special needs;
- Reduced school fees for the teachers' own children.
- Possibility of eating at school at a lower price.
- Travel expenses and allowances for training abroad are paid by the school.
- Guest-teachers from abroad are given some financial help to get started.

Training

This institution offers special training programmes for teachers. Although training is not obligatory in the strict sense, everybody is supposed to participate at least once a year. The training provided consists in special courses in the fine arts as well as in the cognitive field. Since the possibilities of training are quite restricted, most of the training takes place in Germany, not only during work time, but also in the evenings or during spare time. Men and women are equally often offered such training measures. Basically, they are equally interested in taking part. Yet, for female teachers, training on top of family duties can mean quite a strain.

In general, any kind of training will not "pay" - i.e. it will neither increase the possibilities for higher payment nor for promotion within the school. Nevertheless, it might happen that somebody acquiring a lot of specific knowledge even will become more self-confident and thus somehow rise in hierarchy. Basically, taking occupational responsibilities depends on one's personal qualification and willingness. If you feel you have a vocation as an English-teacher you are allowed to teach there although you don't have the required qualification.

As already mentioned, teaching there requires particular qualifications. As a result of the very restricted places of training in Austria, the school doesn't only have to deal with insufficiently qualified teaching staff but also depends on specially qualified teachers from abroad. Sometimes it may even occur that mothers of students who once got in contact with this special kind of education become teachers there:

¹⁵ In detail, see the short descriptions of the examined companies and schools in the appendix.

"Whereas men teaching at this institution usually decide for a more profound qualification from the start, those mother-teachers' qualification sometimes can be rather described as a sort of 'put together' by means of evening classes."(manager)

Whether any kind of training increases career possibilities outside school is not sure. In view of the worldwide globalization, the male teacher seems very much convinced that especially this type of education will gain of importance. Whereas the member of the school management seems to be much more critical about it: This special kind of knowledge would certainly be helpful in working life as such but it won't increase the chances of getting a job. Apart from this he reported that the school's reputation was not good enough yet.

Gender issues

Gender differentials in payment are not on the agenda. According to the manager, they could be a matter for discussion, since women work part-time more frequently and thus earn less money compared to those having the normal teaching load.

"What you unconsciously realize is: 'Dear lady-teachers: Don't work too much. Take care of your children!'" (female teacher) and she reports that she doesn't "feel discriminated against". She reports that in this point her school does differ in a positive way from all the other "state-schools".

From the female teacher's point of view, gender differences in positions at this school definitely are a matter for discussion. Although women have the same rights as men on meetings, there seems to be a difference: Statements made by men are sometimes having more impact than those made by women.

"Like it is in politics where only a few women are at the top ... something quite similar happens to our school: Most of the women do not stand out with their voice but are rather cautious in their comments." (female teacher)

In this point the male teacher actually agrees with her trying to explain:

"Men tend to be more objective, more factual. Comments by women are sometimes rather kind of instinctive out of a gut feeling and in those moments they even admit that it comes from instinct." He reports that he knows that there should not be made any difference but "after all, certain demands by men who even appear more self confident when speaking in front of an audience are given higher priority and are less likely to be voted against." (male teacher)

In terms of strategies for equal opportunities, there is no gender strategy whatsoever; at least not in a conscious way. In the manager's opinion, any kind of gender strategy at this school "is unnecessary" anyway. The female teacher, however, seems to be more aware of gender issues in daily professional life:

"As a matter of principle, male and female students are treated the same anyway. Equality from the human point of view, as a fundamental attitude is being realized. There is no difference made between men and women. Everybody can teach every subject and has the same rights. But in daily life it's different: The men are the stronger ones." (female teacher)

Again, the male point of view is different more readily concessive. For the male teacher, among the teaching staff

"(...) there is rather a system of self-regulation: There are on the one hand quite strong women and quite strong men. On the other hand, we also have weaker women and weaker men."(male teacher)

The female teacher we asked, however, does perceive gender differences; it wasn't pure coincidence that she was chosen as an interviewee. She recently confronted herself with the topic of gender equality and she appreciates when such equality is being realized in daily life. After all, "men are the stronger ones" and, trying to find an answer to it, she finishes:

"Perhaps it is because women are the more yielding? Perhaps it has to do with the men's stronger voices? Perhaps it is due to the fact that men at this school are the more intellectual ones?" (female teacher)

4.1.2 Secondary-school of the public section for students aged 14- 18

The workplace

Apart from educating human beings, the school increasingly acts as sort of a catalyst in the process of integrating young people of different nation and different social backgrounds. In view of the efforts towards the creation of nation-states in the south-eastern European countries and elsewhere, even this school is confronted with an increasing number of children whose second home is Austria. The school's main duty has become an educational one in the literal sense. Though, this public institution offers four different branches: music, fine arts, computer science, natural science.

The number of employees at this school shows another surplus of women-teachers (35 women and 17 men). More than 90 % of the teaching staff has been working there for more than five years. The average age is between 40 and 60 years.

Both teachers in our sample were chosen by random selection, they were partly approached through the headmaster himself who was the first to be interviewed. Apart from being subject teachers, both of the teachers were class-teachers. Contrary to his female colleague, the male teacher again was sort of "multi-functional" and he proved to be a very important informant.

Internal organisation of labour

Positions at different levels of the hierarchy seem to be characterized primarily by being "lucrative" in some way. Certainly, the position of the headmaster and administrator can be defined as a hierarchic one. On the contrary, for additional activities the teachers (i.e. being class teacher, curator, school-librarian etc.) only get a "little" supplement, sometimes apparently bearing no relation to the efforts needed. Perhaps this is why these positions are not considered hierarchic in a strict sense - at least by the interviewees. Actually, nobody could tell us exactly how much these functional positions are paid, which might also be due to recent changes in the teaching pay-system. Interestingly enough, the position of a class teacher, financially spoken "a little extra pay" (Zubrot), obviously isn't that poorly paid.

Despite the surplus of female teachers, the number of male class-teachers (18 in total, 7 men) is not that small. In this context we have to be aware that being class teacher might be an important step on the way of becoming a headmaster one day!

The question whether part-time teachers can stand as a candidate for the position of the headmaster, which in 90 % of the schools of this type is represented by men, has formally not been completely fixed yet. When applying for this position, one normally has to be a full-time teacher with permanent civil-servant status.

Working time and working contracts

The actual working time of the Austrian secondary school teachers is below the OECD average. At the relevant school, there are seven men and three women working part-time. The higher number of men teaching part-time (i.e. 24 hours or less a week) in this case is explained by the fact that they are usually music teachers teaching just a few hours beside from their real job or beside teaching at another school. Now and then, teachers also work overtime which is paid at a fixed rate considering the individual salary bracket: The higher the salary bracket (due to the system of seniority), the more they will get paid for overtime lessons. In this point, no significant differences by gender were mentioned by the interviewee. However, experience shows that especially male teachers have always been very keen on working overtime, which is another indication for some internal hierarchy and segregation. Nowadays, the personal manager of the school has to care for a regular sharing of overtime lessons. By the way, the chance of working overtime at schools in the technical field is certainly higher. As is well known, the number of female teachers is the lowest in this field.

There are several different types of working contracts: Teachers with tenured civil-servant status (they don't have a contract but they are given a decree), permanent contracts and temporary contracts which have to be converted into permanent ones after seven years of time. We were told that men were less likely to give up their permanent position, while - at least some of the - women were tending to leave especially after parental leave.

