

THANKS FOR PLAYING ANYWAY

Women in Arts and Media Professions: Austria⁴⁶

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1. Methods and Definitions

Structuring the Field

What follows is a myriad of data on the status of women in arts and media professions in Austria. This quantitative information is complemented by examples of "good and bad practices", and by extracts from in-depth interviews conducted with female experts working in the arts and media fields. Methodological difficulties inherent when defining artistic and media professions according to "traditional" boundaries between the individual professions, led the research team to adopt the following classification of the cultural field as developed by MEDIACULT⁴⁸ in 1992.

1. High culture, "artistic culture": traditional, representative art with *symbolic profitability*.
2. Social culture: the so-called third sector in culture, which consists of process and communication orientated initiatives with *social profitability*.
3. Mass culture: culture and leisure industries with *economic profitability*.

The representative function of the first and the third sector is quite obvious – high culture shows what is valuable, precious for a society, and mass culture shows what is popular. Social culture, on the other hand, is usually an attempt to deal with social problems, for example by using *cultural social work*. This area could be considered one of the most innovative as actors are consistently using culture to address problems or crisis; a process which can lead to finding new solutions.

While common sense would tell us that the representation of women in high culture and mass culture would be low, it is difficult to speculate about their position in the sphere of social culture. One could assume, that in view of the unimportance bestowed upon this type of work, in a similar manner to house or care work, that women would occupy a larger share of all workers. As an "innovative" sector with great potential, one could also hypothesise that it would be dominated by men.

⁴⁶ This text was originally written in German.

⁴⁷ Robert Harauer, Elisabeth Mayerhofer, Monika Mokre, MEDIACULT, Vienna.

⁴⁸ Bernard, Jeff; Harauer, Robert; Reiter, Wolfgang; Smudits, Alfred; Stocker, Kurt: For Discussion: Culture Politics for the Nineties. In: Harauer, Robert; Bernard, Jeff (eds.): "New Culture" in Europe. Structures, Problems, Developments". Proceedings of an International Conference Vienna, December 2-5, 1992. P. 208.

Another methodological note concerns the type of "cultural employment" under study. According to Bernard Casey's categorisation⁴⁹, there is a distinction between artistic and non-artistic enterprises and artistic and non-artistic staff within both types of enterprise. (not including the field of socio-culture or politically committed art).

To really answer the question of how much employment is created by culture and the arts or to determine the share of women in these labour markets, it is important to make the distinction between cultural and non-cultural jobs in cultural enterprises and cultural jobs in non-cultural enterprises.

This report is focussed on women undertaking cultural work in cultural enterprises; with the exception of including public relation companies. Clearly this focus is limited as it leaves out the more interesting (problematic) areas in which "the new creatives"⁵⁰ are claimed to be found. These "cultural workers" exist in a free space between art and science, culture and leisure industries, the profit and non-profit sectors. Their professions can not be solely classified in traditional artistic or cultural sectors and are therefore rarely, if at all, reflected in available statistics.

Classifying Working Patterns?

In recent years, there has been a number of exercises (including European) to find new ways of defining the cultural field which have oriented around the themes of "culture and employment", "culture industries" and "cultural workers". Focus on the culture industries has demonstrated, for example, that the arts sector is not solely comprised of publicly subsidised businesses but also of private sector enterprises.

Debates around the concept of "cultural workers" are fundamentally new. In fact, the term itself defies fixed definition *per naturam* and can, therefore, only be approached. Marie-Luise Angerer has put forward the following: "a cultural worker is a person on average 25-30 years old, multi-skilled, flexible, psychologically able to put up with a lot, single, independent, mobile, who gets involved with whatever there is to be done in the sphere of art, music or media"⁵¹.

For this particular investigation, it is difficult to measure the phenomenon of a "cultural worker" in statistical terms due in part to the very individualised and decentralised patterns of work.

Data Collection

The majority of data presented in this study has been derived from secondary sources. Field research was undertaken to a lesser extent, but was absolutely necessary. Due to this approach, some of the data presented is not consistent. For example individual survey systems used varying criteria, e.g. when defining professions. Except in the field of education, longi-

⁴⁹ Casey, Bernard: *Employment and Skills in the Cultural Sector: Some reflections on the European Commission Paper "Culture, Cultural Industries and Employment"*. In: Österreichische Kulturdokumentation u.a.: *Cultural competence*. Vienna 1999. P. 40-47.

⁵⁰ While the number of the "new creatives" is quite small in comparison to the number of people working in traditional cultural institutions like museums or theatres, characteristics of their employment patterns point to future trends concerning the labour market as a whole.

⁵¹ Angerer 1999, 24.

tudinal studies were not possible and therefore most data provides only momentary snap shots in time, rather than allowing for the possibility of conducting trend analysis.

While one would assume that data could be easily obtained from public sector institutions which are characterised by regulated employment patterns, the reality is that none of the institutions are obliged to collect gendered information or data and therefore, figures about the share of women working in public sector organisations rarely exists. Another data collection hurdle to overcome is the incompatible systems to collect cultural statistics on the federal and state (Länder) level.

Collecting gendered data from the private sector is another story. The field itself is made up of:

- companies of all sizes, for example in the culture industries,
- self-employed e.g. architects
- an "independent scene" ("Freie Szene"), e.g. non-profit organisations.

Gendered information is obtainable through secondary sources, e.g. special registers, on the management structure of cultural and media businesses such as newspapers. For information on the share of women working in smaller sized businesses (or self employed) in fields such as literature, architecture or the visual arts, one must consult interest groups and companies exploiting third party rights in order to obtain an overview of women's employment patterns.

Indicator Grid

An indicator grid outlining the main areas of cultural employment is included at the end of this chapter. It was conceived as an open list of cultural professions to be worked on. The grey shaded areas indicate where information and data were available. Further investigation is obviously required to have a full or complete picture of women working in arts and media professions in Austria.

2. Share of Women in the Cultural and Overall Labour Market

Women represent 52% of the total Austrian population (micro-census 1998). According to national census figures, the share of women amongst the economically active population⁵² rose from 40% (1981) to 41% (1991) and according to the micro-census represented 42% in 1998. The data clearly shows a continual increase in the share of women amongst the economically active population in all professions, as well as in cultural professions:

⁵² The figures presented here refer to the economically active population rather than to specific numbers of those actually employed. Many women do not show up in the figures as their employment situation does not fit into this norm (e.g. they work less than a certain amount of hours per week or have short term, honorarium based contracts).