Wage systems and agreements

The wages of the target occupation are negotiated with the social partners on a national level, usually on a yearly basis. Gender differences on payment are no issue there. The teachers' interests are represented by their own union. As a matter of fact, the number of teachers resigning from their union has been growing for the last few years: Since there have been some austerity policy measures based on a new civil service law, which meant a certain loss of money to many teachers, many of them don't feel well represented by their union any more. Actually, the salary of Austrian teachers overall is below the OECD average. Nevertheless, as shown by the PISA-study (2000), a successful education system - as it may found in Austria, Finland or Norway - is not necessarily related to a high salary for teachers (www.iwkoeln.de/iwd/l-Archiv/iwd0502/iwd05-02-4druck.htm).

What makes wages differ between members of the target occupation? The most important factor is the number of years of service. Every two years, the teacher is entitled to a seniority pay rise (except for the temporary contract teachers). Other factors such as effort, dangerous work, training, working experience, performance in previous jobs don't have any impact on the income. Responsibility for being a class teacher or curator is paid by means of a more or less lucrative bonus. Formal education, too, can be of some importance: Each subject has its own "value". Lessons of music or physical education are "of less value" than lessons of a

written language. Therefore, teachers have to work either fewer or more hours in order to fulfill a normal teaching load.

According to the PISA-study, those education systems which pay some bonus for outstanding personal effort have proven to be the more successful ones. (www.iwkoeln.de/iwd/1-Archiv/iwd05-02/iwd05-02-4druck.htm) Austria belongs to the top-ten (out of 32 European countries), but facing the financial situation of public schools, nowadays a bonus like this is not paid very often and besides not that high. Another (rather high) bonus is granted to mark the completion of 25 or 40 years service.

Special arrangements exist to reconcile family obligations with the job: Since schools usually have their fixed timetables, flexible working hours cannot be offered. Under certain circumstances, personal requests in terms of timetables can be considered. Up to a certain degree, they might depend on the headmaster's/administrator's/ good-will as well. The possibility of working part-time has already been mentioned.

Training

Training Programmes are regularly offered by the Federation, which is also the legal employer of the teachers. The programmes are usually organised by the Institute of Education and take place during work-time, sometimes in the afternoon or during the summer vacation. This training is not obligatory. Its purpose is to keep up didactically, educationally as well as technically in the various subjects. Training programmes in group dynamics are also mentioned. In 2001, approximately 80 % of the teaching staff took part in a training programme.

Men and women have equal access to participate in such programmes. Basically, they are equally interested and, according to the headmaster, need not be especially encouraged to take part. "On the contrary: Sometimes they even have to get stopped when being off and away too frequently." The viewpoint of the two teachers is somewhat different: In their opinion, teachers at a certain age don't participate any more.

At any rate, this kind of training does not pay at all: Neither does it increase possibilities for higher payment nor for promotion within school. The teacher stays in the same salary bracket. Contrary to technicians, school teachers do not really have that much of a prospect of promotion. Theoretically, only a very small percentage of teachers could be promoted to headmaster one day. Furthermore, training doesn't increase career possibilities outside school either. The teaching profession requires very specific education which can't be translated at will. As a rule, the only employers are the church or the government. Since private employers usually cannot offer comparable working conditions, nobody would give up his tenure that easily.

Gender issues

Since we have to deal with civil servants or contractual employees, payment differentials by gender are not on the agenda. Payment within the professional group of teachers in general, however, remains a matter of discussion. From the female teacher's point of view, it is notably the men who are much better informed about the rather intransparent pay-system.

Contrary to the headmaster, the two teachers were very much aware of gender differentials in top-management positions. As already mentioned, the top-management of schools of the type

is usually male dominated. Why? Well, primarily it seems to be a question of political involvement or effort. Before becoming a headmaster, one has to become member of certain committees. This is supposed to happen at the age of 30 or 35 at the latest. At this age, women often focus on family obligations and have no time for political business. But they'll never manage entering those important committees unless then. Another reason for the predominance of men in leading positions may be that men are usually eager to push themselves by means of networks. A certain female fear of role-playing in front of a predominantly male audience within the context of assessment-centers has already been mentioned.

4.2 Food processing workers

"Everything began with a middle-scale peasant revolt. Although it was in the nature of the part-time farmer of the region to give as much as he took, everything has its limits. At the end of the 19th century, the economic situation was becoming critical. The existence of many was threatened. But sitting and complaining with their hands in their laps has never been the way for the Styrian farmers. And so, the bravest and the most courageous decided to act. They founded the Cooperative Cheese Factory in the Styrian Region, which represented a minor revolution at the time." (Image Map, Styrian Region's Diary 2001)

The so-called Image Map gives a short account of the history of this our first selected workplace. The language is somewhat peculiar, for some it might well seem irritating. It draws a picturesque land looking back on a glorious past, with an equally glorious present and future, inhabited by happy cows. No word is being wasted for those who feed them and process their meat. It features faceless people clothed in *Tracht*, green pastures and ... again happy cows. The implied burden of the everyday farmer's life is countered by unexpected irony: "Here you see one of the last paradises."

The so-called Image Map, thus, displays the version of history that is preferred by the officials. And very eagerly does it struggle to represent itself as a very typical Austrian-Styrian one, too. Far from being convinced by this marketing strategy, we will continue to get a picture on our own - at our visit at the workplace.

The Workplace

The food processing industry is located in the rural area of Upper Styria, which in the following is called *Styrian Regions' Dairy Ltd*. It is part of a mother-company which is organised as a Provincial Farmer's Cooperative in which 2100 members and about 1000 employees are taking part. The Provincial Cooperative is the largest employer in the whole rural area, which contains about 80.000 inhabitants. It consists of several subsidiary companies and sectors, among them the milk-processing and meat-processing industries contacted, also subsidiaries distributing the goods and supplying required agricultural goods to the rural owners.

In April 2002, the company called *Dairy Ltd* employed 204 persons, 30 percent of them were women. With 11 %, the percentage of unskilled workers is relatively low. Almost all of the 24 unskilled workers employed in the *Dairy Ltd*. are women or migrants, who come from different countries of former Yugoslavia, from Turkey and Sri Lanka. The management of *Dairy Ltd* consists of 10 men at the top. There are no persons working here who have been employed longer than five years at this plant. We had an interview with a female operator of

machines, also a young member of the working council and the Chief Executive Officer of the mother-company, the Provincial Farmer's Cooperative.

The second company, also part of the Provincial Cooperative, will be called *Meat Inc.* In April 2002, it employed 338 persons and is the biggest of the several subsidiaries of the Regions' Provincial Cooperative, with a high percentage of unskilled workers. 65 % of all employees work as unskilled employees in the *Meat Inc* Industry. The percentage of women among the *Meat Inc* employees is about 40 %, that of migrant women and men about 10 %. 60 % of the unskilled workers, however, are women. Only 8 people work part-time, all of them are women. About 30 % of the employees have been working for *Meat Inc.* for more than five years.

Meat Inc. produces snacks and ready-made meals, tinned goods and pastries, while the job at *Dairy Ltd.* consists of processing, manufacturing and the pasteurization of milk products. The kind of work the unskilled workers do in the associated industries are quite similar: packing, arbitrating and conserving at the assembly and production line, a lot of hand-made work in the packaging department, controlling quality at the beginning and the end of the automated production process etc. Sometimes they operate machines.