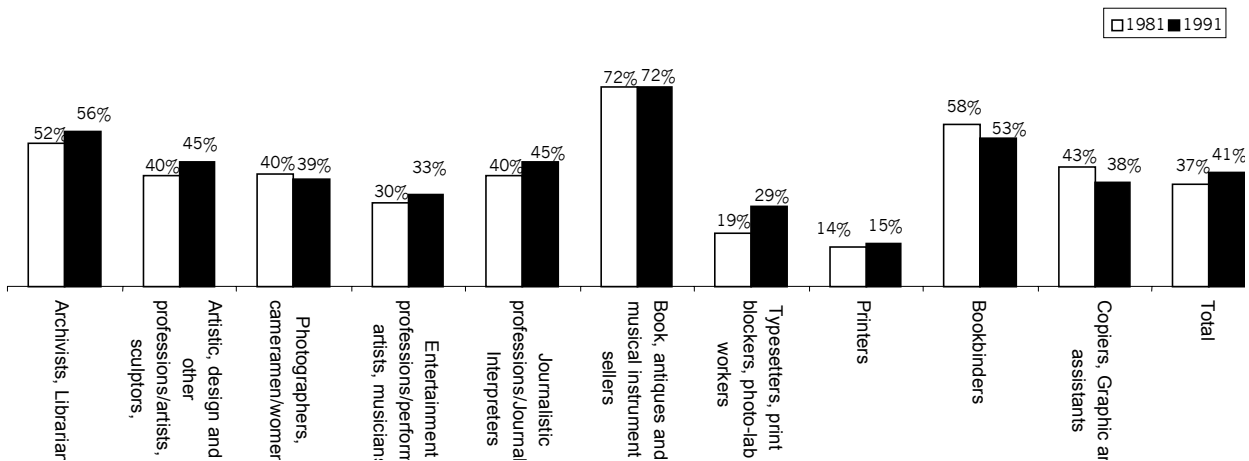
Table 1: % Share of women among the economically active population

	All professions	Cultural professions
National census		
1981	40	37
1991	41	40

	All professions	Cultural professions
Micro-census		
1980	39	32
1998	42	38

While growth rates in the share of women in culture and media professions are not remarkably high, they outrun the overall average. According to micro-census figures, the cultural field grew steadily from 1980 to 1997. The share of women, however, stagnated at 40% from 1990 to 1997. In 1998, their share fell to 38%.

Figure 1: Share of women in art and media



Source: National Census 1981 and 1991.

The figures show that there has been a slight increase in the share of women in about two-thirds of the professions and a decrease in the remaining one third; the overall trend being to the advantage of employment for women in cultural professions.

Despite this "good news", the illustration also shows that women are under-represented in almost all of the areas surveyed in the national census; except in the following three professional groupings where their share surpasses the 52% mark:

- Archivists and librarians
- Book / art / music sellers
- Graphic designers

To date, the national census is the only data source about women in cultural and media professions besides some sectoral studies. A survey of all economically active persons working in the cultural or media field does not exist outside of this framework.

Share of Employed and Unemployed

A person is regarded as being self-employed if one pursues gainful employment on their own. In the micro-census survey, the category of "self-employed" includes family members providing assistance, for example, helpers who "work within the company of a household or a family member without a regular wage being paid unemployment insurance". (Micro-census 1997, xxxviii) Many women fall within this category but their share is not indicated in the micro-census. In 1997, the results of a study "On the Development of Education and Professional Practice Regarding Women in Austria" (Hochschulbericht 1999/3, 9) revealed that the share of women amongst such "helpers" was 70%.

The table below shows the numbers of employed and self-employed persons according to national census and micro-census figures; though these may only be compared with the aforementioned limitation.

Table 2: % Share of women employed and self-employed

	Employed		Self-employed	
	all professions	cultural professions	all professions	cultural professions
National census				
1981	40	38	35	33
1991	42	43	40	35
Micro-census				
1980	38	35	43	37
1998	43	47	41	30

The share of women employed in the cultural sector is higher (47%) than in other labour markets (43%); and is indeed growing at a faster rate. According to the micro-census figures of 1998, the share of women as self-employed is lower in the cultural sector (30%) than in most other labour markets (41%); both experiencing a decline since the 1980s.

A comparison of the results of the national census provides us with a detailed picture of the ratio between self-employed and employed persons within individual professional fields:

Table 3: % Share of women employed in culture and media professions, 1981/1991

	1981	1991
Books, antique and musical instrument sellers	52	79
Journalists, translators, publicists	40	44
Painters, sculptors, illustrators	46	52
Performing artists, musicians (entertainment)	30	34
Photographers, camera people	45	45
Book binders	59	54
Technical work in the printing sector (e.g. layout, photo developers)	19	29
Printers	14	15

Source: National Census, 1981, 1991.

Table 4: % Share of women as self-employed in culture and media professions, 1981/91

	1981	1991
Books, antique and musical instrument sellers	48	46
Journalists, translators, publicists	38	46
Painters, sculptors, illustrators	31	33
Performing artists, musicians (entertainment)	31	31
Photographers, camera people	27	25
Book binders	32	19
Technical work in the printing sector (e.g. layout, photo developers)	16	19
Printers	16	15

Source: National Census, 1981, 1991.

The tables clearly demonstrates that the most number of women employed are in the field of book, antique and musical instrument selling. They also demonstrate that women make up a representative share in other cultural fields such as visual and performing arts, journalism and translation. There have been no changes in their presence in the field of photography throughout the 80s. Women's share remains low in the field of printing (although there was a significant increase) and in fact, their numbers have been falling in the field of book binding.

The representation of women as self-employed is clearly lower in all cultural fields than their share of those employed. Significant changes have been made in the field of journalism or translation, while the share remained more or less the same from 1981 to 1991. There has been a significant decrease in the share of women working as self-employed book binders. Minor decreases evident of female, photographers, printers and book, antique and musical instrument sellers.