Because two of the food processing industries were located in the same rural area (Upper Styria), we decided to select a third workplace in a different region (Eastern Styria). There are also differences in the size of those food processing industries: while two of them are part of a big group which is also the largest employer in the whole rural area, the one located in Eastern Styria is a smaller one. It was subject to massive lay-offs and "re-structuration" two years ago. In the Eastern Styrian company we could not find any migrant workers. The company *Dairy Two* employed 77 persons, 16 % of them women, all of the 8 managers at the top were men. Most of the unskilled workers were men working in the production process, women work in secretaries, administration etc. 60 % have been working at the plant for more than 5 years.

To go back to a point quoted above: Even marketing strategies cited at the introduction of this chapter reveal to us a lot about the view of those who sketch them. And with this it also reveals what could not be integrated in it: It seems to lie at the heart of the strategic nature of these activities, that maybe inevitably other people who were interviewed will tell the story from a quite different perspective. To do this (time) they do not have to go back to the 19th century, but start with their daily work- and life- experience some years ago:

"This is also clear and a pity, too. Progress, unfortunately or luckily, cannot be stopped. One certainly has noticed: where the machines stand, there have become very few workers in the meanwhile. I think, this would be the same everywhere. ..."We have had an incision, but that doesn't concern the computer at all, there were the crises, the BSE-crisis and this. Then we had for a short time those re-employment-contracts (Wiedereinstellungsverträge). For us sitting in the work councils, this was actually a big incision, because it was horrible, certainly all of the people were totally scared. With the Public Employment Service then we have had re-employment-contracts. And could be re-employed relatively fast, all the people. The company has taken them back relatively fast. Some of them have made re-educational training, this was positive for them I assume. Or they gave the whole thing a jerk, there I can do something else again. This happened about six years ago, this was a cut like this." (female work council)

In 2000 and 2001, when the so-called "BSE-crisis" shook the food industry, notably dairies, meat processing plants and farmers. It is quite hard to say which role the BSE-medialisation played, and how many of the employees had to pay the price of unemployment because of this crisis. Some of the interviewees said that the major results of BSE were massive "re-structuration" and dismissals. Some others tell you that BSE allowed for the "rehabilitation" and "redevelopment" of the branch, ironically spoken. As one result of the so-called crisis, many of the younger workers were working overtime for weeks and months. On the other side, many of the older employees were quasi-forced to quit their jobs and to enter the working trusts¹⁶.

Internal Organisation - Vertical Segregation

For women, there is almost no chance of climbing up the career ladder, getting a job position which is less demanding in terms of physical strength, but needs higher qualification and is better paid. And even the very few well-educated and ambitious women, who are employed in food processing industry as food technologists, e.g., experience the glass ceiling.

In all of the food processing plants studied we heard stories about women who had been dismissed, maybe because of their high competence and in-company commitment.

Wage System and Agreements

The wages of the unskilled workers in the food processing industries are the result of a mixture of collective agreements and components of individual pay agreements and performance-based elements. In the collective pay negotiations, the unions still play a central role in Austria (see below). In the case of unskilled workers, there is the collective pay agreement for the occupational group, which also includes unspecified work also in other industrial and technical fields. Furthermore, a system of so-called "group pay" has been introduced where wages are paid on the basis of performance of a working group usually containing about 7 to 10 persons. In the beginning, work councils were scared that this would end much of the solidarity among them. This, however, has not been the case.

The gender pay gap within the food processing industry heavily depends upon an unequal system of work and qualification that provides a different wage classification for women and men. It is strongly connected with a bonus system that indirectly discriminates against women.

First of all, men and women workers are classified by different pay groups of the collectively negotiated pay (category D or C). When women and men start to work in the *Meat Inc* or *Dairy Ltd* companies as unskilled workers, they usually get paid according to the D-classification pay. When they stay longer, sometimes for months, sometimes for years, they climb the category C-pay. Category B is reserved for drivers and is not applied, the CEO explains. For a higher payment due to classification A, one needs a special qualification for the food industry.

"Of course there is a pay gap, because men earn more money.. For example, a woman would never come into pay group A (the first group). Never, this is impossible. ...In other words, women are really paid low. Yes, actually so it is. There is a bonus system for some activities, but to the first pay group I won't never rise, as a woman, you

¹⁶ Single parents-bonus: For families with child(ren)and single parents with no more than € 218,- per month of additional income.

understand. ...Because you are a woman, or because machine operators are almost only men. With us there was nobody that wanted women to access the machines. I don't know anyone who was like this." (Female machine operator)

Putting women and men into different wage groups and categories is the "traditional" case, although this practice can not be justified by differences in qualification or experience. Women more often than men begin and end their work in a "D-job". They have to stay longer to become better paid. Climbing the ladder, as mentioned above, seems to be next to impossible for them.

For individual women, however, a better paid machinery-operating job sometimes is within their reach. This would be the case when a man finishes to work on the machine and she has worked at the machine before for a long time, usually as an assistant:

"We have been two, and one of us has finished, and then I have taken on this. These are different machines. It was already okay." (Female machine operator)

Well, there is change for men, too, through the increasing erosion of the normal working contracts, strategies of flexibilizing work and employment contracts, and automated work processes. Let me give you the example of the young male work council, who describes the state of the art of the classification system from his perspective:

"Pay differentials are on the agenda, the women, it is secure, that they are paid less. At the moment the state of the art is, no matter if one is a man or a woman, he is classified with a specific, say D-pay. It does not matter for which kind of work. Formerly, the distinction was cruder, the man maybe was put into a say into a category c-pay, c-pay and the woman was put into a category d-pay. But at the moment, if one is actually a man or a woman, seen from the classification, who is put into a pay category, actually is the same. " (male young work council)

Naturally, this depends on the labour market situation in the region, too. As mentioned above, the Provincial Cooperation as mother company of *Dairy Ltd* is the largest employer in the Upper Styrian region. So there are only few alternative workplaces. The man tells us the workers often have to accept jobs that pay some 360 Euros less than comparable jobs in other plants in order not to be forced to commute 60 to 80 kilometres on a daily basis.

What's more, salaries subject to the payment supplement system predominantly depend on the fact that one operates a machine. Machine operators mostly are men, so women are indirectly discriminated against by the payment supplement system. There is a supplement system for jobs like machine operation, laborious work, for group-speakers, or work in cold storage rooms. Sometimes, there is a bonus for high performance work on a yearly basis. Interviewees in both of the companies name this bonus for high performance work as the most important element in the bonus system; though, for female and male workers employed in *Meat Inc* alike, the last bonus was paid three years ago.

When being asked about factors influencing the salary like "effort and willingness for hard work", the CEO, showing some linguistic refinement, wants to distinguish between "hard work" in the sense of lifting heavy weights and "difficult" work: and difficult work will be considered in the supplement system, as opposed to physically hard work.

Having gained insight into such distinctions, we can already imagine the direction of change taking place within the machines and bonus system even for men:

"It is state of the art that the company wants to actually select by applying the activity bonus system. Formerly, it was simply called activity bonus system, that means, those who did these jobs, say who was active as a machine operator or worked in a certain department got a bonus for this activity. And now, they sort out to call it differently somewhat. Because; I think, the company wants to save costs again. That means, now, when he is a machine operator, and at the moment production is low due to a drop in orders, then this machine operator who works at the machine can be taken to arbitrate too. And for this job he does not get any machine operator bonus, and so the company can save costs." (young work council)

The CEO wanted to disguise this strategy as a general measure aiming at equal payment and treatment - talking about the activity bonus system, he said: "This was changed to end all this injustice, that caused bad blood. We want to treat all persons in this system with all its weaknesses on equal terms, even in payment." To the ears of those he was talking about, this must sound like sheer mockery and scorn. The introduction of liberalism into this section of food processing industry sounds as follows.