Heterogeneity of Employment Patterns

Employment patterns in the cultural sector vary according to public or private organisational structures. We can further categorise such patterns according to our professional classifications above.

- High culture and highly institutionalised work in traditional fields such as large theatre, opera houses or museums: Employment patterns are comparable to public administration. Despite legislative accountability via equal opportunity laws or quotas systems, public structures have yet to demonstrate a clear tendency to support women's career development.
- Socio-culture and freelance work with uncertain perspectives and a low degree of social security protection.
- Culture industry and industrial employment patterns.

The data show that women's employment patterns do not differ dramatically between the cultural and overall labour market. For example, the largest number of women occupying leading positions can be found in "socio-culture" professions while the lowest share is within institutionalised or established professional fields such as in universities.

Employment patterns in the socio-culture and cultural industries sectors are becoming more and more similar and are primarily characterised by part-time jobs and/or short-term con-

tracts. Such trends are increasingly evident in broadcasting companies which are being downsized. While women do manage to find work within such institutions it is more difficult for them to obtain permanent jobs or reach higher decision-making positions. For example, it is easier for independent female producers to sell their work to a national broadcasting company than it is for them to be hired as a permanent staff member.

The "New Self-Employed"

In 1998, the Austrian labour law was amended taking account of the rise of "out-sourced" or contract work which was changing the nature of employment relationships. Many employers were trying to avoid paying their share of social security contributions by creating "circumvention agreements" such as work contracts thus shifting their tax and social responsibilities onto the new "contractor". By accepting a contract, the "new self-employed" would automatically become subject to the commercial social insurance law or *Gewerbliches Sozialversicherungsgesetz* (GSVG). Contributions to be paid by the contractor are calculated on the basis of all income from different types of contracts, if exceeding a level of 88.800 ATS.

Given the precarious nature of employment in the cultural sector, such forced self-employment created a number of difficulties for artists. The law took away the artist rights to be employees or freelance workers and turned them automatically into "business people" which also means that they can no longer be represented by the Art, Media, Sport and Freelance Union.

There has often been discussion in the Austrian parliament to create a separate social insurance law for artists, which, however has failed to materialise to date.

This development is not specific to Austria. Throughout Europe the number of people with employee status is falling, and the number of "new self-employed"⁵³ is rising. Neyer (1999) refers to this process as the "feminisation" of the labour market; features which have, up until now, characterised female employment are permeating the labour market⁵⁴. (such as career interruptions, with periods of unemployment, part-time work, decrease of income etc.). Presumably these developments are less likely to affect women to the same degree as men. A comprehensive statistical survey of this growing field is required⁵⁵.

3. Education and Training

As figures from the 1998 micro-census confirm, those employed in the culture and media sectors have a higher level of education on average than the rest of the population. The general share of academics amounts to 6.5% (Men 4.2%, Women 2.3%) of the economically active population while such figures rise dramatically for culture or media related subjects at 30.3% (men 20.6%, women 9.7%).

⁵³ Whose status should not be confused with regular entrepreneurs.

⁵⁴ The share of women registered as unemployed in cultural professions was 32% in 1987. This figure rose to 48% in 1998.

⁵⁵ There are several difficulties in collecting such information because many unemployed persons do not register themselves. Furthermore, people whose main income is derived from a non-artistic field, register themselves as unemployed artists. Female artists have the possibility to identify their vocation as housewife or mother, which brings them more benefit than to register as an unemployed artist.

Data collected for this study was gathered from six Austrian art universities and include the following fields of study at ordinary universities: musicology and theatre studies, art history, mass communications/journalism, communication sciences and architecture. Training courses on offer from specialist professional colleges, for example, in the field of industrial design or media studies, have also been included.

Table 5 provides us with a comparison between the share of female graduates and professors in universities overall, in cultural related subjects and in art universities.

Table 5: % Share of female graduates, university assistants and professors in 1980/1998

	Art universities		Selected culture related subjects		Ordinary universities	
	1980	1998	1980	1998	1980	1998
Graduates	47	53	64	59	34	46
University assistants (contract)	0	51	24	55	15	42
University assistants (employed)	24	34		28		26
Professors	11	18	8	10	2	6

Source: University report, 1999.

The above figures demonstrate the high representation of women studying in arts, culture or media related fields; which could be considered as women's study domains.

The number of female teachers⁵⁶ and university professors is, however, less than encouraging. Since 1980, there has been a slow growth in the share of female professors teaching at art universities, even though their percentage has always been much higher than at ordinary universities (6%). In comparison to the high percentage of female students and female graduates this indicates a glass ceiling for women.

Fixed or permanent employment is proving to be a hurdle which many women are unable to overcome.

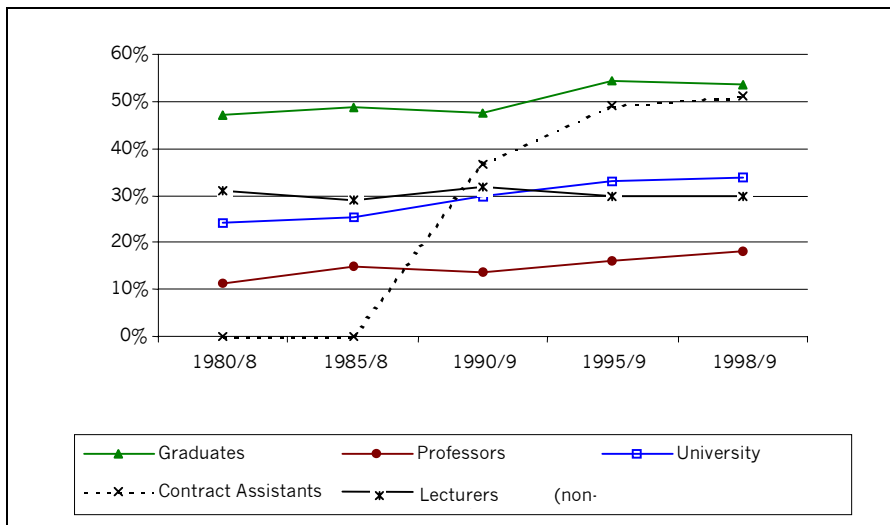
As a female assistant professor things still work. However, if you want to go any further there are enormous difficulties, which are not discussed directly. (...) You just have to be better.