"Well, men do not get other kinds of bonuses only because they are men, nor do women just because they are women. If there are bonuses, they are paid with respect to the workplaces. In the past this was different. You know. What shall you do with somebody who has been employed in the house for 25 years and gets a bonus just because he was taking part in the mountain rescue service. In former times, it was like this, in the protected area, dairies were protected formerly, it was like this." (CEO)

Factors which influence the wage system and pay are mentioned: especially responsibility, formal education and working experience. According to the interviewed employees, the payment structure to them is relatively transparent thanks to informal channels. As an aspect of the intransparency of the wage system as a whole, it is remarkable that employees estimated the willingness for physically straining work and especially the tenure and working experience as much higher influence than did the employers of Dairy Ltd, Meat Inc, and Dairy Two. On the contrary, the employers rather emphasised the importance of formal education and training. Working under dangerous conditions was not mentioned as important at all.

Working Time and Working Contracts

Because of the high pressures of the milk and meat trading organisations, high flexibility at work is indispensable. Products on order have to be produced very quickly, only few hours lie between an order and the delivery of the products. So the employees of *Meat Inc* and *Dairy Ltd* have to work overtime regularly. From their CEO we learn why men much more often work overtime:

"First, because of night time working, you know why there are more men, and then there are different tasks that predominantly are assigned to men. I have to say, at night we prefer to employ men. This is the one. And there are individual activities, don't know, when he is working in milk processing, mostly those are technical tasks, and then these are men for the most part." (CEO)

Patterns of thinking

It could be of interest to look for those conventional models of thinking and interpretation which are rarely proved but easily addressed and applicable to a wide variety of working situations: patterns which make up our minds when we perceive, re-define and legitimate the connection of gender, pay and professional competence on a daily basis. Methodologically spoken, if we are enabled to account for the relevant patterns and the circumstances of their use, we would also be able to de-activate those patterns of justification and orientation .

The existing gender pay gap is justified by the interviewees of the study with operating machines and so called gender specific skills. Interviewed men tend to construe their work as requiring specific male qualifications, when e.g., they speak about jobs and activities which require enough "physical strength" for "lifting sacks of heavy weight" or the necessary technical knowledge for "monitoring sensitive machines" - at any rate, access to these jobs is almost impossible for women. This seems to be the case especially in times of in-company rationalisations.

First, it almost appears ironic when criteria like physical strength are put forward in the era of rationalisation and automation. What's more, the work women do in the cheese processing industry often enough is harder than the work done by their male colleagues. Physical strength and technical competence of women in this kind of work is implicitly assumed, irrespective of their gender. It is even verbally degraded or naturalised:

Relations between employers and employees

It would be a mistake to neglect the highly differentiated nature of employer -employee relations on the grounds of sex and gender. What we can examine at this point, however, turns out to be only part of the whole story. The micro-level-processes and mechanisms of engendering qualifications, activities and concrete workplaces of women working in a production line have to be understood in their own right. The rhetorics and justifications telling us why women do not get the same jobs and are not assigned the same activities and, if nonetheless, why they do not get equally paid for it, become apparent in a quote of the Provincial Cooperative's CEO:

When asked openly about training possibilities of female and male employees in *Meat Inc* and *Dairy Ltd* , the CEO eagerly begins a more or less profound monologue outlining a strange phenomenology of skills and interests of women in general. It is worth mentioning as a whole because it reveals the rather implicit construction of the employer-employee relationship between him as a CEO, employed men and employed women as well. Talking about those interesting phenomena he increasingly begins to get going.

"This is a very interesting thing, especially among women the phenomenon is: Women working on the production line are able to do the right thing and totally stop thinking in the meantime. Well, they don't make mistakes, but they let their minds wander. And when they are employed in a different position, then they have to ah be trained for the work. And they are satisfied, they say, this I can do, this I want to do. Well, it is also hard for them to change within a group, so to say, - I for myself have worked on the production line as a student, ahm - so to say, I do different jobs all through the day, the day passes more quickly, and so on. People do not like this, she wants to work... here. There are only very few. The working place I am used to, everything is automated. The

men will become aggressive to you (sic) and, ah, become mad, the women can do it. I think, only in this way women can do the child-care. This simply is a different disposition, not so aggressively. Men are much more aggressive, this is quite interesting. " (CEO)

Conjuring up those skills and characters, the CEO's aim here is to justify different contents of work. The interviewee seems to make us believe in a kind of different "disposition" or "character" of women and men according to aggressiveness and the obligation to do care work. Activities which are suspected to be "nearer to the consumer", "production development" "with more emotion and feeling", "more sensitive", those are the activities that women are supposed to do better.

Those patterns of engendering are rather striking to mention it. But we need to understand how the interviewee therein construes a special interrelationship to concrete employees of his company, who are in fact men and women. He anticipates the dissatisfaction and even threatening aggression on the side of men because of this kind of work. But women working in the very same place are expected by their employer to be "patiently dispositioned". Believe it or not.

The key rhetoric discriminating against women implicit in the statement quoted above is a tacit agreement, it seems to me, among male employer and employee. The agreement provides that the male employee will not get "aggressive" if on the other side the male employee's work is not threatened in qualification by assembly work. The male sides of employer and employee tacitly agree to keep this kind of work on the production line reserved for women.

"As it is in our factory I think for women it is no problem. ...Maybe it is simply beared by the women, they are satisfied with the job they do." (male young work council) It seems to be as if the interviewee here wants to prove he has not the faintest idea why women could be dissatisfied. Judging from sayings like this, we may assume that women are required to sit and lay their hands in their laps, you know. Actually, we find it difficult to imagine. For it has never been the way for the working women. In the following chapter, we will learn more about this regarding the technical professionals.

Trainings

"Aside from hygienic measures which are of course very important for an agricultural company, the aim of the training should be to form every employee into a little businessman, you know, this is exactly what I try hard to promote. " (CEO)

For the CEO, the aims of training are clear. On the other hand, the employees are also expected to make suggestions to improve their workplaces, *"because they know much more than we ourselves" (CEO)*. Actually, this system of suggestions works better in the meat processing industry *Meat Inc*, not in the *Dairy Ltd*, because, *"until recently, there were those old hierarchies." (CEO)* There are in-company trainings which, however paradoxically, are not meant for unskilled workers.

Certainly, employed as well as employing interviewees perceive training measures to be a highly relevant factor in the pay system. On the other hand, when employers talk about those aims cited above, they rarely mention that actual training opportunities are more frequently offered to already qualified employees. As regards training measures for unskilled workers,

these are mainly designed to improve technical as well as mechanical skills of, e.g., machinery operators and, therefore, favor far more men than women who rarely get hired for these jobs. What's more, as we already learnt in section 3.2, the qualification measures of the so-called working trusts were not really effective for female workers in the food processing industries.

Gender issues and strategies for equal opportunities

When asked about relevant gender issues concerning the combination of family obligations and the job, strategies for equal opportunities and so on, interviewees do not give a lot of comments. Though gender pay differentials as well as gender segregation are perceived as a relevant theme especially by female employees, there are no specific measures at the in-company level. As indicated in section 3, this seems to be an issue highly depending on the organisation of female work councils in the companies as well as in the specific women's committee of the relevant union.

Though, as a consequence of the Act of Equal Treatment coming into force in 1979, the union has eliminated the lowest classification group of payment, in which only or predominantly women had been classified. For many women, this led to an income rise in the occupation as a whole.