(Theatre Scientist)

In 1998, those colleges with an artistic direction were granted university status. As the figures above show, art universities generally have a higher percentage of female employees than conventional universities. However, their share drops consistently when examining the number of women in higher positions.

⁵⁶ In order to guarantee comparability within the time series, professors according to UOG 93 were not counted.

Figure 2: Share of women in art universities

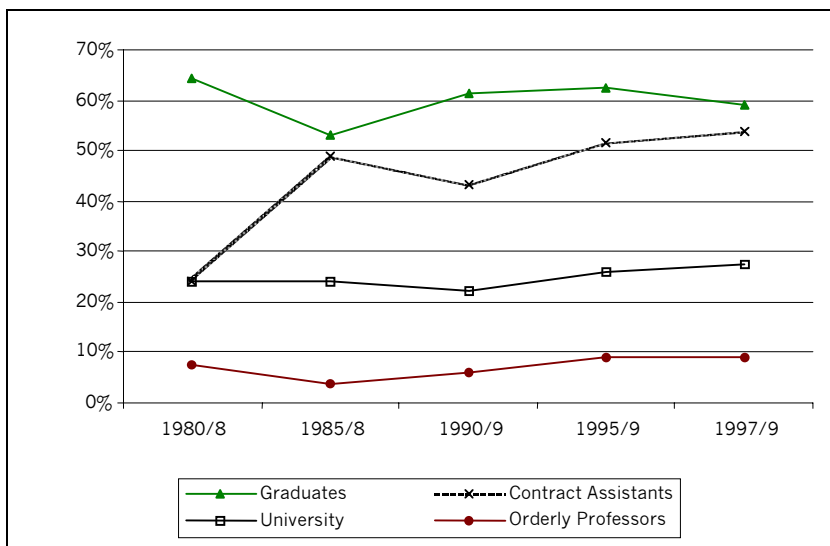


Source: University statistics.

The percentage of female graduates in all university subjects is far below that of selected subjects specific to the cultural field; 46% and 59% respectively. If architecture was removed from our calculations the share of women rises to 77%.

Figure 3 below demonstrates the hierarchy or pyramid like structure of women working in conventional universities, who are teaching culture and media related courses. It clearly demonstrates that very few women manage to pass from contractual assistant to obtain permanent status as a university assistant. In fact, the percentage of women amongst permanently employed university teaching staff has not really increased over the past 20 years. This shows clearly that merely the "demographic pressure" of highly qualified women is not enough to increase their number amongst the permanently employed university staff.

Figure 3: Percentage of women in selected university subjects 1980-97



Source: University statistics.

Measures to Encourage Equal Treatment at Universities

As mentioned above, the main difficulty women face in this field is the barrier to permanent employment. In 1993, working groups were set up in all universities to monitor hiring practices and to promote equal opportunities. Initially, the working groups had too little scope to take action against clearly discriminatory hiring practices. A law was subsequently passed to allow the working group to re-open cases which were found to be discriminatory in their selection process. The working groups currently have the right to participate in meetings where personnel decisions are made in order to monitor hiring practises.

In 1998, the Federal Ministry for Science and Traffic updated their plan for the promotion of women (to be done every two years) which includes positive discrimination measures in the appointment of male and female professors. It includes a paragraph which obliges the universities and colleges to show the job advertisement to its respective equal opportunities working group as well as to reissue an advertisement for a job if no qualified female candidate applies in the first round.

The promotion of women in academia was one of the objectives in the 1996-99 parliamentary term. The result was that universities became obliged to appoint a women to the position of professor if she appeared on the short list of suggested candidates. Fierce public debate ensued from this decision and it is feared that women may no longer make it onto a short list. In 1999 a "White Paper on the Promotion of Women in Academia" was published which made reference to the "Old-Boys-Networks" which prevents women from obtaining the "habilitation" (post-doctorate degree).

4. Women in Decision-Making Positions

When examining the position of women in decision-making positions, we focussed our attention on answering two questions:

- At which level(s) of internal, organisational hierarchy are women represented?
- At which level is the company positioned in the market?

The study focussed on the following fields:

- politics and administration
- libraries and archives
- music
- performing arts
- literature
- visual arts
- design and fashion
- architecture
- new media
- mass media
- advertising

Across all fields, one trend was for certain: the more professional positions are connected with prestige and income, the fewer women are present in such positions. Admittedly it seems that this landscape is changing, albeit slowly. The slowness of the change in no way corresponds to the share of female representation in the overall cultural labour market nor to their artistic and cultural achievements in all areas.

Three clear patterns of women's representation in decision-making positions have emerged:

1. The greater market position an organisation acquires, the fewer women are to be found in management positions.
2. Areas in which a high percentage of women are to be found in management positions have been "feminised" (with lower remuneration and weaker social security positions).
3. Exceptions: "non-feminised" areas in which women are to be found in management positions

Low Level of Presence in High-Prestige, Big-Money Positions

As is the trend in all employment sectors, women are generally under-represented in positions of power in the arts and media sectors. Their under-representation is blocked by glass ceilings and barriers to re-entry following career breaks, for example, to have children.

This is particularly noticeable in the field of music. As a fundamental component of Austrian culture, this field remains closed to women – especially in the upper ranks of the professional hierarchy. For example, women in leading positions in the music field continue to be an exceptional phenomenon. In 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995 and 1997 seasons, women have only twice assumed the musical lead as conductors of opera performances. Apart from répétiteurs and two conductors there is one other woman concert-master working at the People's Opera. All other areas of musical leadership at the State and People's Opera are in the hands of men. Not one single female choirmaster has been employed at the Federal Theatre Orchestra.

Table 6: Musical direction at the State and People's Opera

	1980/81		1985/86		1990/91		1995/96		1997/98	
State Opera	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Conductor	30	0	40	0	30*	0	32	1	33	1
Head of Music Studies	2	0	2	0	2	1	3	0	3	0
Coaching	10	0	12	1	8	0	4	2	4	2
Leader of Orchestra	4	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0
Choirmaster	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
People's Opera	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Conductor	8	0	11	0	30*	0	17	0	17	1
Head of Music Studies	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Coaching	4	0	2	1	2	4	2	3	3	3
Leader of Orchestra	3	0	3	0	2	0	1	1	2	1
Choirmaster	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0

Source: Federal Theatre Reports.

* in 1990/91 the conductors at the State and People's Opera were not listed separately.

In 1997, a great deal of public debate was focussed on the dire status of women in the field of music following the initial refusal of the Viennese Philharmonic to accept a woman into its ranks. Today, general interest to change this status seems to have faded and women remain under-represented in orchestras - with the exception of the Graz Symphony Orchestra.

Findings from a study conducted in 1993 demonstrate that the number of women in management positions falls the higher the prestige and budget of the respective orchestra.⁵⁷ This situation is relevant today as can be seen through the cases of the Federal Theatre Orchestra.⁵⁸ Since 1980, there has been only two women in the State Opera Orchestra (classic opera house in terms of repertoire and representative nature). The share of women in the People's Opera is, however, continuously increasing. Clearly the Federal Equality Act has not been implemented in these publicly financed institutions.

Table 7: Share of female musicians in orchestras 1998/99

	Total	% Women
Viennese Philharmonic*	132	1
Viennese Symphony*	118	3
RSO*	89	21
Bruckner Orchestra*	101	35
Graz Symphony Orchestra*	90	48
Carinthian Symphony Orchestra*	44	20
State Opera**	145	1
People's Opera**	87	26
Theatre Orchestra**	43	5
Total	574	19

Notes: *own calculations 1999, ** Federal Theatre Report - Bundestheaterbericht 1998.

The share of women as managers or artistic directors of 11 of the most important music festivals in the field of classical music were surveyed: out of a total of 19 directors, 3 were women⁵⁹.

The Women's Chamber Orchestra, founded in 1982, which had the aim of providing young orchestral musicians with an opportunity of gaining experience and to perform works by contemporary female composers has an uncertain future. In 1999, the Arts Section of the Federal Chancellery made an announcement to cut its subsidy.

The theatre sector is also *feminised*. The share of women in management positions increases, the poorer the theatres are. In the last 20 years, in spite of restructuring, management positions have been dominated by men. In professional fields such as stage management, dramaturgy, stage direction and production women are hardly, if at all, represented.

⁵⁷ Ostleitner, page 61.

⁵⁸ The permanent orchestras in the two opera houses (State and People's Opera) along with the Stage Orchestra of the Federal Theatre were analysed and evaluated.

⁵⁹ Ruiss 1997; own survey.

Table 8: Share of women as theatre art directors, 1997/8/9

	% Women
Federal theatres*	0
Municipal and state theatres**	13
Large-sized Viennese theatres**	20
Medium-sized theatres**	33
Independent groups**	45

Source: Federal Theatre Report, 1997/98, * Own research in 1999

These findings are also true for the media field: Both in the (public) Österreichischer Rundfunk (ORF –Austrian Broadcasting), as well as in the (private) print media sector, female managers are extremely rarely. Positions such as director general, director of radio broadcasting, commercial or technical directors are all male with the exception of one female programme director and another female cultural director at ORF-TV. Only one of the nine state (Länder) television stations is managed by a women.⁶⁰

As far as the 16 largest Austrian daily newspapers are concerned, there is only one single female editor-in-chief.⁶¹ This under-representation is a stark contrast to the high percentage of female graduates of journalism studies. Many women also face thick barriers to obtaining permanent positions.

In order to represent the specific interests of female journalists the "Women's Media Network" was founded in 1999 (In February 2000 it had 165 members). This interest group is open to women only and sees itself as a lobby group with a service character. One important reason for its creation was the fact that many female journalists did not feel adequately represented by the trade union with regard to gender-specific problems.

Feminised Fields

In addition to those fields in which women are slowly gaining access, there are certain sectors which are filled with women. These include fashion, the study of certain instruments (e.g. the harp), all types of art education in the non-academic field, children and youth literature and translation. Figures pertaining to university training show that in some years the female percentage in these fields may reach 100%.

Particular professions, which are, in the broader sense, to do with the "written/printed word", prove to be feminised. In addition to a high number of female translators / interpreters, librarianship and library affairs are particular areas characterised by high levels of female employment. In 1998, Austria had 2,554 public libraries (excluding university libraries and the National Library) which are under the responsibility of the respective local authorities and are freely accessible in cities and states (Länder). 69% of library directors are women; being the head of a public library, however, does not result in any fundamental improvement in the person's financial situation.

⁶⁰ Own research.

⁶¹ Press Handbook, 1999.

A study undertaken in 1996 revealed that 60% of the heads of municipal libraries in the Vienna region were women, yet only 20% of them were located in the highest earnings bracket.⁶²

Women are also well represented in the field of children and youth literature. It is put forward that women are dominating this field *per naturam*.

Generally it can be said that there is a higher percentage of women as mediators than as directors or producers. For example, the high number of women working in public relations departments at museums, among translators or in art education.

Individual Examples which Contradict the Overall Picture

There are individual cases which do not find themselves in any of the trends or categories listed so far. These are fields in which:

- both men and women are virtually equally represented
- the sector maintains high standing (prestige)
- the goal of equal pay for equal work has been achieved.

This scenario is not only an ideal, but is reality for those women working in scientific libraries; 47% of all directors of university libraries.

This case is all the more remarkable since these positions are high public service posts to which appropriate salaries are attached. The reason for this balance was a concrete political will which made it possible for the first women to break through the "glass ceiling" of library management.

In 1992, the National Library founded ARIADNE, an information and documentation office which houses a database of literature concerning gender and women's studies. According to one of its founders, Christa Wille, many fortunate circumstances came together in 1992 which made ARIADNE possible. The fact that Magda Strebl had been at the head of the Austrian National Library since 1984 certainly also played a part.⁶³

Another example, is the share of women working in the cultural section of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Here the trend reverses itself: the percentage of women increases from 47% among staff members to 57% among heads of department up to the head of section, who is a woman. Both examples illustrate the importance of so-called "gate keepers", who make it possible for other women to work in these fields:

People see it is a matter of fact that the best person could be a woman.
(High-ranking cultural civil servant)

⁶² Jahl, 1996.

⁶³ Falter Bildungsspecial, 10/1999.