Sometimes, also a researchers' visit might induce people to at least talk about measures of equal opportunities and thus raise awareness. When asked about the existence of pay differentials between women and men, a male work council chair repeatedly promised an implementation of relevant measures, which we have not checked so far:

"Yes, there are some. Certainly, in pay groups the women make up the rear. And there I talked to the boss and yesterday again. He said he will have a look at it. That we treat this as equal. ... Yes, as I said, but actually there is only one affected. The other ones we already have treated as equal. And yesterday I talked to the Manager again, and he said he will have a look at it. - Well, formerly this was the rule, a woman had been classified in pay group four and there she was kept, this is the fact." (Male work council chair)

4.3 Engineering professionals

4.3.1 Private Companies

The Workplace

Car Ltd is one of the biggest automotive industries and part of a big international group. In January 2002, there were 5626 employees, 15 % of them women. 13 % of the employees are technical engineers, trained at university or technical college. 4 % of the engineers are women. There are 3 women in the management, that is 3 per cent. However, women rarely work within the proper technical realm. Engineers of both sexes are working part-time, about half of the employees have been working there for more than five years. *Car Ltd* employs several male migrants originating mainly from Slovenia and Croatia, other EU-countries and Overseas, but also from Africa and Turkey.

We talked with a female and a male engineer and a female chief of staff of a special department of the *Car Ltd*. The kind of work technicians do in *Car Ltd* is producing, painting and assembling elements for automobiles as well as planning and constructing.

Furthermore, we contacted two other companies of the electrical engineering branch. The bigger one, we call it *Elect Inc*, is part of a bigger company, employing 120 people with quite a high rate of engineers (70 %), 7 % of them are women. Ten men and two women are working part-time, this is in sum 10 % of all employees. The smaller one is an independent company, call it *Alact Ltd.*, which we contacted because of its taking part in positive action for women concerning qualification measures. All of the companies are located in Graz. In all of them, so-called migrants are employed, what usually means highly-qualified engineers mostly coming from Slovenia and Croatia.

Internal organisation, vertical segregation

In this professional area, project leading positions are quite regular. Thus, segregation is the rule because of differences in technical competence and personal leadership qualification. The few women in leading positions do not work in the technical field in the narrower sense. Definitions and power over definitions about this kind of competence play a leading role.

What is technical competence? A female IT-technician tells us about her boss and herself:

"All in all, we share the technical field: he is owner of the big knowledge and I am the executive organ." (Female Technician, Alact Ltd)

It could almost be taken for granted that she did not mean herself being the Chief Executive One.

At first glance, the relations between workers and employees seem to be quite egalitarian in this segment of the labour market. Often, they work closely together in some technical projects, usually the conversation is quite casual and pragmatic. To cite a chief of staff of the small-sized *Alact Ltd* :

"In principle, we do not need a strategy (for equal treatment), because I do not see the difference. What actually counts for us is technical and social competence, and if this is given, for us a woman is a mate as well as a man." (Technical Chief of Staff, Alact Ltd)

The processes of engendering seem to define very different requirements for women who want to go ahead in this field, surrounded by an atmosphere of technically knowledgeable mates. But where should these women learn how to become one of the "Brothers"¹⁷ of male dominance and technological chance? In this respect, let me again quote from the interview with the technical chief: Talking about the possibility of gender differences in occupational positions he mentions the top management level - *"interestingly, all of them are men"* - and some reasons related to age:

"They simply come from a different generation or are segmented due to their seniority, since it formerly was or here it is unusual having women in the technical area. Thereby results the issue. In general and specifically." (Technical Chief of Staff)

In addition, women have to face a clash between traditional pictures of femininity and the picture of a competent technician. One of the female engineers describes it that way: As a student, she was often asked about her studies. When she said she's in electrical engineering, very often her male colleague cried out in surprise: *"So female technicians can be really good*

¹⁷ For further information to the working trusts see section 3.2. above.

looking!" The female engineer links this with her formerly curly blond long hair (now she sports beautiful short red hair) and was responding with indignation: *"As if female technicians were monsters!"* (*Female technical engineer, Elect Inc*).

This woman wants to motivate younger women to enter her profession, which would be much easier if there were more and visible female role models in this field, experienced female engineers who could also be asked about their occupational motivations, interests and biographies. She seeks to create possibilities for school girls to get into contact with private technical industries and work places so to inform and motivate them for a technical occupational field (see below about gender strategies for equal opportunity, FIT-programme).

Training

Special technical skills and tools, expert knowledge and team-orientation were repeatedly emphasized in our interviews. But there seem to be no discussions about what team-orientation means, e.g., for a young female machinery-engineer studying with 150 male colleagues and what it means for them.

Different job motivations and grounds of experience of men and women are not on the agenda. As we will see in the following, though, several gender specific measurements aiming at the promotion and mentoring of female engineers in technical occupations are under way at the universities and even at a high school level.

Working time and working contracts

Part-time work and slide time work is quite usual in this segment of the labour market. Such programmes and measures are defined as "family-friendly", and also some men make use of the possibility of working part-time. We do not know, however, what motivates them to do so in general.

The male employer of *Elect Inc* tells us the indirect positive effect for the wives of men working part-time. They would have the possibility to work in the afternoon as teachers, too. Indeed we believe that part-time work is of use to men regularly for other reasons than for child-care or furthering the career-ambitions of their wives: additional career-orientated activities, more research, vocational trainings.

Wage system and wage agreements

Contrary to the remarkable differences between employers and employees in terms of language and argumentation when trying to explain the payment system that we discovered in the food processing industry, employers and employees in this technical branch are both well-educated and make use of a similar vocabulary. So no bigger differences were found concerning the estimation of the influence of education, training, and occupational experience on the engineers' wage. In addition, the factors responsibility and effort, technical expertise and specific technical knowledge and skills were mentioned as the most influential ones.

Yet, it would be precipitate to assume full transparency of the criteria defining the wages. A female engineer employed at *Elect Inc* puts it this way: she would notice some "*indicators*" or "*evidence*" for wage differentials between herself and male colleagues in the field, but not more. And she "*really does not feel discriminated against*", she even could not exclude being paid more than her male colleagues. Keep in mind that, according to the statistics, Table 5, the

gender pay gap in this segment is in fact higher than in any other occupational field in our study.

In this field of employment indeed very untypical for women, the gender pay gap shows a high vertical segregation. "Broken" employment biographies and additional working strain of women are seen as obstacles to flexibility, which in the long run reduces the women's chances for career and higher income. Wage is collectively bargained, performance -based and includes a bonus system for successful projects.

Gender themes: Strategies for equal opportunities

In the private sector, there is no legal obligation for positive action to further the advancement of women. Though, the technical industry had to begin to focus on gender issues and themes of equal opportunities.

Car Ltd has been offering training and qualification programmes towards positive action for women during the last ten years. In the nineties, it participated in a cooperation with the Public Employment Service and with several women-specific institutions competent in training and qualifying measures for women. The aim was to develop specific qualification measures for about 20 women in traditionally "male" technical professions and to qualify them in special computer-skills. The explicit goal of these measures was the creation of new employment opportunities for women in coordination with the company itself. To this outcome, selected women get training for about 2 years by women-specific institutions and in the company *Car Ltd* as well. Job orientation measures as well as measures supporting women with child care obligations are also offered by the women-specific institutions.