Women are also equally represented on grant and prize giving juries of the Federal government.⁶⁴ Twenty years ago, women only represented 20% of the members, which shows a tremendous increase. This development is due in part to political guidelines or policies. While membership on such juries or selection committees is admittedly linked to social prestige, it does not lead to additional income or represent a professional management position.

A remarkable finding was the number of women working in the field of advertising and public relations. A *gender switch* has already taken place, yet not at the uppermost level of the hierarchy. In contrast to other areas where a surplus of well-educated female recruits has not resulted in a gender balance, there are clear signs that the glass ceiling in these fields can be penetrated; for example, the continuous increase in the percentage of female members of the Austrian Public Relations Association since 1986.

Table 9: % Share of female members of the Austrian Public Relations Association, 1986, 96, 99

	%
1986	25
1996	38
1999*	45

Source: Gründl, *own research.

5. Awards/Prizes and Grants

Federal Arts Prizes

Prizes from public institutions mean monetary and symbolic recognition of artistic work. An analysis of both the number of female artists who have received prizes as well as the monetary value of the prizes they obtain are essential.

An examination of the awards given by the Federal Government in five-year phases since 1980 reveals that, in some fields, no prizes were awarded to women. Whether this is due to the low number of women submitting work or to the juries' decisions could not be established.

The data presented here was extracted from art reports (Kunstberichten) of the Federal government⁶⁵. State prizes, promotional prizes (for "emerging artists") and honorary prizes awarded by the Federal Government were evaluated. Due to the low number of recipients, there are major fluctuations in the percentage figures. As far as award practices is concerned, it is to be noted that the "Große Staatspreis" (Great State Prize), which is awarded in various fields, only went to a woman twice – in 1980 for European literature and in 1995 for literature. In the fields of music, cultural journalism and performing arts (Grillparzer- and Raimundring, 1980 and 1985), no prizes were awarded to women in the years investigated. On the

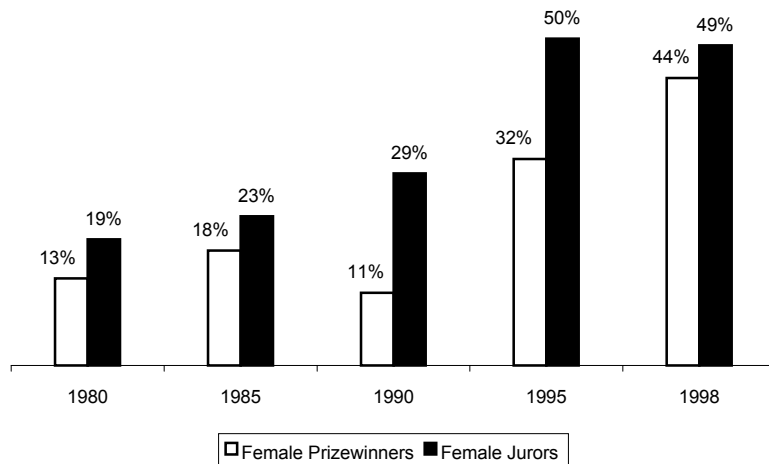
⁶⁴ The Federal government is now buying more works by female artists than it was 20 years ago. In 1980 there were only 16% women amongst the artists whose works were purchased, this figure reached 38% in 1997 (Kunstbericht 1980 and 1997). This latter figure corresponds approximately to the percentage of women in the visual arts.

⁶⁵ Prizes and grants in the arts field from public funds were counted. Not all regional cultural reports list prize-winners. Individual grants to male and female artists in the fields of music, performing arts, visual arts, film, photography, literature and cultural journalism were taken into consideration.

other hand, women do receive a share of promotional and honorary prizes (which are of lesser "value" than state prizes both from a financial and symbolic point of view).

As far as the relationship between prize winners and jurors is concerned, Fig. 4 shows that the share of women as both prize winners and jurors has increased since 1980.

Figure 4: Share of women prize winners and jury members, Federal Government, 1980-1998



Source: Federal Government, Art Report.

In 1999, the Minister for Women's Affairs established the Women's Art Prize (Frauen-Kunst-Preis). This prize should be awarded annually to one or up to a maximum of five female artists. In 1999, the prize was worth 700,000 ATS (the Great Austrian State Prize is worth 300,000 ATS) and was given to five female artists from the field of new media. The jury, which is newly appointed every year, was comprised of three women and two men.⁶⁶ But, since the Ministry does not exist any longer, the Prize will not be awarded again.

There are special promotional programmes for female artists and scientists given on behalf of private foundations, for example, scholarships offered by the Anne-Goldenberg-Foundation. This particular foundation provides an award of 100,000 ATS per annum to women, "who, in addition to their vocational or family obligations, are creatively involved in the field of visual arts or crafts".⁶⁷

In the Year 2000 the city of Linz founded the Marianne von Willemer-Prize for Literature. Two literature prizes of equal value (50,000 ATS each) are given in the fields of traditional media and the Internet. The prize is intended to combat the disadvantage women face in receiving awards for literature in Austria. (Marianne von Willemer-Prize concept)

⁶⁶ Source: Minister for Women's Affairs Homepage, telephone information August 1999.

⁶⁷ Quote from the Anne-Goldenberg-Foundation invitation text.

Prizes for Children and Youth Literature

The field of children and youth literature prizes can be considered feminised: comparatively low value prizes and high percentage of women recipients in this field than in other literary genres. Since 1985, 61% of all prize recipients in this area were women and they have received the largest percentage of overall prize money (the highest amount, however, went to a man in 1997 for work on children's poetry).