Recently, *Car Ltd* sought to create about 1300 new jobs at its location due to the number of orders in the automotive production and development. Of these 1300 new jobs, 300 were needed in the engineering as well as in important infrastructure branches like computer sciences and logistics. About one third of the remaining 1000 are reserved for highly qualified skilled workers in special branches, quite a high percentage of the remaining 600 trained workers could be assumed to be female. Looking at the homepage of *Car Ltd*, we can make the assumption that, due to the company's employment strategies, new employed women will be localized especially in the segment of trained workers.

However, there we also find the explicit wish to employ "*a greater number of women in jobs traditionally seen as men's in the automotive industry*", followed by a quotation from the production manager that points in the same direction (homepage).

"As the women in our production do a really excellent job, we hope to employ a very high number of women this time, too" (production manager, Car Ltd)

Similar words can be found there about migrants from

"Slovenia in particular, the mother country of the founder of the enterprise... (in which) the unemployment rate is very high and there are workers having all necessary qualifications needed at the Plant" (homepage Car Ltd).

Also, two of the contacted companies, *Car Ltd* and *Elect Inc*, have taken part in informational measures for younger girls taking place on a yearly basis. Measures specifically targeted at younger women and girls have been offered since the beginning of the 1990s in the context of

the following institutional cooperations: women-specific institutions, the Public Employment Service, special private technical companies, schools, also the Technical University of the local city. Campaigns like "Just4Girls" and "FIT" (Females into Technology) are started in schools in order to encourage young women and inform them about training opportunities in traditionally male jobs. The aim of these women-specific measures is qualification and job orientation for girls at a relatively low age, for recent studies have shown that decisions concerning so-called (non-)traditional occupational educations have to focus on a supporting environment in the relevant high school years.

Gender mainstreaming as an in-company measure, or mentoring systems starting already during university education are under way and highly wanted predominantly by female technicians in the field. Mentoring probably would be the most effective method for women to reach higher positions. But the good-will indispensable for in-company promotion of women is quite rare. This seems to be the case in *Car Ltd*, too, although equal opportunities are seen as a supporting pillar of the companies' philosophy, or its image at least. In the interview, the female chief of staff of *Car Ltd* knows and quotes the difference between a good-will written on paper and living it within the company.

Taking all the different measures for positive action of women into account, and looking further ahead, we may expect that in about thirty years, at least, lots of young women - highly motivated, qualified, maybe even highly paid -, would run the technical companies. What if we doubt that? Remember the situation outlined in the chapter above and bear in mind the segregation among teaching assistants. In Austria, since the 1970s, this profession has become a very typical female occupation. Though, only ten percent are in a leading occupational position up to now. It is quite obviously linked to other factors, then, when there are almost no women in the leading positions, although there are mainly women working in the profession as a whole.

When positive action for women and strategies of equal treatment are set on the agenda in a company, the reasons for this can be manifold. Certainly, the measures noted above constitute a considerable advance in the field of promoting women in employment, but it should not be neglected that those measures at second sight show a conflict in interests. Divergent actors are active in the field which itself consists of various intentions, motivations and goals aiming at or, however, opposed to the promotion of women in the work force.

Conflicting interests

Car Ltd, e.g., has a special working group examining the need for women-specific promotion. But, actually, the female chief of staff seems to be not too enthusiastic about this: *"We will see if there is actually need for this."* (Female Chief of staff, *Car Ltd*) She then even further underlines her doubts by citing from a study on subjective satisfaction of workers in the company:

"Do you know how many people have answered the following question - do you like to work in our company? favourably? --It was 91 per cent, this is very high." (Female Chief of staff)

The company wants to be active as a trend setter in this field, as do some other technical companies. This could be a question of image: *"It is, I say, company's egoism too simply to use this reservoir better,"* as the director of *Elect Inc* added frankly at the end of the

interview. And certainly, managers are always happy when their companies are said to be progressive and to show social orientation.

Secondly, it has often been anticipated that demographic reasons would be especially important for the employment market in the 1990s and the next century. A drop in the birth rate would be the reason for now hiring preferably women and migrants. Due to the Public Employment Service, it can be assumed that it is highly interested in showing women possibilities and opportunities for career and motivation. Although, actually it is bound by limits formulated by the cooperating companies themselves. And as is so often the case, job information and qualification measures are biased towards special groups of women while discriminating against others for whom, again, there are also very rarely in-company measures available.

This observation also holds for women-specific training institutions and women in the work process - we always have to take into account different political objectives, expectations and needs among them. We have already mentioned some of the intentions, goals and conflicts taking place in this field of action. Maybe it is necessary to analyse these factors further to develop more effective forms of positive action for women and promoting women in this field.

Patterns of thinking

When asked about a comment to the interview, a male technical chief begins to consider possible implications and effects not without an ironic slant and finally states:

"If one regards the woman in technology or in general... It is the case, our experience with our Mrs Park show that it is wonderful when we in the company do not have any great opinions against women or similar or so. It is simply the fact that the role models external to the company still are like this, that many things are down to the woman anyhow and that therefore the flexibility which in part is to the man, a woman does not have, especially when she has children. Regarding this we cannot change anything about it directly. Naturally these are issues having, in return, effects on the company, the working contract, if one likes it or not. It is simply a problem, or the problems are more obvious as on the side with men. This results from the context, I think, this will actually take a long time until this is got off or until everything is completely got off, for us as a company one finds it heavy going."(Technical Chief of Staff)

Bearing in mind the characteristics outlined in the chapter before, some differences between the selected branches and target occupations are remarkable and could be compared. Among blue-collar women workers, the situation and the model of thinking are certainly a little bit different from those who, due to this pattern of justification, often can afford to stay at home.

Among technicians, as among teaching professionals, reproductive labour within the house and the family is regarded as a traditionally "female" business. This accounts for the fact that in fact, mainly women are active in the reproductive tasks of caring. This also shows a normative dimension which in practice could have - due to an Austrian tradition - its effects on women and men.

Well, seeking empirical reasons for this justification model, one could say that teaching can be seen as a form of intellectual caring and, thus, it would be closer to traditional caring tasks of women in general. The same would be hard to state in the case of technical or engineering jobs. At present, however, the political changes in Austria, its governmental policies and

concrete measures like the new parental leave, could have an impact on the justification of the gender pay gap.

In line with the new cultural construction of gender, characterized by a rhetoric of equal treatment, engineers generally point to the lack of women in technical professions and to the age structure and generational shift as well, if they seek for reasons for the gender pay gap.

"And this is a little bit like a Goldfish-pond if one takes a look here one has a position to fill, then one takes a look into it, okay, what do we actually have in it, who for this position, leading position, would actually fit." (Female Chief of staff)

The question arises, which institutional resistance and oppositions have to be assumed and overcome in order to find a place in the so called "*Goldfish Pond*" of recruitment measures for potential female technical engineers at the top. What is needed for women to decide if this "*Goldfish Pond*" is conceptualised as an In-Door- or an Out-Door-Pool?

4.3.2 Public technical company

The workplace

The main activities of this public institution focus on the management of building and construction. Situated in the capital of the province, it is in charge of several departments such as transport, environment, water management, construction as well as the general supervision of building matters in the whole Province. At the moment, the total number of employees is 2512 of which 378 are women. Among all the employees, 203 (17 women) belong to the occupational group of engineering professionals with a university degree. In total, 161 men and 10 women of the target occupation have been working there for more than five years. As a result of the rather rigid conditions of admission regulated by civil service law, we won't find any migrant workers or foreigners.

Our interviewees were the personnel manager, a female and a male engineer.

Internal organisation

As already pointed out in section 3.3.3, we are dealing with one of the last "strongholds of men" characterized by a stiff hierarchy. In other words: The higher we climb the professional ladder, the less women we shall find.

Wage system and agreements

There are no collective wage agreements between the employer and any unions or worker's organisations representing employees, nor do there exist any individual wage agreements, but the normal scheme of payment applying to civil servants (public-law based) and contractual employees (private-law based) is in effect.

In general, the staff is well informed about the wage system: Once a year, they are sent the official table of salaries which is open to all even via internet, which certainly accounts for its transparency.

As to the bonus-system, there is quite a sort of "jungle of bonuses" (male engineer) which consequently makes it appear less transparent. Earning benefits or not is subject to one's own initiative as well. Engineers may get bonuses for certain professional functions which are definitely well-paid. In special cases, dangerous work like a laboratory job or construction

work is paid a bonus. Due to a more or less "rigid" wage system, the possibility to grant a bonus for outstanding results by the immediate superior is limited: In general, bonuses/benefits are granted by the personnel department whose competence on this matter is sometimes doubted.

What makes wages differ between members of the target occupation? First of all, formal education was mentioned as an important criteria because the whole wage system is based on it.

Due to the system of seniority, the individual number of years of service is said to be another important factor influencing the salary. As aforementioned in chapter 3.3.3, this rather antiquated system is already under discussion: In 2003, a new wage system for the Styrian provincial service shall come into force which is supposed to reward personal effort as well as professional function.

Working contracts and working time

Engineers either have permanent civil servant status or are contractual employees. While the former are issued a decree, the latter are given unlimited working contracts. Temporary contracts are primarily given to professional novices initiated into their new job usually for a period of two years. After two years, their temporary contract of employment will be converted into an unlimited one.

Engineers usually work 40 hours a week. Working overtime normally is not paid with money but by means of compensation of time. Besides, there are certain measures which should help to reconcile family duties with the job: As far as possible, those people working for provincial authorities can plan their working time themselves (flexitime). Apart from this, there is also the option of working part-time which is readily accepted mainly by the non-academic levels of the work force (in total 11 men and 147 women). Graduated engineers, no matter whether male or female, hardly work part-time on a voluntary basis. Finally, there is a child care facility for employees' children.

Training

Various training programmes are regularly offered by the institution's own training academy. It offers a wide range of technical courses, courses on rhetoric and communication, new-media, law, languages, health care, as well as courses guiding the development of one's personal skills. Special training measures for women based on the Equal Treatment Law round off the repertoire (workshops for women returning after parental leave, courses on how to gain more self confidence etc.). The employees may even suggest topics for future courses. Basically, participation is desired.

Even if, in the short-term, such programmes probably won't pay, in a medium-term they certainly will: By and by, better know-how may result in more ambitious and more interesting working projects which may well "pay" one day: either through benefits or professional advancement. Special training measures for future leading positions were mentioned as a proof for the effectiveness of training in terms of future professional performance. As a matter of fact, training measures are not the only key to climb the career ladder: personal effort and willingness are as important.

Gender issues

At this institution, payment differentials between male and female engineers are not on the agenda. However, gender differences on different positions may be a point for discussion: Ruled by legal act, in all positions where the number of women is less than 40 %, they have to be hired preferably unless they are less qualified than their male competitors. "*In reality, things look a little bit different*" (female engineer). At the very top of the hierarchy, e.g., we find only three women among 20 men. Why? Well, holding powerful positions is not only a question of personal effort and willingness. To a certain extent, it might be "*a matter of political patronage*" (male engineer), too. Anyway, are the men better in forming and pragmatically using their own power networks? Or is it, "*because women are the more self-critical*" (female engineer)" and thus wasting chances?

Besides, we found ourselves confronted with the argument that there is simply a lack of women in this historically male-connoted professional field: If more women were studying technical subjects, after some time things would be subject to change. The rather rigid pay-system with its principle of seniority, rewarding employees of many years' standing, is already under discussion. One has to bear in mind that at present, leading positions are often held by a male generation who soon will retire. This fact and the fact that a new pay-system, not based on seniority, but rewarding personal effort and professional function already at an early age (being introduced in the year 2003), might possibly be a chance for ambitious young women.

5. Summary and conclusions

"Gender differences in the workplace are dead - long live the gender pay differential!" one is tempted to exclaim after having reviewed the various factors leading to the uniquely high gender pay gap we have in Austria.

In fact, we can observe a sharp contrast between the legal provisions against the discrimination of women in the labour market (the Equal Treatment Act has been in effect for more than 20 years now) and the reality of women working in poorly paid jobs, or in part time jobs, interrupting their professional careers for child care obligations and consequently expecting much lower retirement pensions than their male compatriots.

Interestingly enough, the gender pay gap can hardly be called a topic of public debate; neither the unions nor the political parties do address the pay gap itself.

This may be caused by the fact that the reasons for the pay gap are actually hard to nail down: Instead of direct discrimination, we can discover subtle mechanisms like the classification of female work and the assignment to positions that are not provided with certain payment supplements (e.g. operating machinery, night time work). Another important factor is the high level of intransparency of the Austrian payment systems, since various supplements and the practice of honouring work experience in previous jobs very much obfuscate the picture for employees and employers alike. It may have been a conscious strategy of the unions when bargaining for pay rises to confuse employers with a high number of supplements and bonuses. As a matter of fact, it is unusual that an employee can tell the approximate salary of her colleagues. (This might also be due to the fact that it is deemed rude to talk about one's pay and intrusive to ask another person about the height of her salary.)

These particularities of the Austrian pay system also led to high pay differentials between different professions, between white and blue collar employees and consequently between men and women.

When analysing the reasons for the high gender pay gap, we are, of course, also confronted with vertical segregation. Women face various obstacles to advancement in their jobs, the glass ceiling is a fact in Austria, too. This is particularly true for women of higher education, as for the teachers and engineers in our study.

Then, we encounter the subtle mechanisms of social gender roles assigning family work to women and thus making them demand part-time jobs. None of the measures aimed at reconciling family work with work in the job have so far been really effective in promoting female employment. Women still consider it as their duty to give priority to their families while their husbands' and partners' careers are not at all affected by the birth of a child (or later e.g. the sickness of a child). Thus, we could see food manufacturing women not grasp the opportunity to reenter work life and improve their qualification by joining a working trust: they simply were not interested in investing in their professional careers, they themselves saw their place in the family.

In general, this situation might not change in the near future unless we succeed in putting the gender pay gap on the agenda of public debate and union negotiations. In addition, public policy has to develop effective measures to distribute family work equally among men and women; given the ideological stance of the current government, it seems highly unlikely that they will address the problem.

It will depend on comparative studies like this to bring the gender pay gap to the attention of the Austrian public and to put pressure from international (in particular European) institutions on to the politicians in charge of social and family policy in order to achieve a substantial improvement of women on the labour market.