Table 10: Prize money awarded to women and men in the field of children and youth literature in ATS, 1985-1998

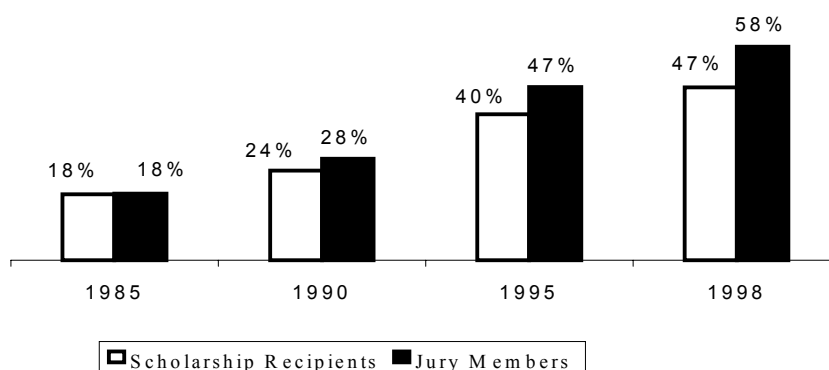
	Prize money received by women (ATS)	Prize money received by men (ATS)
1985	105.000	45.000
1990	95.000	95.000
1995	285.000	85.000
1998	225.000	52.500

The reason behind the predominance of women in this area may well be found in the female gender role, which allocates to them a greater level of competence in the education of children.

Federal Scholarships

The share of women who have won federal scholarships has never gone beyond 40% except in the fields of visual arts, when in 1980 and 1985 their share rose to 50% and in 1980 when 50% of the scholarships were given to women. In 1997, 33% of scholarships for film, photography and video art were given to women. It was not possible to establish a link between the share of female award winners and their representation on juries.

Figure 5: Share of female scholarship recipients and on selection juries, Federal Government, 1985-1998



Source: Federal Government, Art Report.

6. Professional and Political Strategies

Equality Legislation

Since the 1970s, the integration of equality into legislation has been the primary and constant objective of Austria's policy on women. Until today, Austrian politicians have pursued a dual approach, namely specific policies aimed at women as well as *mainstreaming*. In 1979, an under-secretary of state office for women was set up and became, in 1990, the Ministry for Women's Affairs. Following the change of government in February 2000, the Ministry was abolished.

There are separate pieces of equality legislation for the public and private sectors. Regarding the latter, an Equal Treatment Act was created in 1979, which forbids discrimination against women in a professional context within private companies. This Act is, however, limited to eliminating differences in payment schemes of collective agreements and the establishment of an equality commission for the implementation of the Act.⁶⁸

In 1993, a Federal Act covering the public sector was passed. In addition to new guidelines which were also applicable to the private sector, the Act contained the fiercely disputed "Ordinance for the Promotion of Women" clause; a positive discrimination or quota clause. The aim was to increase the share of women to 40% in all public sector employment groups.

Between 1994 and 1997 the States (Länder) introduced their own equal treatment acts which vary among them. In some states the act only extends to civil servants, in others it covers employment arrangements which are entered into with contractors and the state, the municipalities and associations of the boroughs.

Political Framework for Women and Cultural Policies?

Concerning cultural politics as well as gender politics, Austria has to face the problem that there does not exist a political program with clearly defined aims to address women in culture.

Prior to the change of government in early 2000, Austrian gender policy applied a mixture of mainstreaming and gender policy with the very general aim to improve the status of women and to reach equality of opportunity between men and women. This policy produced anti-discrimination laws for the public and the private sector and introduced a quota of 40% for the public sector. However, as shown throughout this report, this quota did not produce the results it was expect to generate and in some fields it can even be interpreted as having quite the opposite effect like e.g. in the case of universities.

Two Case Studies

In the course of our study, we found an example where political intervention was successful: the case of libraries. A specific political setting (a female Minister of Science and a female high ranking government official) helped the first women to become managers of the National Library and other university libraries. Once the ice had been broken, other women succeeded in acquiring top positions. Today, the gender representation among directors of scientific libraries is almost balanced.

⁶⁸ Feigl 1999, 25f.

The quota system, on the other hand, is a case of *bad practice*. One of the main problems with the quota system is that there are no systems in place to monitor whether or not the quota is being respected. The low level of female university professors is a case in point. Another problem with this approach is that it leaves room for backlash. For example, despite the fact that the Minister of Science and Transport had a clear mandate to increase the percentage of female university professors by positively discriminating in favour of recruiting the highest ranked female candidate, even if she was not the first on the list, their share remains inadequately low. In fact, women have been disappearing from candidate's list.

Cultural Policy and Administration

The formation of the new government this year saw a sub-division in the field of cultural politics and administration. Responsibility for universities is now held by the Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture. From a budgetary point of view, it has been the former Federal Ministry for Education and Cultural Affairs, which had the most resources at its disposal for art and culture (19% of federal expenditure for art and culture), followed by the Arts Section of the Federal Chancellery (14%) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2%). The remaining 65% (approximate) is distributed between the Austrian Federal Theatre Association (36%), the Federal State Theatres (2%) and the Federal Ministry for Sciences and Transportation which was responsible for the universities of art (20%) as well as for press and cultural promotion in the Federal Chancellery (6%).⁶⁹

The new Ministry for Education, Science and Culture is headed up by a woman and its cultural section by a man. He is responsible for the Federal museums, the national library, the sound archives and the court band, as well as the entire field of cultural heritage. The section responsible for universities and specialised colleges and academies is headed by a man, as is the department responsible for art colleges and academies; the ministerial re-shuffle has had no effect on gender distribution.

The Foreign Ministry is run by a woman as is its Arts Section. The female head of the cultural-political section of the Foreign Ministry is responsible for the 11 Austrian cultural institutes (one of which is headed by a woman) as well as the co-ordination of all cultural events abroad. In the cultural and press councils at the 13 Austrian representations abroad there were 8 women in 1999 (62%). As indicated in the table below, women are better represented in leading positions in the cultural sections of the Foreign Ministry than in all other areas of cultural administration.

The Arts Section at the Federal Chancellery is responsible for contemporary art and thus is the central focus of Austrian cultural administration; it is headed by a male Secretary of State. With a budget of approximately 1.2 billion it is only responsible for around 14% of Federal spending on Arts⁷⁰; its promotional policies are exemplary in character.

⁶⁹ Kunstbericht - Art Report, 1998.

⁷⁰ Jointly funded by federal, state and local authority budgets; this data does not, however, include local authorities.

Table 11: Share/number of women working in cultural administration, Federal level, 1999

	Personnel		Management		Head of section	
	Total	% W	Total	% W	Total	# W
BMUK - Section IV	30	63	5	40	1	0
BKA	54	74	10	20	1	0
BMAA - Section V	37	43	7	57	0	1
BMWV - Section I	--	--	22	23	1	0

Source: Telephone information, 1999.

Throughout the Länder women are less represented in politics and administration. In 1999 only one woman was in a leading, cultural-political function, namely a state councillor. Only 12% of the heads of department were women.

7. Conclusion

This report, as much as possible, is a systematic presentation of available data on the status of women working in arts and media professions in Austria. It has not been an easy job, for several reasons:

- Statistical material on the arts, culture and media is inconsistent
- There are almost no gendered statistics available
- Specific information on employment patterns in the arts and media fields does not exist and is further complicated by the fact that an increasing proportion of people find themselves in untypical employment patterns.
- Statistical tools are still orientated towards so-called "normal" employment and therefore do not take these patterns into consideration.
- The arts and media sector is extremely diversified in its operational structures. There are industrially structured organisations as well as freelance individuals, for example.

The first aim for the future should be to improve the data available, not least to provide more specific information about trends in cultural employment.

One of the few areas which provided enough material to conduct trend analysis over a twenty year period was education. The data clearly shows that the proportion of female graduates is already higher than male graduates. The main problem is that the students receive instruction from mainly male lecturers. In those fields of study which accounted for more than 50% female students, but have a constantly low share of female professors or lecturers, it is doubtful whether this situation will change overnight. Clearly targeted measures to promote women are required if their share is to increase in the future.

As far as the cultural labour market is concerned, the percentage of women is increasing at a rate faster than in other labour market sectors.

As far as women in decision-making positions are concerned, the patterns are quite evident: the more important the position, the fewer women will be found. Therefore it may be assumed that in socially less secured employment areas the number of women will increase.

As for the results we can sum up three main trends:

- an under-representation of women in leading positions
- the "feminisation" of areas with less prestige and capital
- gender balanced areas

The first trend is common: As evidenced in fields such as museums, the mass-media or film production, women are poorly or not represented at the senior management level. As for architecture this trend can be explained by comparing the number of female architects with their share as university students where they are badly represented. In other fields like museums we find that the percentage of female graduates in art history has never fallen below 60%.

The theatre sector is a illustrative example for the first trend as well as for the "feminisation" of areas with less prestige and capital. Senior management positions in the federal theatres have remained unchanged over the past 20 years and are dominated by men. The smaller the theatres, the more women are to be found in management positions and functions. The female proportion in senior management of independent theatres is nearly 50%. This gender distribution clearly shows that women are in the minority in those areas of high symbolic and/or monetary value.

Another example of this trend is the share of female directors of public libraries (69%), where a leading function does not bring proportional financial remuneration. Apart from those areas to which women have gradually gained access, there are also areas that clearly have a gender specific character e.g. fashion, playing the harp and all other forms of art education in the non-academic field. In time, the rate of female participation may rise to 100%.

Individual sector specific results that do not conform to such trends include scientific libraries where both women and men are more or less equally represented, even at the director level. This example is remarkable considering that such higher posts are senior public service positions, which command a corresponding improved level of remuneration. The reason for this balance was a concrete political strategy (between a female minister of Science and a female head of section), which resulted in the first women able to penetrate this *glass ceiling*.

Another interesting example is the gender distribution in the field of public relations. Longitudinal research shows that the amount of women in the *Public Relations Association* has increased between 1986 and 1996 from 25% to 38%. Considering the fact members of the Association occupy positions with responsibility (or decision-making powers), we can conclude that women have penetrated the glass ceiling in the last years. This result is all the more interesting as PR agencies are private, profit-making organisations where the influence of the state is limited.

Further examples of such deviations from the norm are the share of women working at all levels in the cultural section of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs and their share among jury members and prize-winners.

In general we can say that the existing gender legislation did not have an important impact on the situation of women in arts and media professions in Austria. However, an optimisation of the current measures can be realised on condition that there is a political intention to promote gender balance in the arts and media.

INDICATOR GRID

Libraries/ Archives/ Museums	Performing Arts	Music	Literature	Visual Art	Design/ Fashion	Architecture	Arts in new media	Film	Mass Media (Print, A-V, Internet)	Advertising
Federal Museums Federal State Museums Private Museums	Working female artists	Working female artists Orchestras	Working female artists	Working female artists	Working female artists	Working female artists	Working female artists	Working female artists	Female journalists	Professionals
Federal Archives Federal State Archives Town Archives Private Archives	Large/Medium/Small-sized theatres Venues/ Organisers - Ballet - Free Dance - Festivals	Concert Halls Opera Houses Staging Venues	Publishers	Galleries Museums Collections Art Houses	Exhibition Management		Media Art Houses Media Art Centres	Productions Companies	TV Radio Print media Internet	Agencies Promotional Departments in companies
Public Libraries Scientific Libraries National Library Federal State Libraries Libraries of other associations	Agencies	Agencies	Translation	Exhibition Management		Architecture Houses and Centres		Distributors	News Agencies	
	Radio Plays	Music Publishers	Readings Radio Plays	Publishers		Publishers	Publishers	Cinemas	Publishers	
Time limited exhibitions		Festivals	Book Fairs			Exhibitions	Festivals Exhibitions	Festivals	Festivals	Festivals
Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Companies exploiting third party rights Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Companies exploiting third party rights Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Companies exploiting third party rights Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Companies exploiting third party rights Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Associations and Interest Groups Training and Further Education Research	Associations and Unions Training and Further Education Research
Newspapers, Magazines	Newspapers, Magazines Music Critics Theatre Publishers	Newspapers, Magazines Music Critics	Newspapers, Magazines Literature Critics	Newspapers, Magazines Critics	Newspapers, Magazines	Newspapers, Magazines Architecture Critics	Newspapers, Magazines Critic	Newspapers, Magazines Film Critics	Juries Advisory boards Commissions	Juries
		Radio / TV	Literature Houses					TV		
		Recording studios Music Production Music Trade	Bookshops	Art- and Crafts Supply Trade				Film Copiers Publishers	Printers Distribution Trade	Distribution Advertising Board Providers
		Music Archives Politics Administration	Libraries Politics Administration					Videotheque		
Politics Administration	Politics Administration	Politics Administration	Politics Administration	Politics Administration		Politics Administration	Politics Administration	Politics Administration	Archives Politics Administration	Archives Politics Administration

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