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Appendix A:

An overview of interviews in the three target occupations

Interview w	Workplace			Interviewee	
	Classi- fication	Target occupation	Sector	Company	Representative Function
U 3	Teaching associates	Privat e	High School 1	Director	Male
U 2	Teaching associates	Privat e	High School 1	Teacher	Female
U 3	Teaching associates	Privat e	High School 1	Teacher	Male
U 4	Teaching associates	Privat e	High School 2	Director	Female
U 5	Teaching associates	Privat e	High School 2	Teacher	Male
U 6	Teaching associates	Privat e	High School 2	Teacher	Female
U 7	Teaching associates	Public	High School 3	Director	Male
U 8	Teaching associates	Public	High School 3	Teacher	Female
U 9	Teaching associates	Public	High School 3	Teacher	Male
U 10	Unskilled workers	Privat e	Food Industry 1, 2	CEO	Male
U 11	Unskilled workers	Privat e	Food Industry 1	Work council	Male
U 12	Unskilled workers	Privat e	Food Industry 1	Worker	Female
U 13	Unskilled workers	Privat e	Food Industry 2	Work council	Male
U 14	Unskilled workers	Privat e	Food Industry 2	Work council	Female
U 15	Unskilled workers	Privat e	Food Industry 3	CEO	Male
U 16	Unskilled workers	Privat e	Food Industry 3	Work council	Male
U 17	Unskilled workers	Privat e	Food Industry 3	Former work council	Female
U 18	Technical engineers	Privat e	Techn. company 1	Chief of staff	Female

U 19	Technical engineers	Private	Techn. company 1	Technical engineer	Female
U 20	Technical engineers	Private	Techn. company 1	Technical engineer	Male
U 21	Technical engineers	Private	Techn. company 2	Chief of staff	Male
U 22	Technical engineers	Private	Techn. company 2	Technical engineer	Male
U 23	Technical engineers	Private	Techn. company 2	Technician	Female
U 24	Technical engineers	Private	Techn. company 3	Chief of staff	Male
U 25	Technical engineers	Private	Techn. company 3	Technical engineer	Female
U 26	Technical engineers	Public	Techn. company 4	Chief of staff	Male
U 27	Technical engineers	Public	Techn. company 4	Technical engineer	Female
U 28	Technical engineers	Public	Techn. company 4	Technical engineer	Male

Appendix B:

SHORT DESCRIPTION - FOOD MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

Workplace			
U 1	COMPANY 1		
Branch	Food processing and manufacturing industry		
Sector	private		
Main Activity	milk processing and production		
Location	Upper Styria / Austria		
Firm	Part of a Larger Company		
Interviewees	Work Council (m), Machine Operator (f), CEO (m)		
Employees	Men	Women	Total
Employees	141	63	204
Unskilled Workers	5	19	24
Management	9	1	10
Part Time Workers	0	1	1
Migrants	5	2	7
Empl. More than 5 Y.	0	0	0
Recruited in 2002	1	0	1
Workplace			
U 2	COMPANY 2		
Branch	Food Processing and Manufacturing Industry		
Sector	Private		
Main Activity	Meat Processing and Manufacturing		
Location	Upper Styria / Austria		
Firm	Part of a Larger Company		
Interviewees	Work Council Chair (m), Work Council (f), CEO (m)		
Employees	Men	Women	Total
Employees	193	145	338
Unskilled Workers	87	134	221
Management	9	1	10
Part Time Workers	0	8	8
Migrants	22	3	25
Empl. More than 5 Y.	43	68	111
Recruited in 2002	3	5	8

Workplace			
U 3	COMPANY 3		
Branch	Food Processing and Manufacturing Industry		
Sector	Private		
Main Activity	Milk Processing and Production		
Location	Eastern Styria / Austria		
Firm	Part of a Larger Company		
Interviewees	Work Council Chair (m), Work Council (f), Managing Director (m)		
Employees	Men	Women	Total
Employees	64	13	77
Unskilled Workers	42	6	48
Management	8	0	8
Part Time Workers	0	2	2
Migrants	0	0	0
Empl. More than 5 Y.	36	7	45
Recruited in 2002	0	0	0

SHORT DESCRIPTION - TECHNICAL COMPANIES

Workplace			
U 4	COMPANY 1		
Branch	Technology		
Sector	Private		
Main Activity	Development and Production of Automobiles		
Location	Graz / Austria		
Firm	Part of a Larger Company		
Interviewees	Techn. Engineer (f), Techn. Engineer (m), Chief of Staff (f)		
Employees	Men	Women	Total
Employees	4794	832	5626
Engineers	712	30	742
Management	57	3	60
Part Time Workers	8	15	23
Empl. More than 5 Y.	2220	256	2476
Recruited in 2002	16	1	17
Workplace			
U 5	COMPANY 2		
Branch	Technology		
Sector	Private		
Main Activity	Development of Semiconductors		
Location	Graz / Austria		
Firm	Part of a Larger Company		
Interviewees	Techn. Engineer (f), Managing Director (m)		
Employees	Men	Women	Total
Employees	107	13	120
Engineers	79	6	85
Management	5	0	5
Part Time Workers	10	2	12
Empl. More than 5 Y.	0	0	0
Recruited in 2002	0	0	0
Workplace			
U 6	COMPANY 3		
Branch	Technology		
Sector	Private		
Main Activity	Technical Systems for Energy Management, Production Sites and Homes (Haustechnik, Betriebstechnik)		
Location	Graz / Austria		
Firm	Single Firm Company		
Interviewees	Engineer (m), IT-Technician (f), Techn. Director (m)		
Employees	Men	Women	Total
Employees	117	10	127
Engineers	44	1	45
Management	7	2	9
Part Time Workers	3	5	8

Empl. More than 5 Y.	55	7	62
Recruited in 2002	2	0	2

Workplace			
U9	COMPANY 4		
Branch	Technology		
Sector	Public		
Main Activity	Constructional Engineering		
Location	Graz / Austria		
Interviewees	Techn. Engineer (f), Techn. Engineer (m), Chief of Staff (m)		
Employees	Men	Women	Total
Employees	2134	378	2512
Engineers	186	17	203
Management	20	3	23
Part Time Workers	0	0	0
Empl. More than 5 Y.	161	10	171
Recruited in 2002	0	0	0

SHORT DESCRIPTION - SCHOOLS

Workplace			
U7	SCHOOL 1		
Branch	Secondary Educ.		
Sector	Private		
Main Activity	High School		
Location	Graz / Austria		
Interviewees	Teacher (f), Teacher (m), Director (m)		
Employees	Men	Women	Total
Employees	16	21	37
Teachers	16	21	37
Management	10	8	18
Part Time Workers	11	17	28
Empl. More than 5 Y.	8	12	20
Recruited in 2002	11	17	28
Workplace			
U8	SCHOOL 2		
Branch	Secondary Educ.		
Sector	Public		
Main Activity	High School		
Location	Graz / Austria		
Interviewees	Teacher (m), Teacher (f), Director (m)		
Employees	Men	Women	Total
Employees	17	35	52
Teachers	17	35	52
Management	2	0	2
Part Time Workers	7	3	10
Empl. More than 5 Y.	15	32	47
Recruited in 2002	1	1	2

TOWARDS A CLOSING OF THE GENDER PAY GAP

"Towards a Closing of the Gender Pay Gap" is a project, which comes under the 5th Action Programme's Community Framework Strategy on Gender Equality (2001-2005) and deals with gender wage differences. It is funded by the European Commission and by national authorities. There are six partner countries in the project: Austria, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Norway and the United Kingdom.

A Steering Committee with members from all the partner countries functions as the governing body for the project. The Norwegian Centre for Gender Equality manages the project.

The objective of the project is to promote equal pay between men and women for equal work and work of equal value and to identify an efficient mix of tools and instruments for promoting equal pay in the context of each partner country in three target occupations: unskilled workers in the food processing industry, engineers and secondary education teachers. The project partners have produced a national report on these occupations.

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Norwegian Ministry of Children and Family Affairs



UTDANNINGS- OG FORSKNINGSDEPARTEMENTET

Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research



NHO
Confederation of Norwegian Business and Industry



LO
Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions