



OECD Economics Department Working Papers No. 1272

Austria's separate gender
roles model was popular
in the past, but is becoming
a constraint
for comprehensive wellbeing

Rauf Gönenç,
Béatrice Guérard,
Isabelle Hassler,
Andreas Wörgötter

<https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jrp2s53tg1p-en>

ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT

**AUSTRIA'S SEPARATE GENDER ROLES MODEL WAS POPULAR IN THE PAST, BUT IS
BECOMING A CONSTRAINT FOR COMPREHENSIVE WELLBEING**

ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT WORKING PAPERS No. 1272

By Rauf Gönenç, Béatrice Guérard, Isabelle Hassler and Andreas Wörgötter

OECD Working Papers should not be reported as representing the official views of the OECD or of its member countries. The opinions expressed and arguments employed are those of the author(s)

Authorised for publication by Robert Ford, Deputy Director, Country Studies Branch, Economics Department.

All Economics Department Working Papers are available at www.oecd.org/eco/workingpapers

JT03387758

Complete document available on OLIS in its original format

This document and any map included herein are without prejudice to the status of or sovereignty over any territory, to the delimitation of international frontiers and boundaries and to the name of any territory, city or area.

OECD Working Papers should not be reported as representing the official views of the OECD or of its member countries. The opinions expressed and arguments employed are those of the author(s).

Working Papers describe preliminary results or research in progress by the author(s) and are published to stimulate discussion on a broad range of issues on which the OECD works.

Comments on Working Papers are welcomed, and may be sent to OECD Economics Department, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 Paris Cedex 16, France, or by e-mail to eco.contact@oecd.org.

All Economics Department Working Papers are available at www.oecd.org/eco/workingpapers

This document and any map included herein are without prejudice to the status of or sovereignty over any territory, to the delimitation of international frontiers and boundaries and to the name of any territory, city or area.

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

© OECD (2015)

You can copy, download or print OECD content for your own use, and you can include excerpts from OECD publications, databases and multimedia products in your own documents, presentations, blogs, websites and teaching materials, provided that suitable acknowledgment of OECD as source and copyright owner is given. All requests for commercial use and translation rights should be submitted to rights@oecd.org

ABSTRACT/RESUME**AUSTRIA'S SEPARATE GENDER ROLES MODEL WAS POPULAR IN THE PAST, BUT IS BECOMING A CONSTRAINT FOR COMPREHENSIVE WELLBEING**

Austria has a model of “separate gender roles” in work, family and life arrangements which persists despite efforts to better balance these roles. Irrespective of their education level - which is higher for new generations than men's - the majority of women with children withdraw fully or partly from the labour force until their children reach school age, and beyond. This pattern has provided the Austrian population with generally high quality family services, but buttressed gender inequalities, and deprived society from the activation of existing talent, and therefore from additional household incomes, fiscal revenues and potential output. Gender differences in life-time career and income paths, well-being, and participation patterns in public life generate increasing dissatisfaction in growing segments of society, among both women and men.

Key words: Austria, gender equality, care infrastructure, family policies

JEL Classification: A14, C53, D6, H23, H5, I31, J13

LE MODÈLE AUTRICHIEN DE RÉPARTITION DES RÔLES ENTRE LES HOMMES ET LES FEMMES ÉTAIT POPULAIRE PAR LE PASSÉ, MAIS DEVIENT UNE CONTRAINTE POUR LE BIEN-ÊTRE

En Autriche, le modèle de répartition des rôles entre les hommes et les femmes, que ce soit au travail, dans la famille ou plus généralement dans la vie, persiste malgré les efforts déployés pour assurer un meilleur équilibre entre ces différents rôles. Quel que soit leur niveau d'éducation (qui est désormais, pour les nouvelles générations, supérieur à celui des hommes), les femmes ayant des enfants vont, dans leur majorité, quitter partiellement ou totalement le monde du travail jusqu'à ce que leurs enfants aient l'âge d'entrer à l'école, voire au-delà. Ce modèle permet à la population autrichienne de jouir de services familiaux généralement de très bonne qualité, mais conforte les inégalités hommes-femmes et empêche la société d'exploiter les talents existants, la privant ainsi d'un surcroît de revenus des ménages, de recettes fiscales et de production potentielle. Les différences entre les sexes en termes de déroulement de carrière tout au long de la vie et de trajectoire de revenus, de bien-être et de modèle de participation à la vie publique sont sources de mécontentement dans des pans de plus en plus larges de la société, chez les femmes aussi bien que chez les hommes.

Mots-clés: Autriche, égalité des sexes, infrastructure de santé et de garde d'enfants, politiques familiales

Classification JEL: A14, C53, D6, H23, H5, I31, J13

TABLE OF CONTENTS

AUSTRIA'S SEPARATE GENDER ROLES MODEL WAS POPULAR IN THE PAST, BUT IS BECOMING A CONSTRAINT FOR COMPREHENSIVE WELLBEING	6
Introduction: specific gender roles restrict choices.....	6
Austria's separate gender roles model	6
The special role of families	6
The birth of children drives the parting of gender roles	7
Migrant families have more segregated gender roles	13
How Austria compares internationally on gender equality	13
Gender-specific well-being outcomes and emerging tensions.....	15
Education and skills	15
Employment and entrepreneurship.....	21
Income and wealth	28
Work-life balance	33
Health	37
Life satisfaction	39
Raising awareness about persisting gender gaps and their causes and consequences.....	42
Bibliography	43

Tables

1. Gender employment according to education and occupations.....	26
--	----

Figures

1. Family services are provided by women.....	7
2. Child raising separates gender roles.....	8
3. The two-stage separation of gender roles	10
4. The one full-timer/one part-timer family model prevails in Austria.....	11
5. Voluntary and involuntary childlessness	13
6. Gender equality in Austria in international comparison	14
7. Gender differences in educational attainment have disappeared	16
8. Girls and boys have different academic achievements	17
9. Study areas differ by gender	18
10. Adult skills	20
11. Employment patterns follow the separation of gender roles in the life-cycle.....	22
12. Female employment has been more resilient after the global crisis	23
13. Gender gaps in employment quality	25
14. Women have different entrepreneurial activities	27
15. Gender pay gaps in Austria.....	29
16. Drivers of the gender pay gap.....	30
17. Pay gaps are larger for low income workers.....	31
18. Work and life balances.....	34
19. Work/life organisation options are more limited in Austria	37
20. Gender gaps in health outcomes	39
21. A generally high degree of work and life satisfaction in Austria	41

Boxes

Box 1. Intra-household sharing of resources	28
Box 2. Pension subsidies to women.....	32
Box 3. Gender wealth gaps	33
Box 4. Reconciling work and family life in a competitive economy.....	36
Box 5. Gender differences in job satisfaction	40
Box 6. Promote awareness of gender gaps, their sources and consequences	43

AUSTRIA'S SEPARATE GENDER ROLES MODEL WAS POPULAR IN THE PAST, BUT IS BECOMING A CONSTRAINT FOR COMPREHENSIVE WELLBEING

By Rauf Gönenç, Béatrice Guérard, Isabelle Hassler and Andreas Wörgötter¹

Introduction: specific gender roles restrict choices

1. Austria's prevailing work, family and life arrangements are based on distinct "gender roles", notwithstanding recent progress towards better balance. The model has supported well-being outcomes, but now faces tensions. It allows families to provide extensive "in house" services to the population, in particular to the children and the elderly, but at the cost of a deep asymmetry in men's and women's unpaid and paid work responsibilities and career and income paths. Limiting aggregate labour force participation, it restricts choice between market and household services, and between private and public services. The model therefore reduces the opportunities for specialisation and productivity growth, which are key for maintaining living standards and a strong supply of social services for an ageing society.

2. This working paper describes the main features of the prevailing work, family and life arrangements and static and dynamic implications on Austria's main well-being dimensions according to the OECD's "How is Life?" framework. Gender differences which result from separate roles are reviewed in detail. The companion paper (Ziemann, 2015) discusses how this model can be "opened up", to achieve more gender justice, better balance in well-being and faster economic growth.

Austria's separate gender roles model

The special role of families

3. As underlined in the previous *OECD Economic Survey of Austria*, families play a particularly important role in Austria's economic and social organisation (OECD, 2013c). They have fulfilled this function through a separation of gender roles so far, which associates men with primarily breadwinning activities, and women, who generally participate only partly in the labour market, primarily with child rearing and family responsibilities. According to many indicators reviewed in this Survey, Austria is the most gender-differentiated among comparable countries – taken here as the other small, high-income European economies.

4. In all OECD countries families are the central unit of social organisation. "As the source of home production, they create economies of scale for people living together. They redistribute resources in cash, in-kind and time, and are an instrument of solidarity among individuals, households and generations. They provide protection and insurance against hardship" (OECD, 2011). Most Austrian households are couple families (53%), the majority of which (about 60%) have children. Nearly half of these families have one

1. Head of Austria Desk, Statistician, OECD; Federal Chancellery and Secondment for the preparation of the *2015 Economic Survey of Austria*; Head of Country Studies Division V, OECD, respectively. This Working Paper was published as Chapter 1 of the *OECD 2015 Economic Survey of Austria*. The authors are grateful for major contributions received from OECD colleagues Monika Queisser, Willem Adema, Carlotta Balestra, Robert Ford, Vincent Koen, Mathilde Mesnard, Alvaro Pereira and EDRC delegate Karin Rysavy; as well as substantial help from Professors Birgit Sauer, Bernd Marin, Isabella Buber-Ennsner, and public officials Franz Eiffe, Tamara Geisberger, Rolf Gleissner, Veronika Haschka, Käthe Knittler, Katharina Mader, Sybille Pirklbauer, Christoph Schneider and Margit Schratzenstaller-Altzinger. Special thanks are due to Volker Ziemann for inspiring joint research and discussions, and to Heloise Wickramanayake for excellent editorial assistance.

child, 40% two children and 15% three or more. Couples are more widespread in the prime age population: three quarter of persons in the age group 18-49 live in couple. The share of families with three children or more, which potentially help approach the minimum demographic replacement rate of 2.1 children per family, is particularly low.

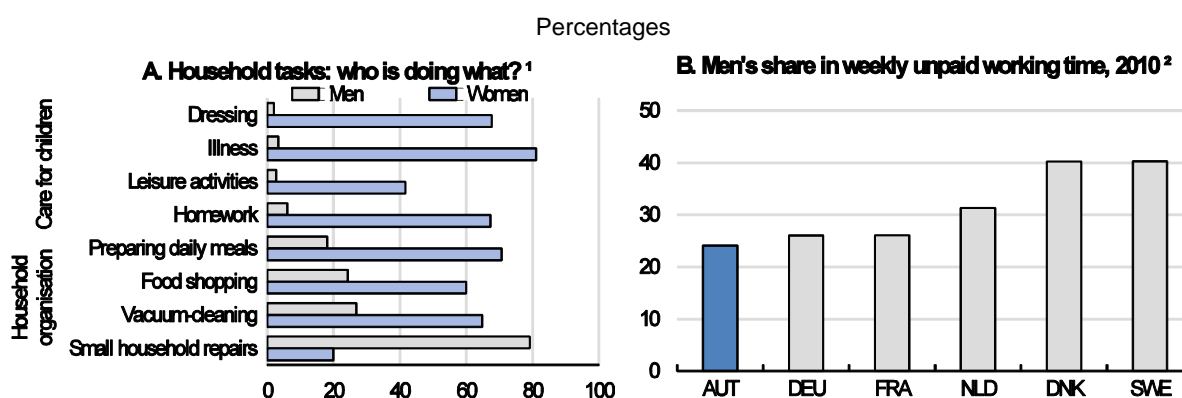
The birth of children drives the parting of gender roles

5. Separation of gender roles emerges principally after the birth of children. Upon graduation from school, the majority of women and men, living together or not, start to work full-time and experience little asymmetry in household tasks. Only a minority engage in traditional marriage with a male breadwinner and a female homemaker. The aggregate labour force participation of young women and men between 25 and 34 is one of the highest in the OECD: in 2014, 84% of young women and 91% of young men were in the labour force.

6. The birth of a child often triggers the separation of labour market roles. In 2014, 90% of childless young men and 91% of childless young women were in the labour force. After the birth of a child the rate increased to 95% for young fathers but declined to 76% for young mothers. Participation rates remain different as the child grows up, further children are born, and part of the population faces care responsibilities for elderly parents. The typical life cycle of mothers with young children is characterised by a long period of parental leave, followed by a long period of part-time work, at least until the youngest child completes compulsory school. During this period, mothers bear the bulk of child-rearing duties. Survey results show that 82% of them stay with children in case of illness, 71% are the primary help for children with school homework, and 63% of the mothers take children to school (Buber-Ennsner *et al.*, 2014).

7. Whereas for couple families without children home tasks (including cleaning, shopping, doing dishes etc.) are rather evenly shared (except in the area of cooking where women prevail more frequently), the birth of a first child triggers a separation of roles in non-child related areas as well. Recent surveys show that in up to 70% of families with children, shopping, vacuum-cleaning etc. tasks are today carried out by mothers. Women generally perform the role of supplier of family services, which persists when they resume part- and then full-time work. The separation of roles goes well beyond what is found in comparable countries (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Family services are provided by women



1. Share of respondents who stated that the task is always or usually done by her/him.

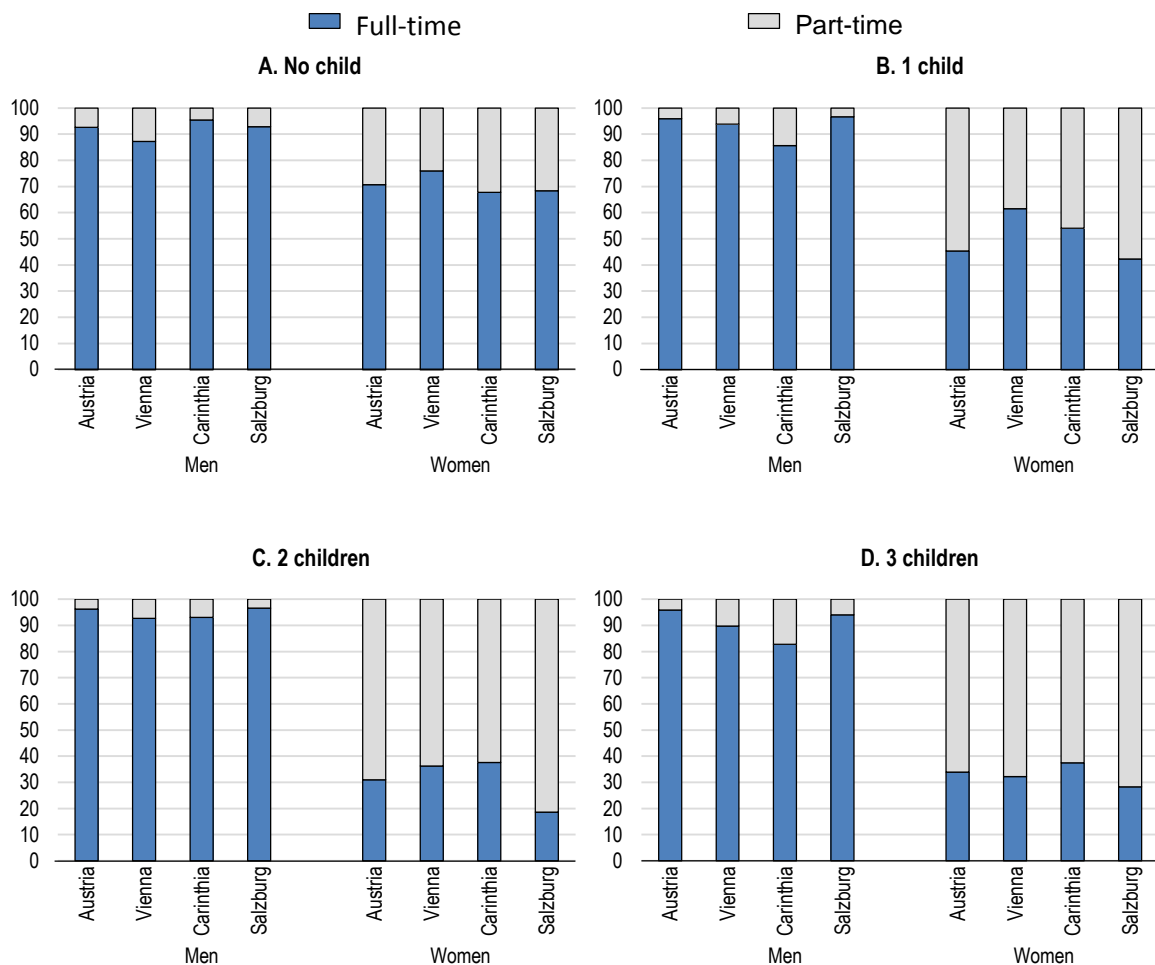
2. European Working Condition Survey 2010; Unpaid work is calculated for 7 days a week and includes hours of caring for and educating own children (included are persons with children aged less than 18 living in the same household) as well as hours for household/cooking-tasks; EWCS includes only persons in employment/self-employment.

Source: Generations and Gender Survey Austria Wave 1; European Commission (2012), *The Role of Men in Gender Equality – European Strategies and Insights*, DG Justice, December, Brussels.

8. This pattern is more prevalent in certain regions than in others (Figure 2). In Vienna for example, mothers re-enter the labour market more rapidly, transiting more swiftly from maternity leave to part-time work, and from part-time to full-time employment. However, subsequent to the birth of the second child, the national pattern prevails in Vienna as well. In other *Länder*, more mothers stay away from employment and for longer. The regional spread of separate gender roles appears inversely proportional to the availability of out-of-family care and education units for children. Only in Vienna is the majority of children in care places compatible with full-time work of parents, in other *Länder* a very small share of children are enrolled in such facilities² (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Child raising separates gender roles

Estimates of employment shares according to full-time/part-time and number of children, 2013, in %



Source: Estimates by the OECD Secretariat on the basis of Labour Force Surveys microdata from Statistik Austria.

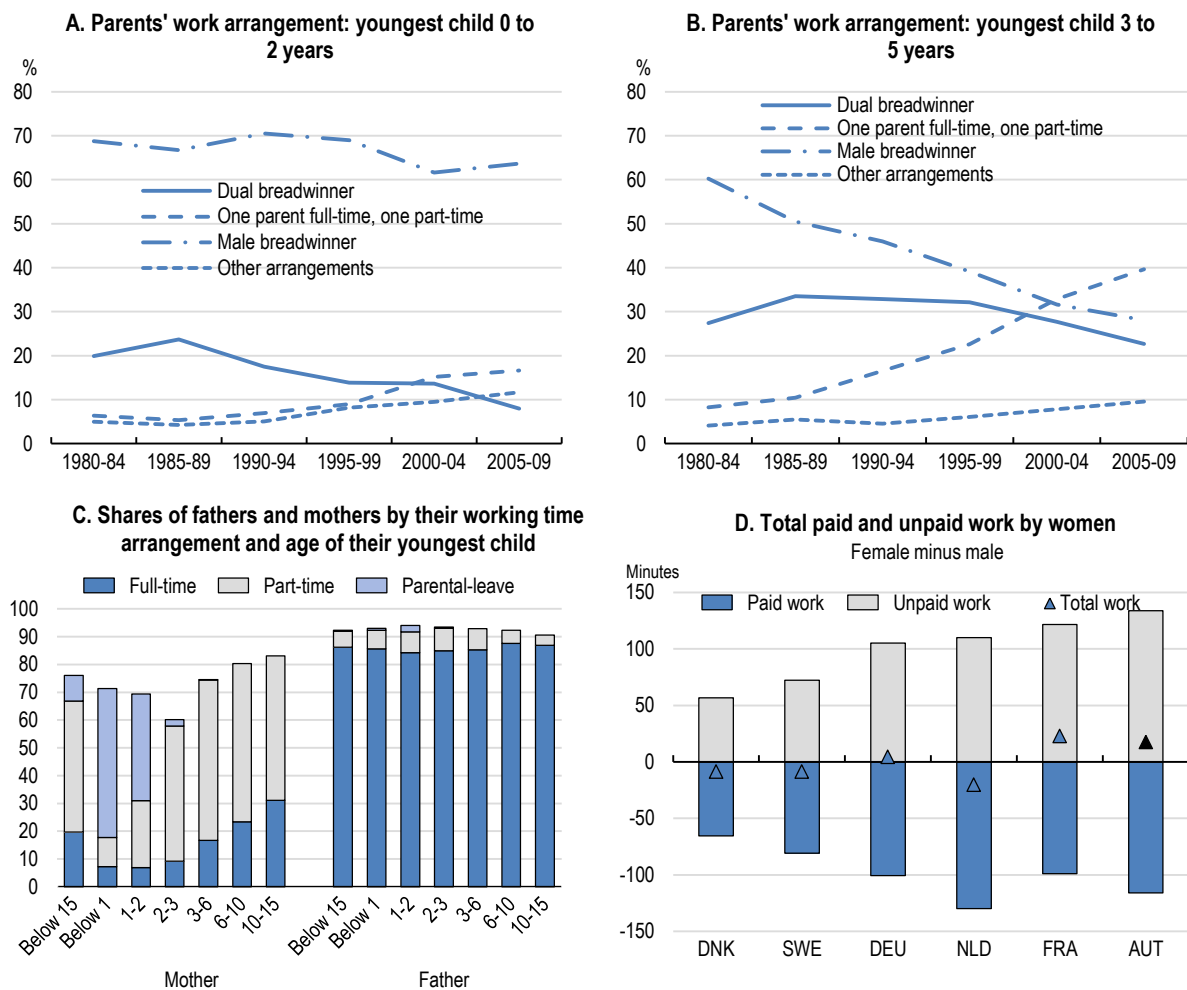
2. Statistik Austria has developed an indicator to assess if an individual child care facility is compatible with full time work – the so called “VIF” (Indicator of Reconciliation between Family and Work). To be eligible, a facility must be open at least 45 hours per week, 47 weeks a year, and offer lunch. Only in Vienna is the majority of children in care places meeting the VIF criteria. In other *Länder*, a very small share of enrolled children attends such facilities (See Ziemann, 2015).

9. A consequence of this divergence of roles is fathers' limited involvement in the development of their children. The Austrian Institute of Family Studies reports that fathers' share in total parental leave days taken is less than 5%, significantly less than in comparable countries (Buber-Ennsner and Panova, 2014). Less than one fifth of fathers take some parental leave, and when they do it is of short duration. The ratio of fathers to mothers using their entitlement to parental leave is 10%, while it reached respectively 75%, 60% and 48% in Sweden, Netherlands and Denmark. Austria has at present the highest prevalence of the opinion that children are being excessively deprived of their fathers' presence. An EU study identified Austrian fathers as outliers in this area (European Commission, 2012a).

These separate roles in families can be characterised by a two-stage pattern (Figure 3):

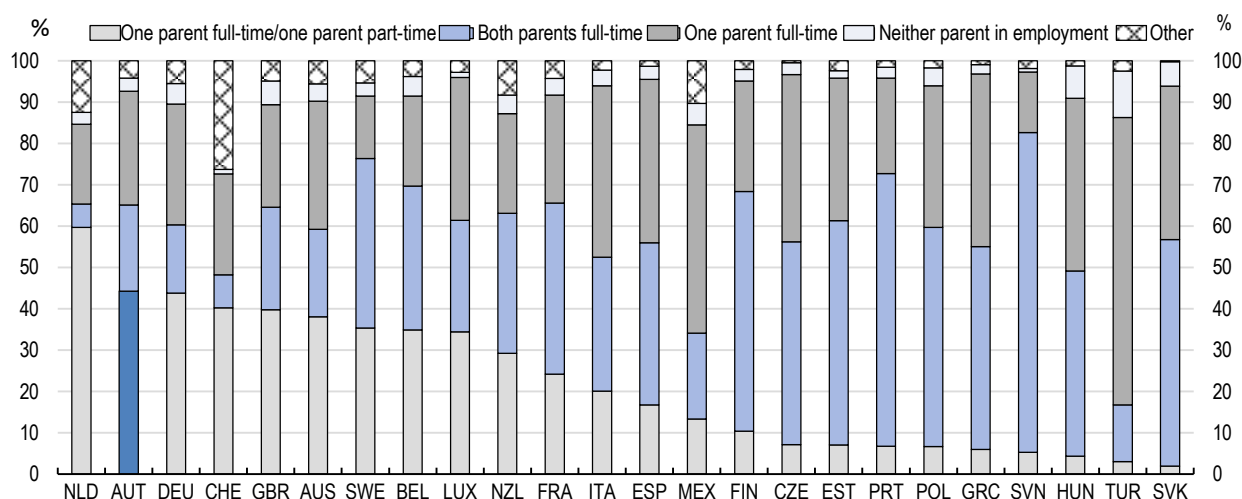
- i. After the birth of a child, the mother withdraws entirely from the workplace for about two years. In up to 70% of families with children below 2, there is only one working parent. The proportion of part-time working mothers at this stage is only 15%.
- ii. Once the child reaches age 2, most mothers take a part-time job. Across couple families, a combination of one full-time and one part-time working parent then dominates. The share of families with two full-time working parents (with children below five) contracted steadily over the past two decades and is now below 20%.

10. This model pertains to families in all socio-economic conditions, irrespective of the educational background of parents (Figure 3, Panels A and B). It stays in place for a long period in the life cycle of the family, usually until the youngest child completes secondary education at about age 15. In families with children below 15, the majority of mothers continue to work part-time (Figure 3, Panel C). Even at compulsory school age, education support from family – from the mother in practice - is needed as a result of Austria's typical half-day schooling schemes. In particular in small, rural municipalities, few extra-curricular activities are available because of budget constraints.

Figure 3. The two-stage separation of gender roles

Source: Berghammer (2014), "The return of the male breadwinner model? Educational effects on parents' work arrangements in Austria, 1980–2009", *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol. 28, No. 4; Statistik Austria; OECD (2012), *Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789254179370-en>.

11. The separation of roles determines the structure of employment at the macroeconomic level. Austria has the second largest share of one full-timer and one part-timer families in the working population among all OECD countries (Figure 4). The share of families with one breadwinner, at 30%, is also the highest among comparable countries.

Figure 4. The one full-timer/one part-timer family model prevails in AustriaEmployment patterns among couple families with children aged 0-14, 2011¹

1. Data refer to 2010 for Mexico, Sweden and Switzerland.

Source: OECD (2014), Family database (www.oecd.org/social/family/database.htm).

12. As partners in couple families reach age 40-45, care responsibilities for elderly parents come into play. The majority of dependent elderly are taken care of in home settings, requiring a substantial amount of attendance by family members and bearing on their work and life arrangements (European Commission, 2014c).³ According to one survey, around 7% of Austrians in the age group 40-44, 9% of those between 45 and 49, and more than 10% of those between 50 and 80 had elderly care duties (Hörl, 2005). The Chamber of Labour reports that, on average, 10% of working age women, and 6% of men, care for an elderly dependant (Chamber of Labour, 2014). In addition, many households have organisation and supervision responsibilities for rotating home carers who play a particularly important role in Austria (home carers for the elderly are generally of foreign origin and alternate three week-long stays with families with three week absences). With the ageing of the population, and the seemingly enduring preference of all involved for home-based care (less than 20% of dependents were in institutional care in 2013) these responsibilities will likely continue to be borne by women. There are indications that women with such responsibilities are more intensely involved than men. On the other hand about 39% of women working part-time point to care responsibilities (for children or elderly) as a major reason for working part-time, against only 4% for male part-timers (European Commission, 2015).

13. In addition, there is overlap between work and grandparenthood responsibilities. This principally concerns grandmothers providing mostly care for grandchildren. In general daughters receive support from their mothers - childcare remaining therefore a female responsibility across generations. According to EU's Surveys of *Health, Ageing and Retirement (SHARE)* and *Generations and Gender (GGP)*, more than half of all grandparents in Austria contribute to the family tasks of their offspring. This is facilitated by the stability of family settlements, notably in "rural" areas where more than 55% of the Austrian population

3. More than 80% of about 450 000 long-term dependents, which together account for 5.4% of total population are taken care of at home. In this population, there are seven levels of care needs recognised by the Austrian social security system: 23% of dependents were at level 1 in 2013, requiring at least two hours of presence of a carer per day. From level 4, dependents need continuous surveillance; 30% were in this situation. At levels 6 and 7, which concern 6% of dependents, they must have day and night intense care.

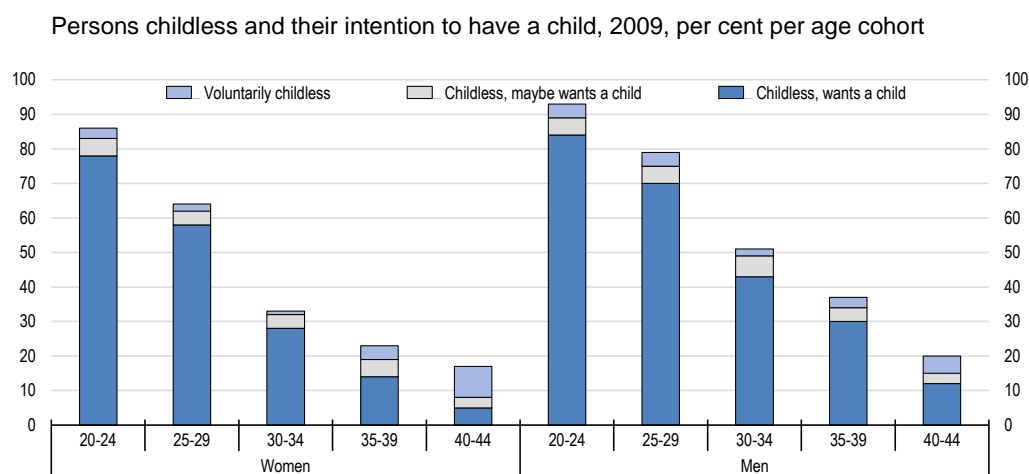
live.⁴ One third of grown-up children continue to live in the same dwelling as their parents and 85% of grandparents have at least one grown-up offspring living closer than 25 km.

14. The divergence of gender roles alters the balance between paid and unpaid work at the level of society. According to *Statistik Austria*, total work effort provided by the working age population is still slightly biased toward unpaid work (for 51% in 2009). This keeps households' effective labour force participation, earned incomes, purchase of services and aggregate GDP at a lower level than in alternative arrangements which prevail in comparable countries. Even if time use surveys do not permit comprehensive international comparisons in this area, indirect indicators highlight that a different balance between market and household services prevails in Austria (Figure 4).

15. The separation of gender roles is, however, not the only form of work and life organisation in force in Austria. Many women and men do not fit into the prevailing model, even if these alternative arrangements do not benefit from the same institutional and infrastructural support:

- i. There are many sole adult households Single person households (including elderly survivors) account for 34% of households, against an OECD average of 28%. Sole parents with dependent children form a larger group in Austria than in comparable countries (accounting for about 10% of households, against 6% in Germany and 5% in Denmark and Switzerland, according to the OECD Family Database). Single mothers use more time for paid work and less for child care (Statistik Austria, 2009).
- ii. Households with dependent children with two full-time workers. The share of such families is about 20%. This is significantly below the OECD average of 37%, but remains above certain comparable countries (these households represent 9% of families with children in Switzerland and 5% in the Netherlands).
- iii. Childless households. This is a varied group, including households with grown-up children and households with no children. Their share in all households is above 60%. According to the Austrian Institute of Family Studies, 20% of women born in the 1970s are projected to remain childless, half of them against their initial will. In 2009, only less than 10% of people below age 40 wished to remain childless (Figure 5).

4. According to the OECD methodology, "rural areas" designate regions with less than 150 inhabitants per sq km. Following this methodology Austria as a whole qualifies as "predominantly rural".

Figure 5. Voluntary and involuntary childlessness

Source: Buber-Ennser et al. (2014), Families in Austria 2009-2013: Descriptive Findings on Partnerships, Fertility Intentions, Childbearing and Childrearing, Vienna Institute of Demography, Vienna.

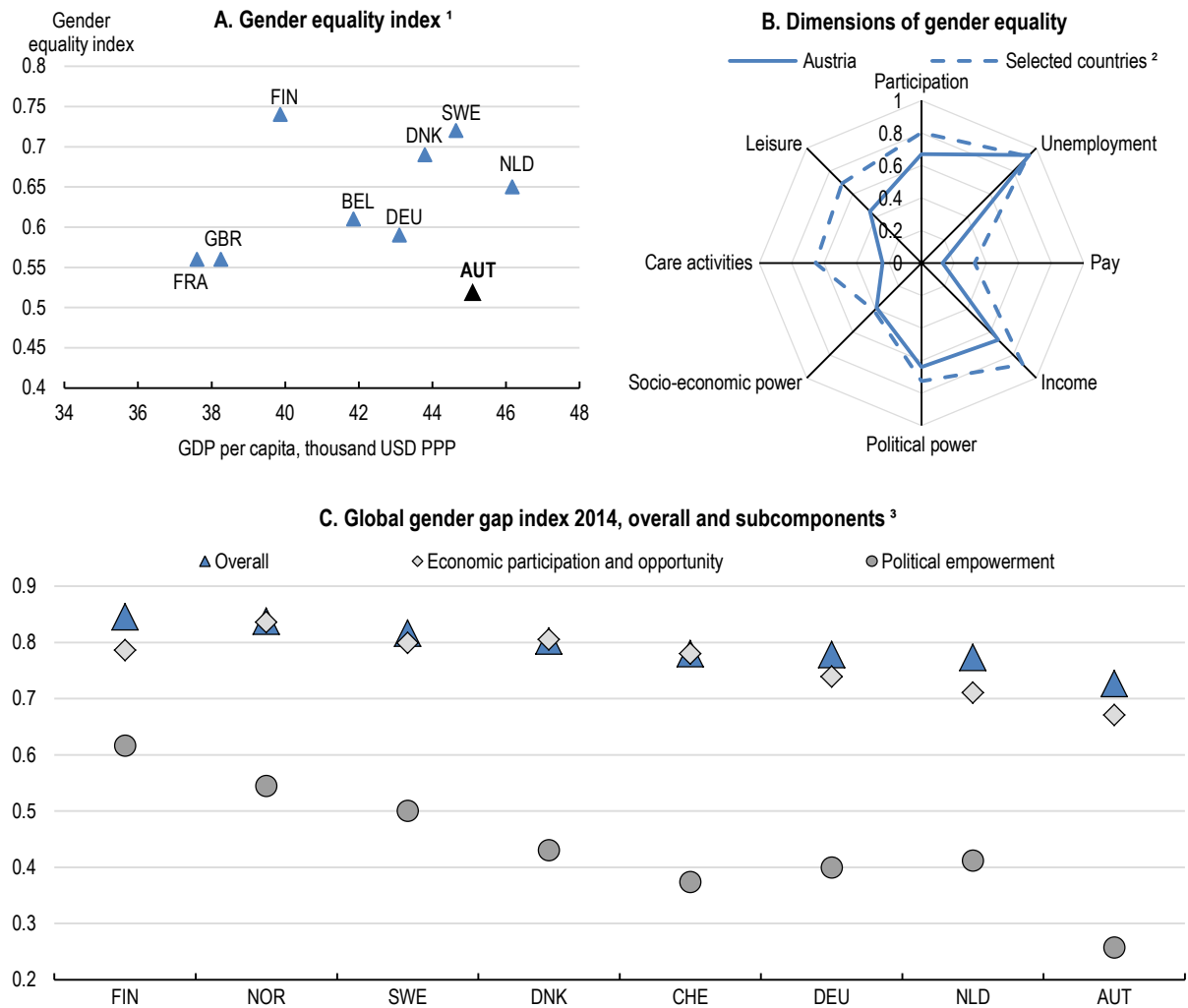
Migrant families have more segregated gender roles

16. Migrant families now account for a sizeable share of Austria's population. Many of these families display deeply separate gender roles, often with the support of Austria's prevailing institutional and infrastructural framework. Many migrant women, especially those with a low educational background, do not participate in the labour market at all and children are raised entirely within families until the compulsory pre-school age of five. Until 2010, compulsory school started in the Fall following a child's sixth birthday, an additional compulsory pre-school year was introduced in 2010.

17. As parents may be less well equipped than their Austrian counterparts to provide a fully adequate education for the social and economic integration of children (in particular with respect to adequate language development), this raises a special challenge (Knittler, 2011). Groups facing the largest difficulties appear to be migrants from Turkey and former Yugoslavia. More than 60% of women with a Turkish migration background are inactive on the labour market and those working generally have a low-paid job. Their absolute poverty rate is high at 20%, against less than 5% for Austrian women. The early socialisation and education of their children in an exclusively family context risks perpetuating human capital disadvantages.

How Austria compares internationally on gender equality

18. Separate roles in work and family life have a bearing on Austria's ranking in international gender equality comparisons. Austria regularly stands out as a very "gender unequal" country in these comparisons, even if available indexes capture only imperfectly the existing gaps (Figure 6). The following section reviews if and how these inequalities affect key well-being dimensions as identified in OECD's "How is Life?" framework.

Figure 6. Gender equality in Austria in international comparison

1. A higher score means more gender-equal. This indicator has been computed in Plantenga, et al. (2009). It is based on eight indicators: labour force participation, which measures the gap in employment rates between men and women; unemployment, which compares their rate of unemployment; wages and earnings, which captures the average gap between men's and women's hourly earnings; income, which tracks the difference in absolute poverty rates in single households; political participation which is based on the share of men and women in parliament; socio-economic power, which represents the gender gap in the number of senior officials and managers; distribution of care responsibilities, which reflects the difference in caring time for children; and access to leisure, which measures the gap in daily time spent on leisure.
2. Average of Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden.
3. The Global Gender Gap Index was first introduced by the World Economic Forum in 2006 as a framework for capturing gender-based disparities and tracking their progress. It examines the gap between men and women in four fundamental categories: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. These subindexes cover 14 different variables. The overall index is an un-weighted average of each subindex score. Economic participation and opportunity subindex contains three concepts: the participation gap, the remuneration gap and the advancement gap. The political empowerment subindex measures the gap between men and women at the highest level of political decision-making. The economic participation and political empowerment dimensions capture most of Austria's gap.

Source: OECD, National Accounts database and Plantenga, et al. (2009), "Towards a European Union Gender Equality Index", Journal of European Social Policy, Vol.19; World Economic Forum (2014), The Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Geneva.

Gender-specific well-being outcomes and emerging tensions

19. Concerning gender gaps in well-being outcomes in advanced countries, the OECD's latest synthesis report suggests that "despite extraordinary achievements in the status of women over the last century, changes were neither uniform nor universal, and gender equality remains an unattained goal" (OECD, 2013b). This diagnosis applies well to Austria: there has been far-reaching gender convergence in many dimensions of well-being, but major gaps persist.

20. Austria has achieved rather good performances in all of the 11 dimensions of OECD's Well-Being framework, as highlighted in the 2013 *OECD Economic Survey*. This Survey focuses on six dimensions from a gender perspective: *i)* education and skills, *ii)* employment and entrepreneurship, *iii)* income and wealth, *iv)* work-life balance, *v)* health, and *vi)* life satisfaction.

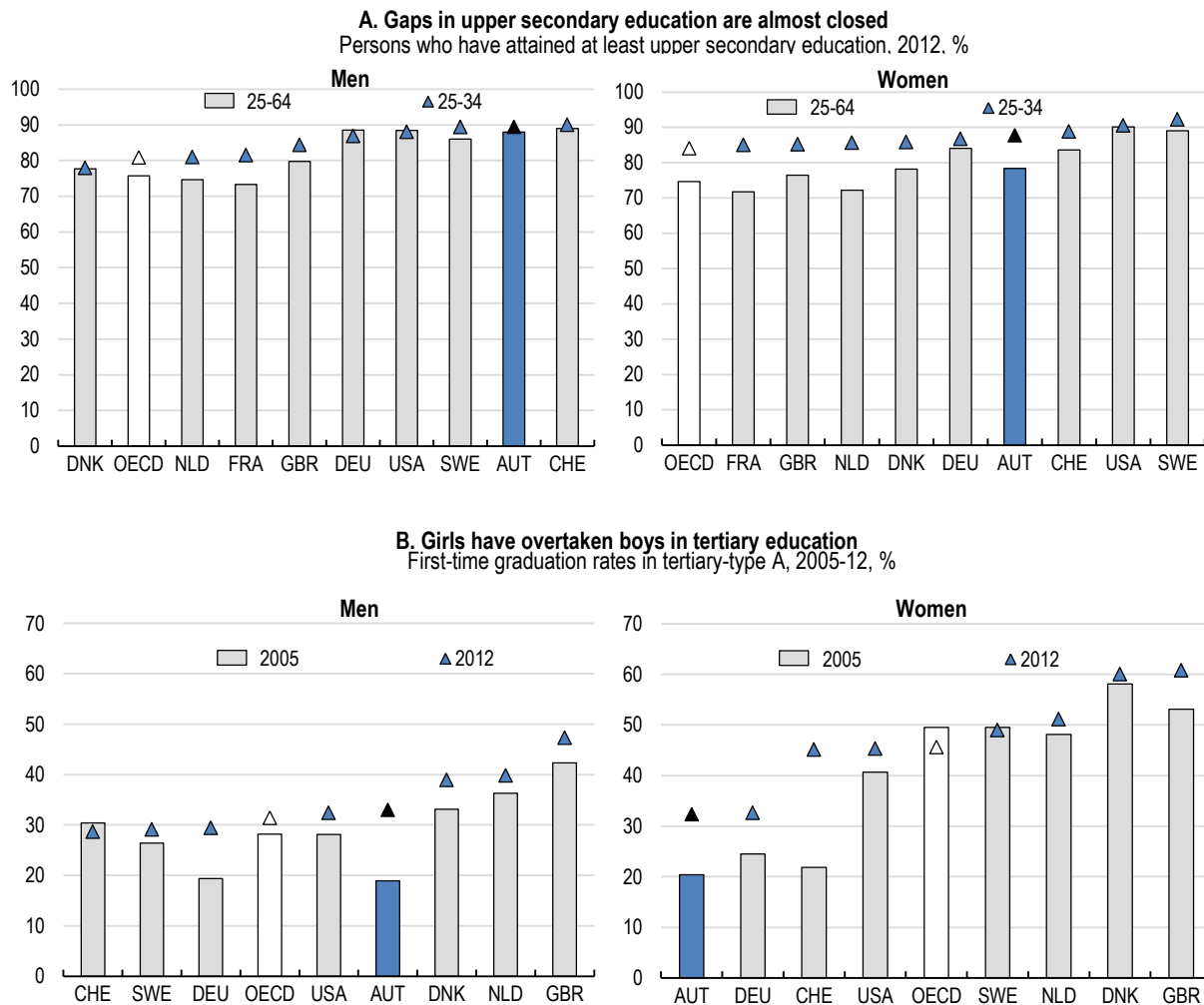
Education and skills

21. Educational achievements shape life opportunities and drive many other well-being outcomes. They not only determine employability and earnings, but also widen life options, enhance health, and foster civic participation.

22. Women's educational performance lagged that of men's over most of the 20th century, but there has been steady convergence in recent decades. Young women now surpass young men in terms of tertiary enrolment, and do better on several indicators of academic proficiency. Yet, they are under-represented in education areas that offer the most financially rewarding job opportunities. Gender-specific educational achievements and the divergence of gender roles in society seem to mutually reinforce each other. The segregation in education can be illustrated by gender-differences in *i)* educational enrolment, *ii)* academic proficiency, *iii)* study area choices, and *iv)* life-long education and adult skills.

Enrolment

23. Austrian men's historically higher educational attainments have now faded out. The youngest girl cohorts have approached boys in upper secondary enrolment and surpassed them in tertiary enrolment. With a lag, this convergence affects the educational attainment profile of the entire working age population (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Gender differences in educational attainment have disappeared

Source: OECD Education database.

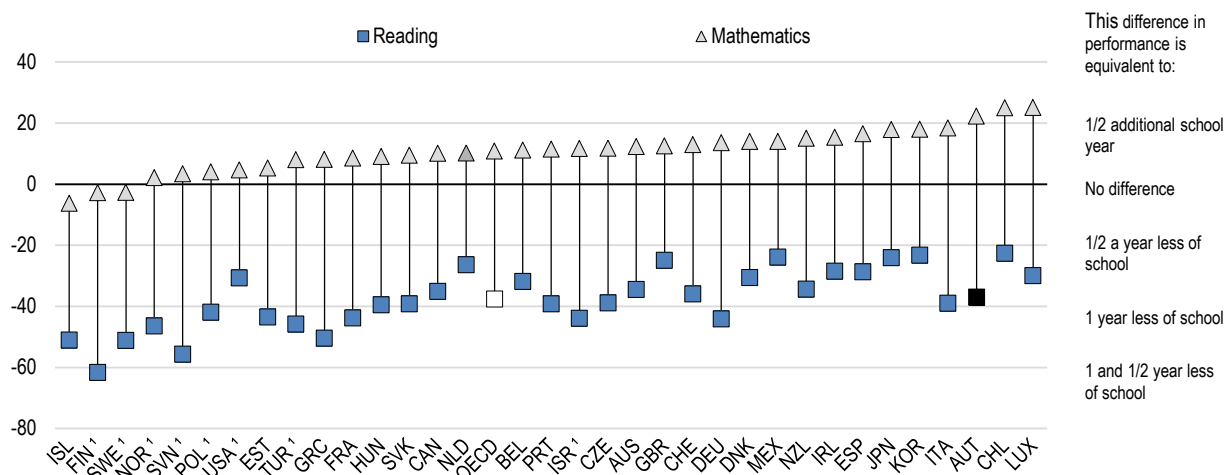
24. This convergence in enrolment has however taken place with a low degree of social mobility. According to OECD (2014a) Austria has still a particularly large gender gap in social mobility in educational attainment: 33% and 25% of men and women have respectively attained higher educational levels than their parents, against OECD averages of 40% and 38%. Austria is at present one of the only two OECD countries where women's intergenerational educational mobility is inferior to men's (Schneebaum *et al.*, 2013).

Proficiency

25. Girls' reading skills now exceed those of the boys in Austria, but boys perform better in mathematics (Figure 8). Over the past decade girls' superiority in reading has weakened, and their handicap in mathematics increased. Austria is the OECD country where girls' relative position eroded most between 2003 and 2012 (OECD, 2015a).

Figure 8. Girls and boys have different academic achievements

Difference in Pisa score points (boys' scores minus girls' scores), 2012



1. Pisa scores difference in mathematics is not statistically significant for this country.

Source: OECD (2015). The ABC of Gender Equality in Education: Aptitude, Behaviour, Confidence, PISA, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264229945-en>.

Study area choices

26. Girls and boys tend to select different study areas in Austria at all levels of education (Figure 9). These differences have changed little over the past 30 years and some of them have widened rather than narrowed. The inertia in interest areas may reflect the strong emphasis on gender roles from early school years. For example, boys and girls used to attend separate handicraft and needlework lessons until 1979,⁵ and are still split for physical education classes. Their focus seems to diverge relatively early. For example, Austria is the OECD country where the gap between girls and boys in “reading enjoyment” is the widest. When asked about professional expectations, 15 years olds express highly different inclinations: boys show much more interest for technical and research areas and girls for social, artistic and language-related fields (Eder, 2012). These differences seem to have become more pronounced in the 2000s (Lassnigg et al., 2014) and a recent study confirmed their persistence in tertiary choices (Freisinger et al., 2014).

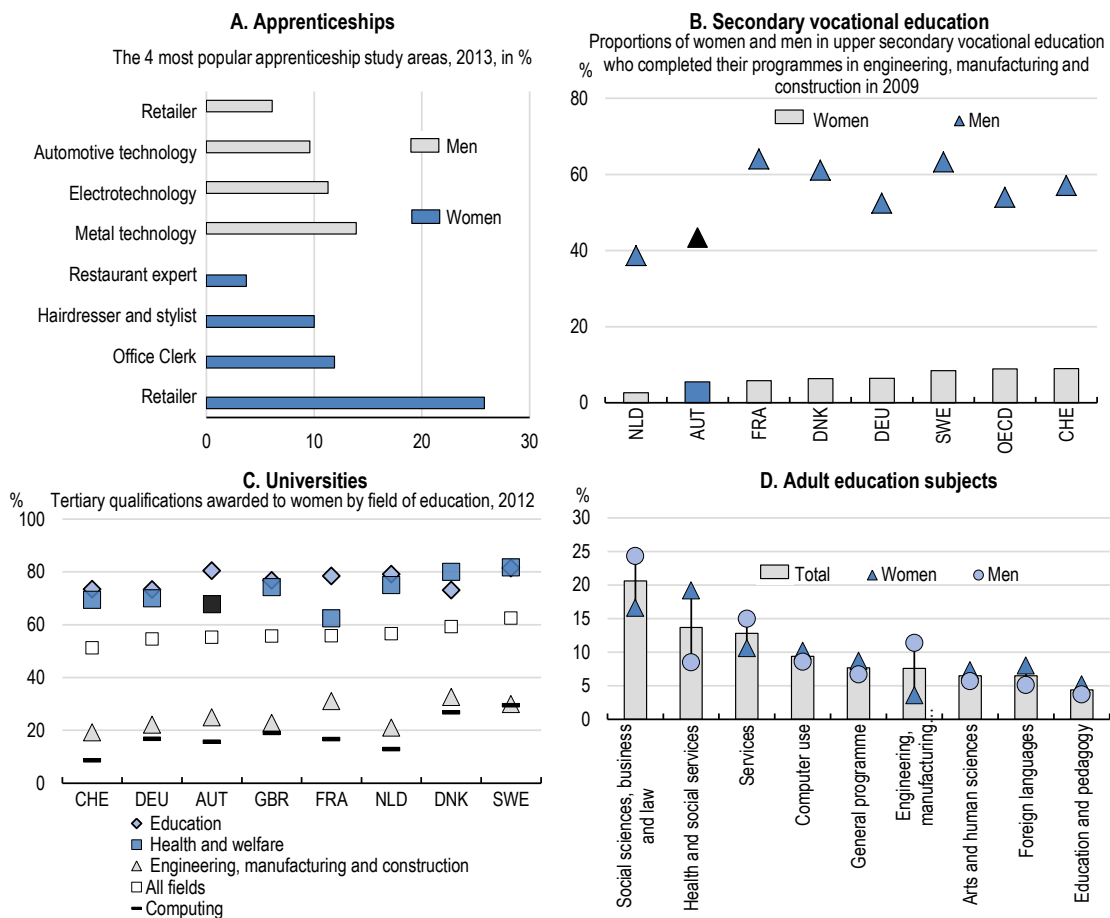
27. In part, these divergences reflect anticipated gender roles. Boys lean toward fields with higher and safer revenues, while for girls, professions with multiple employment opportunities (across geographical areas) and those compatible with career interruptions and part-time work may be more attractive. Indeed, a study documented the restrained geographical mobility of married women, which hinders their employability and earnings (Mairhuber, 2009). At the time of that study, the public employment service classified 50% of registered female unemployed as “hard to place”; in 65% of the cases this was due to their “restricted geographical mobility”.

28. The divergence of study fields occur in apprenticeships, secondary vocational education and tertiary education:

5. Since respectively 1987 and 1993, irrespective of gender, both boys and girls can attend handicraft (*textiles Werken*) or technical (*technisches Werken*) lessons. Since 2012, the two subjects have been merged into one in “New Secondary Schools”.

- In apprenticeships (which remain the largest education stream in Austria) choices are highly gender-specific. Half of all girl apprentices are in retail trade, office work, and hairdressing, while more than half of young men are in technical fields (Figure 9, Panel A).
- Study fields are equally gender-specific in secondary vocational education. The share of female graduates in childhood education, social work and support services is 95%, 93% and 90% respectively, but it falls below 20% in engineering. Some 75% of technical school students are boys while 80% of economic school students are girls (Figure 9, Panel B).
- Girls and boys make very different area choices in tertiary education as well. Girls mostly enter health, education and social professions, but are utterly underrepresented in engineering and computer sciences. The proportion of female graduates in scientific areas is one of the lowest in OECD (Figure 9, Panel C).
- An OECD review found that study areas in Austria are excessively driven by student demands and not enough by labour market needs (Musset *et al.*, 2013). Austria has a particularly high share of over-qualified workers, whose occupation does not match their field of study. This especially concerns women.

Figure 9. Study areas differ by gender



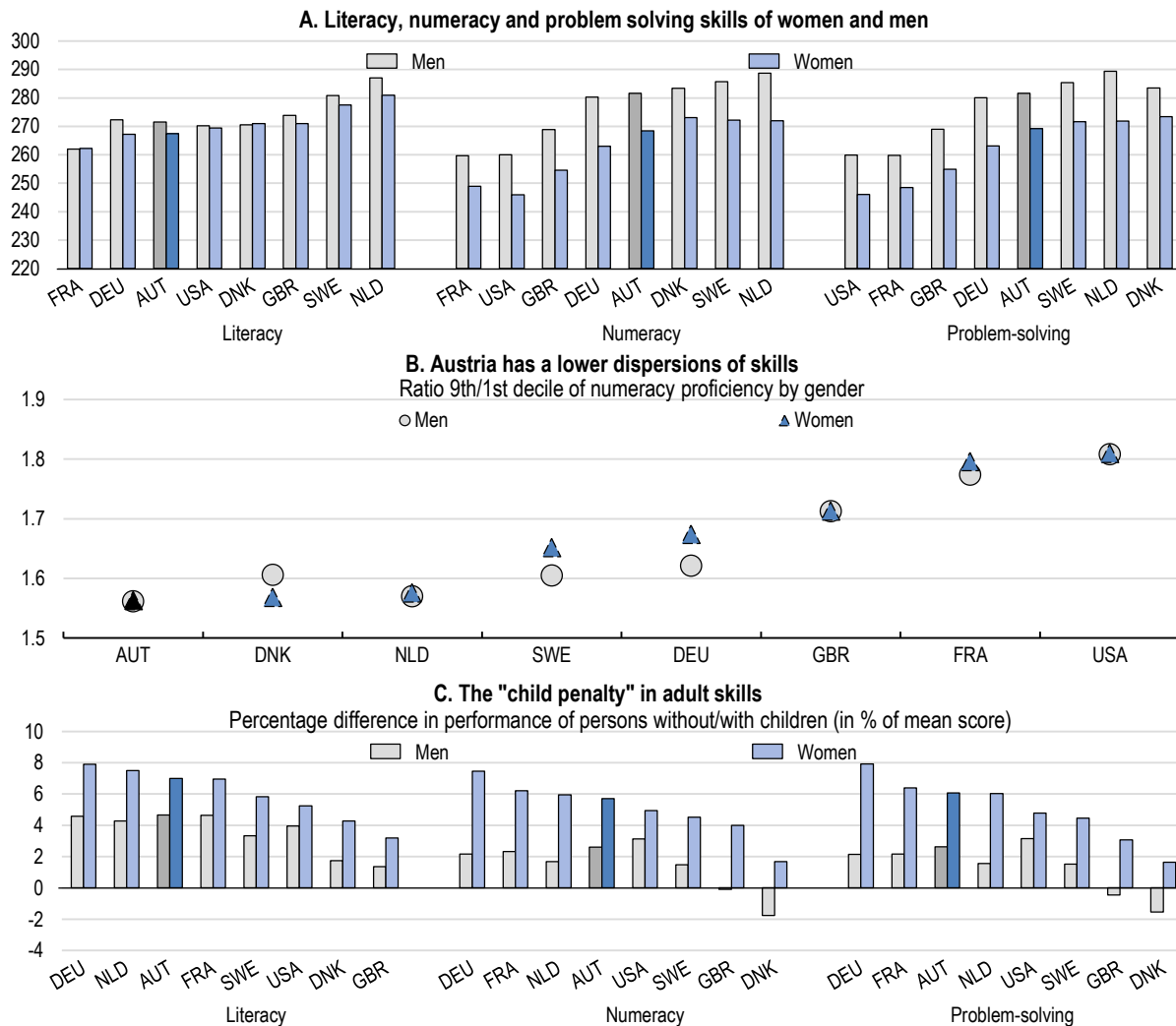
Source: Statistik Austria; OECD (2012), Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now; OECD (2014), Education At a Glance (Table A3.3 online only); Statistik Austria, Erwachsenenbildungserhebung 2011/2012 (AES).

Life-long education and adult competencies

29. The qualification profile of the working age population reflects individuals' earlier education and subsequent professional experience. The OECD PIAAC survey revealed the following characteristics of Austrian adults' labour market skills, which echo separate gender roles:

- Average adult proficiency is below OECD average in reading, above OECD average in numeracy, and at about OECD average in problem-solving (Figure 10, Panel A).
- Women's average skills are weaker than men's, with a similar gender gap as the OECD average, but a larger difference than in comparable countries.
- Gaps across age groups are steeper in Austria than in comparable countries. The best qualified cohorts are the youngest ones, skills then erode sharply, especially for women.
- Average skills are much stronger for childless adults than for those with children. The gap is larger for women (mothers) and larger in Austria than in comparable countries. This may be related to their longer absences from professional life (Figure 10, Panel C).
- Adult skills are more evenly distributed than in comparable countries, as reflected in the Gini distribution of skills and the distance between high and low performers. The share of the lowest-skilled is smaller than in comparable countries, in particular among women. The adult population appears therefore well-equipped for life-long education (Figure 10, Panel B).

Figure 10. Adult skills



Source: Calculations from OECD PIAAC data

30. Life-long education is increasing in Austria. It is offered through active labour market schemes, on-the-job training and personal participation in educational programmes. It has some distinct gender characteristics:

- In the past, men were more active in adult education than women, with a larger gender gap than in comparable countries. However, policy initiatives permitted a convergence in life-long education. Enrolment in adult education grew more rapidly than in the rest of Europe, and more rapidly for women than men. According to Eurostat's latest Adult Education Survey in 2011, 48.7% of male workers and 47.6% of female workers had participated in some formal or informal life-long learning in the last twelve months (Eurostat, 2011).
- Still, many women declare not having access to adult education, mainly because of family responsibilities. This obstacle is reported more frequently in Austria than in other small European countries. *Statistik Austria* confirms that availability for adult education seems to be below

comparable countries because of family duties invoked by women and workload invoked by men (Statistik Austria, 2014a).

- There is a gender asymmetry in subject choices. Men seek further skills more frequently in engineering, production and construction, while women do so in health, pedagogy and foreign languages (Statistik Austria, 2007).
- There is common interest for new technology programmes. Attendance rates are gender balanced in computer and life sciences. Women show active interest for re-qualification schemes to help them engage in new professions.

Employment and entrepreneurship

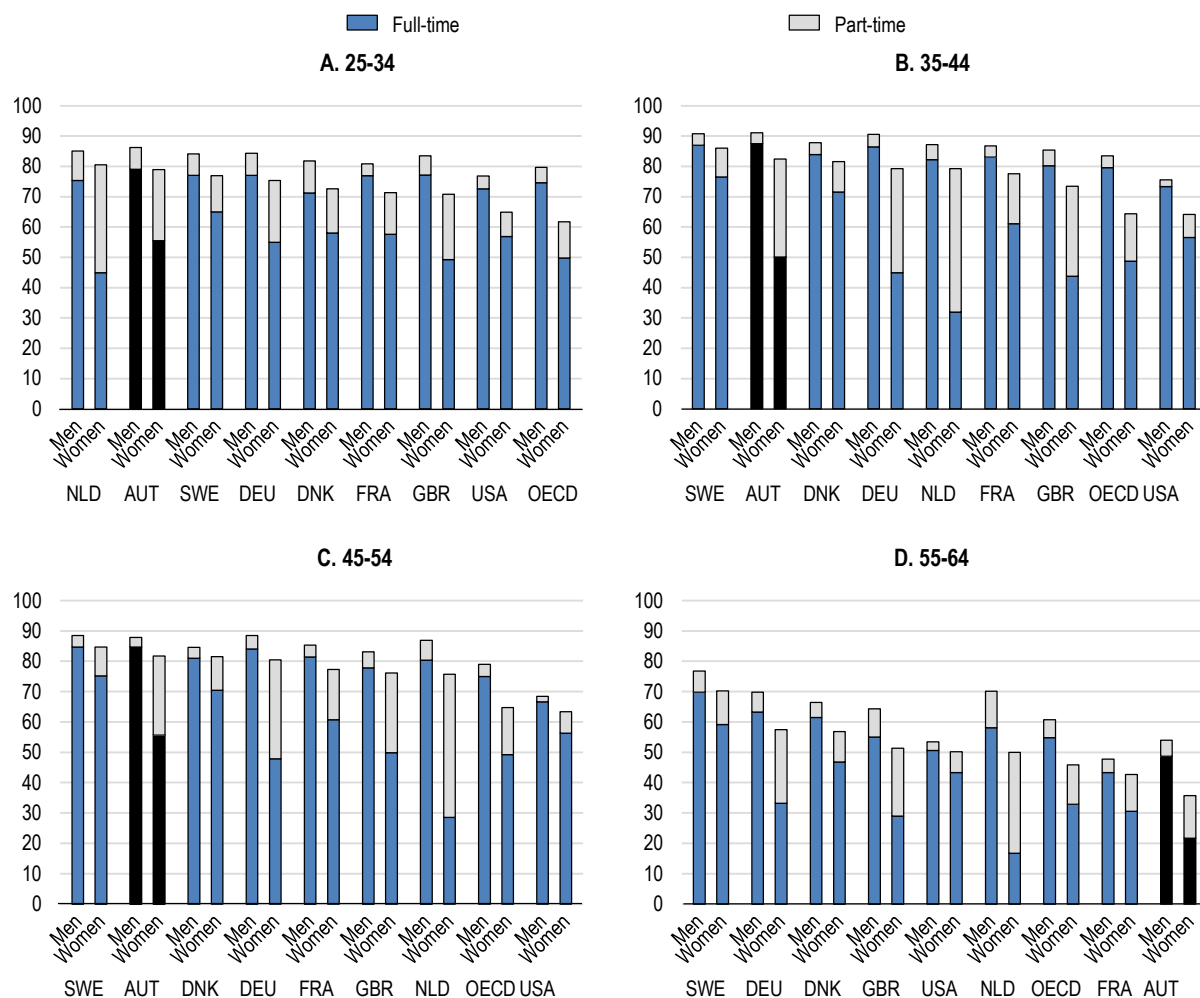
31. Having a job that matches one's interests and pays well is an universal aspiration. Jobs provide income, help develop new skills and create opportunities for social and professional relationships (OECD, 2013b). In contrast, unemployment undermines physical and mental health, and subjective well-being. Labour market behaviour of Austrian women confirms that access to employment is a widely-shared goal.

32. Despite high female participation rates at prime age, women's effective labour force participation subsequently falls short of men's (Figure 11). For the relatively younger cohorts, this results from the prevalence of part-time work after the birth of children and the uneven share of unpaid work as discussed above. For the more senior cohorts, it reflects the low statutory and effective retirement ages, as well as high invalidity rates. At present, the de facto retirement age for old-age pensions is 59 for women against 62 for men. Both are lower than in other OECD countries, but the gap with comparable countries is particularly large for women (Figure 11, Panel D).

33. In the years following the global crisis Austria's gender gaps in employment diminished. This resulted from severe job losses in trade-exposed and male-dominated manufacturing, in contrast with more resilient employment in female-dominated services (Figure 12). Major differences persist nonetheless in the respective employment characteristics of the genders.

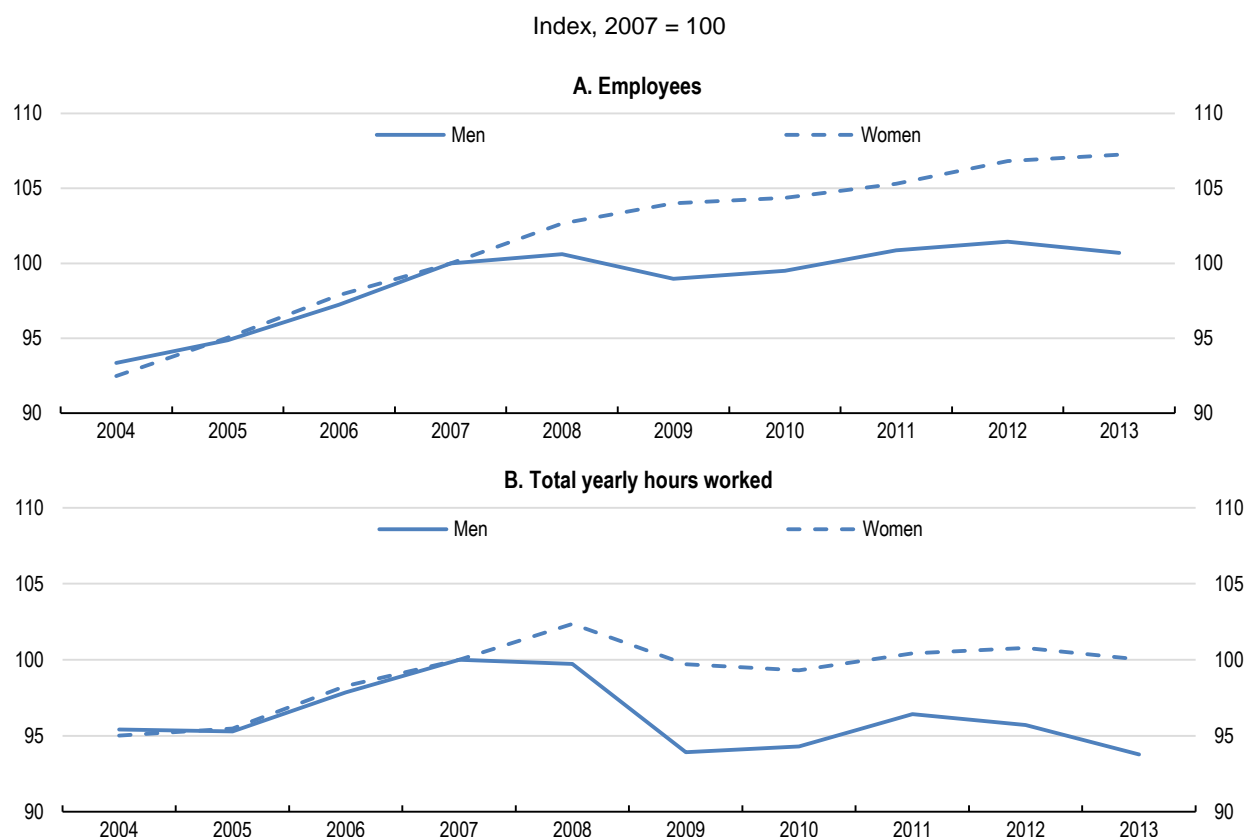
Figure 11. Employment patterns follow the separation of gender roles in the life-cycle

Ratio of employed persons in age cohort by gender and type of working-time arrangement in percentage of the population of same age cohort and gender, 2013



Note: Data presented in this figure do not include persons working less than 30 hours per week in their main job.

Source: OECD Labour Force Statistics database.

Figure 12. Female employment has been more resilient after the global crisis

Source: Statistik Austria.

34. Beyond the bifurcation into full and part-time employment (Figure 11), the types of jobs occupied by men and women differ considerably. Gaps are found in the distribution of contract forms (standard vs. atypical), hierarchical positions and types of entrepreneurial activities.

35. The overwhelming majority of Austrian men are in standard full-time jobs, against only half of women (Figure 13, Panel A). In 2014, 47% of all female workers and 74% of female workers with children below 14 worked part-time (*Statistik Austria*, 2015). About 80% of part-time workers in the public sector are women (OECD, 2014c). One sixth of all female workers hold other atypical jobs, including the so-called “marginal jobs” (defined as those paying less than EUR 406 per month) and fixed-term, temporary agency and free-lance jobs.

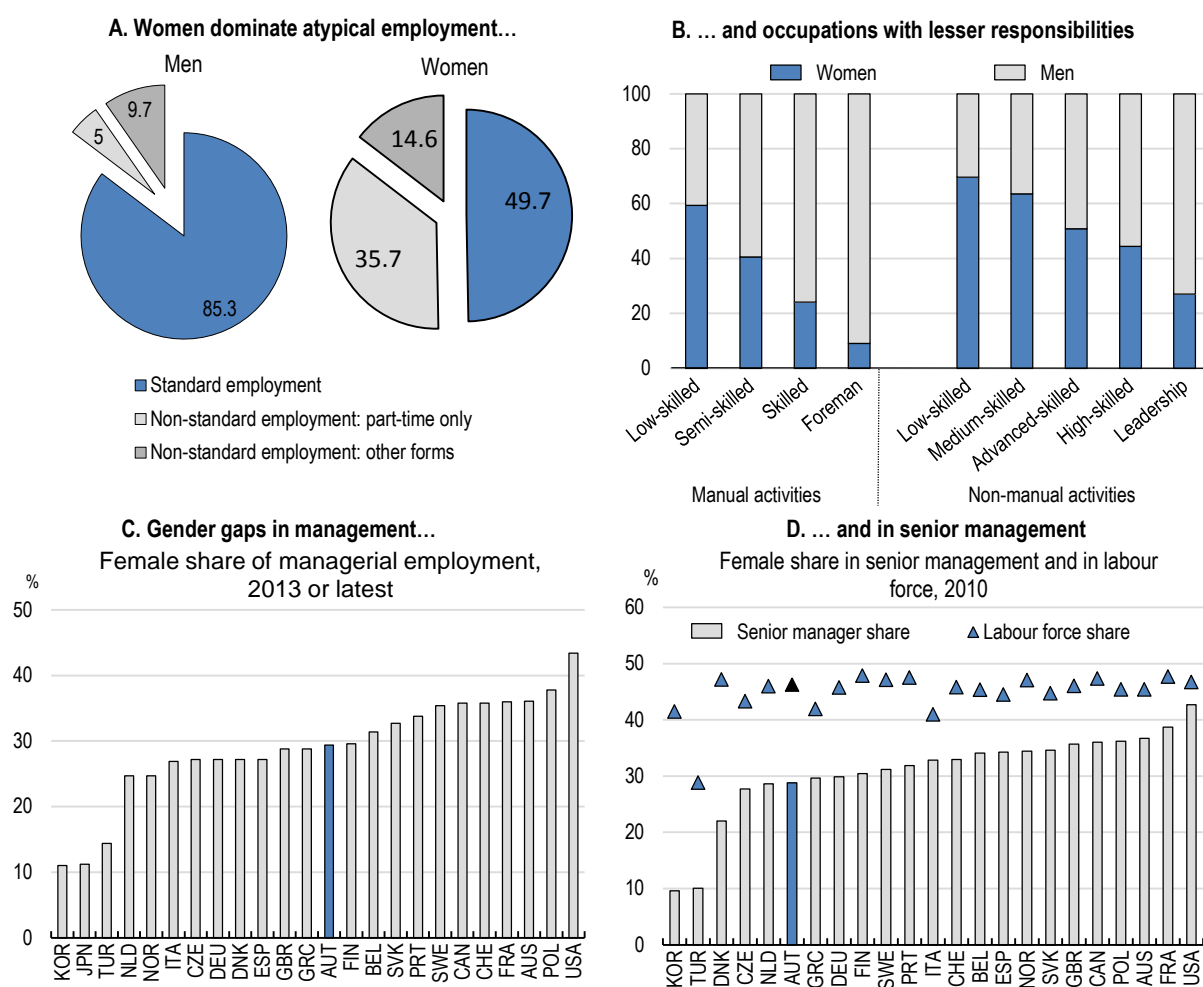
36. While men dominate traditional manufacturing activities which have standard employment patterns, women dominate in services with special/atypical activity arrangements. Many women with child care responsibilities appear to be forced into non-standard working times because during such periods other family members may be available to look after children. Health, retail trade, tourism and cleaning services are typical of such areas with a majority of female workers. A recent survey of the cleaning sector revealed that nearly 50% of employees work very early in the morning, about 40% have divided schedules, and 10% work during weekends (*Arbeiterkammer Wien*, 2013). According to the Chamber of Labour, in half of Austrian households at least one parent works outside routine hours (*Chamber of Labour*, 2014).

The leaky pipeline

37. Men's and women's access to career progress is uneven. These gaps are bigger than differences in educational backgrounds, and wider than similar gaps observed in comparable countries. They arise at low, middle, and high hierarchical levels:

- Women are overrepresented in low-qualified positions. They occupy the majority of “non-qualified” jobs in manufacturing, despite their minority weight in aggregate manufacturing employment. They also hold the majority of “low-qualified” and “middle-qualified” jobs in services (Statistik Austria, 2010) (Figure 13, Panel B).
- Women are underrepresented at intermediary management levels. Men and women with similar educational backgrounds, notably those who graduated from upper secondary education attain uneven hierarchical positions (Table 1). Available international data suggests that Austria has a lower proportion of female middle-managers than in comparable countries (Figure 13, Panel C).
- At senior management levels, women are found in even smaller numbers. According to a recent review, women's share in executive management (6%) and boards (14%) of the 200 largest companies was lower than in comparable countries. Only 3% of stock market-listed companies had a woman CEO. When all firms are taken into consideration, women's presence in top management remains very low: 18% in executive management and 23% on boards (Austrian Court of Audit, 2013). The gap between women's share in total labour force and their share in senior management is one of the highest in the OECD (Figure 13, Panel D).
- Similar gender differences exist in the public sector, even if the women's share in high level positions in public services has constantly increased. In 2011, women's share of federal administration positions was 55%, but their share in the highest positions was 22% - the third largest gap in the OECD (OECD, 2013c). Among comparable countries, women's share in top public sector jobs is still the lowest, and their share in secretarial jobs is the highest (OECD, 2014c). In the judiciary, 55% of the judges and 68% of the judicial authorities in the *Länder* were women in 2013, but their share declined to 29% in the Supreme and Constitutional Courts, and to 25% in the High Administrative Court. Female members of Parliament made up 33% of seats, the same share as in the federal government. Only 6% of town mayors were women. The federal government has recently set quantitative targets for the allocation of senior public positions, as part of gender mainstreaming policies (Ziemann, 2015).

Figure 13. Gender gaps in employment quality



Source: Statistik Austria, Labour Force Surveys 2013; Arbeitmarketservice, Microcensus on labour 2008; OECD (2014), *OECD Family database*, www.oecd.org/social/family/database.htm; OECD (2012), *Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264179370-en>.

Table 1. Gender employment according to education and occupations

Education level	All employed	1. Elementary occupations	2. Plant and machine operators	3. Craft workers	4. Skilled workers	5. Service and sales workers	6. Clerical support workers	7. Technicians and associate professionals	8. Professionals	9. Managers
Men										
Compulsory school	100	16.8	14.4	25.8	8.8	14.2	5.1	10.5	2.3	1.6
Apprenticeship	100	5.9	13.2	36.0	4.1	12.1	4.8	16.4	2.8	4.0
Intermediate technical and vocational school	100	2.6	6.0	12.8	18.8	9.7	6.9	29.2	7.3	6.2
Academic secondary school/Higher technical and vocational school	100	3.5	3.3	8.2	2.3	10.1	9.0	34.4	19.3	9.7
University, university of applied science, post-secondary college	100	1.4	1.4	2.4	0.5	2.7	3.9	13.2	61.1	12.9
Women										
Compulsory school	100	33.6	4.1	3.0	9.1	32.9	8.4	6.2	1.5	1.1
Apprenticeship	100	11.6	2.4	4.4	4.8	42.5	17.2	12.7	2.6	1.9
Intermediate technical and vocational school	100	5.5	1.4	1.7	7.2	21.9	18.1	34.5	6.9	2.7
Academic secondary school/Higher technical and vocational school	100	5.7	0.9	1.4	1.3	18.6	24.4	28.9	15.6	3.3
University, university of applied science, post-secondary college	100	1.6	0.2	0.7	0.7	5.6	6.4	15.3	63.1	6.4

Source: Statistik Austria, Microcensus Labour Force Survey, 2014.

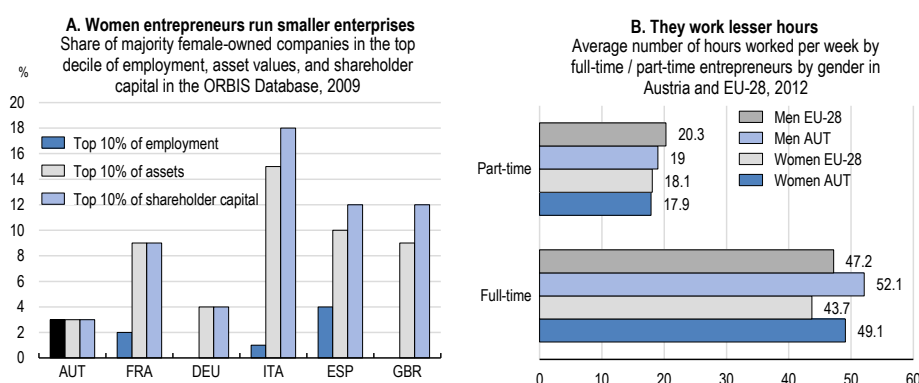
Different entrepreneurial activities

38. Women are also under-represented among entrepreneurs in Austria. The opportunities and outcomes for women entrepreneurs represent a major dimension in gender equality (OECD, 2013a). In 2012, 65% of entrepreneurs were men, with 9% of the female and 14% of the male labour force being made of entrepreneurs. These proportions are broadly similar to comparable countries (European Commission, 2014a). According to another source, in 2014 58% of start-ups were set up by women and 45% of individual enterprises (*Einzelunternehmen*) were led by women (Wirtschaftskammer Österreich, 2015). However, female entrepreneurs have a number of specific characteristics in Austria, which seem to make their activities more compatible with separate gender roles (OECD, 2012):

- Most self-employed women have no employees and operate in practice as free-lance workers. In 2012, 72% of female entrepreneurs had no employee, against 51% for men. Women who have employees run smaller firms (Figure 14, Panel A).
- Women entrepreneurs' motivations are less "profit oriented" than men's. They are more frequently after "work-life reconciliation" and "flexible activity time". Around 60% of female entrepreneurs mention "combining work and private life" as their main aspiration.
- A high proportion of female entrepreneurs work part-time: 33%, against 9% for male entrepreneurs. In addition, part-time women entrepreneurs work fewer hours than in other European countries. This is in contrast with full-time female entrepreneurs (who are presumably more professionally and financially motivated) who work longer hours than in comparable countries (Figure 14, Panel B).
- Women entrepreneurs are almost fully absent from manufacturing. They instead specialise in local services and this asymmetry is deeper than in comparable countries. The proportion of women inventors is also slightly lower than in comparable countries (European Commission, 2014a).

39. All in all, the profile of female entrepreneurs reveals their preference for smaller size, less time-demanding and financially less rewarding activities than men. These forms of entrepreneurship are more compatible with the prevailing separate roles.

Figure 14. Women have different entrepreneurial activities



Source: OECD (2012), *Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264179370-en>; European Commission (2014), *Statistical Data on Women Entrepreneurs in Europe – Country Fiche – Austria*, Enterprise and Industry, September, Brussels.

Income and wealth

40. Income and wealth are important for well-being. The ability to command resources allows everybody to satisfy material needs and pursue other goals that they deem important. Earned incomes enhance people's freedom to choose the lives that they want to live, and protect them against risks.

41. As most women and men live in couples, the intra-household distribution of resources within the couple delineates both genders' consumption and investment options. However, reliable information is scarce in this area (Box 1.), hence this Survey focuses on gender differences in separately earned incomes.

Box 1. Intra-household sharing of resources

As reviewed in detail in OECD (2013b), ignoring the intra-household distribution of resources may lead to important misperceptions of actual inequality between genders. There are no international guidelines on how intra-household allocation of resources should be measured. The European Union Survey on Income and Living Conditions (SILC) introduced some questions on intra-household distribution of resources but this effort is exploratory (European Commission, 2012b).

About two thirds of European households in this EU-SILC Survey declared that they consider individual revenues as a common resource to the family. OECD (2013b) suggests that intra-household sharing of earned incomes is driven by household members' attitude towards the value of unpaid work. International poverty indicators assume on the other hand that all incomes are pooled within households, and therefore all household members reach the same level of material well-being.

In Austria, a lower proportion of all couple families than in comparable countries treat the couple's income as a common resource. About half of Austrian households report such pooling, against more than 70% in Germany, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands. This could imply that unpaid work is not seen as fully equivalent to paid work in a significant proportion of Austrian families. Historically, in many households, the breadwinning husband used to give a "household budget and pocket money" to his partner, and the latter did not know the exact level of family income. The information must now be more widely shared, but the "budget and pocket money" practice seems to persist in many families.

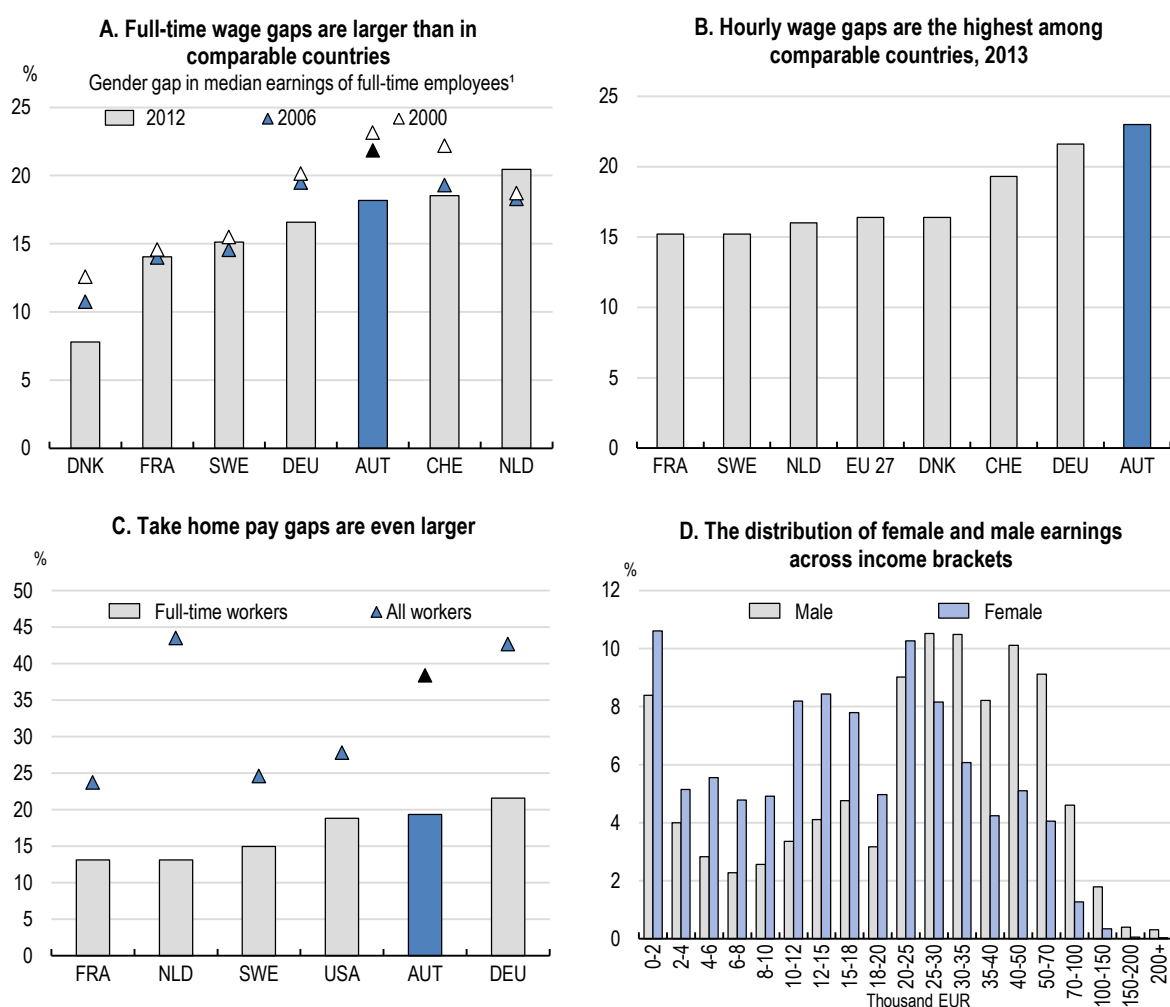
42. In all OECD countries, women's earned incomes are lower to men's on average (or at the median), but the gap is particularly wide in Austria (Figure 15). This has three sources: differences in number of hours worked; gaps in hourly wages; and differences in entrepreneurial incomes. The first two components are better documented. *Statistik Austria* reports them on the basis of hourly wages (Geisberger and Glaser, 2014), while the OECD compiles, less frequently, pay gaps for full-time earners.

43. The gender pay gap amounted to 19% for full-time earners in 2011 (Figure 15, Panel A) and to 23% for hourly wages in 2013 (Figure 15, Panel B). Gaps remained large despite a faster reduction than in most of the similar countries in the 2000s. Compounded by differences in the number of work hours, actual income gaps are higher, attaining about 40% (Figure 15, Panel C). The weight of part-time work contributes importantly to income gaps not only because pay is low due to fewer hours, but also because hourly wages are significantly lower in part-time than in full-time jobs (EUR 15.58 vs. 12.43 according to Eurostat, 2010).

44. Men are also concentrated in higher paying sectors. The wage differential between high and low wage sectors is among the largest in Europe. Although collective agreements generally reduce gender pay gaps (European Trade Union Confederation, 2015), their very large coverage in Austria (95% of the work force is covered) does not suffice to reduce the pay gaps. This arises from two factors: *i*) differences are large between collectively agreed pay levels across branches and more women than men work in low wage branches; and *ii*) in high wage branches, supplementary pay above collectively agreed levels is widespread and benefit mostly men in higher hierarchical positions. Women in high wage branches earn more than women in other branches, but the gender pay gap is larger within such branches, as men benefit more from

overpay. Otherwise, pay gaps for skilled jobs are narrow in international comparison, as a result of collective agreements.

Figure 15. Gender pay gaps in Austria



1. The gender wage gap is unadjusted, and is calculated as the difference between median earnings of men and women relative to median earnings of men. Estimates of earnings used in the calculations refer to gross earnings of full-time wage and salary workers. However, this definition may slightly vary from one country to another.

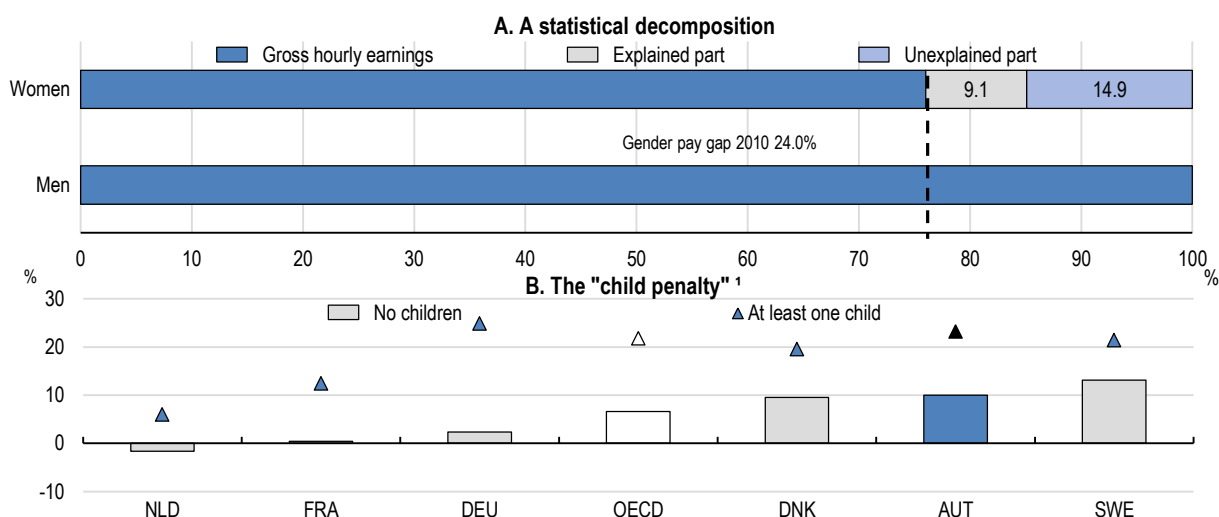
Source: OECD (2014), OECD Family database, www.oecd.org/social/family/database.htm; Eurostat; OECD (2012), Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264179370-en>; Statistik Austria.

45. The latest statistical analysis available of the gender pay gap in Austria (Figure 16, Panel A) decomposed the hourly pay gap in 2010 into a set of potential determinants (age, education, sector, region, occupation, full/part-time work, seniority, size of enterprise, etc.) (Geisberger, 2014). The analysis suggests that *i*) 3.7 percentage points of the hourly wage gap are related to the sector men and women work in, *ii*) 2.2 percentage points to differences in occupation, *iii*) 3.2 percentage points result from the higher incidence of part-time jobs that are less well remunerated, *iv*) 2.4 percentage points are related to the higher seniority of men. Enterprise size and region do not play a significant role.

46. A more complete analysis of the drivers of the gap might shed additional light on the respective influences of objective vs. non-identified sources. Possibly, with more detailed identification and measurement of worker and job characteristics, the explained part of the gap would increase (O'Neill, 2003; Goldin, 2014). An ongoing OECD study aims at re-estimating the gender pay gaps in OECD countries after controlling for a range of structural characteristics. Early results for Austria suggest that, once observable factors are controlled for, the wage penalty for part-time permanent work disappears for women, although there is still a significant penalty for women in part-time temporary work. But the bottom-line is that the gender pay gap remains very large.

47. One factor that plays an important role in the pay gap is the presence of children. This appears to affect much more women's (mothers') pay than men's. According to existing evidence, and before statistically controlling for other factors, the wage gap is significantly higher for women with children than women without. This penalty appears to be larger in Austria than in similar countries, except Germany (Figure 16, Panel B). The Chamber of Labour observes that this source of wage discrepancy varies across *Länder* and is inversely proportional to available child care capacity. The child penalty may be proxying the observed or anticipated reduction in workplace availability, and the commitment of the mother associated with care responsibilities (Lazear and Rosen, 1990; Goldin, 2014).

Figure 16. Drivers of the gender pay gap



1. Pay gap over men for women with and without children.

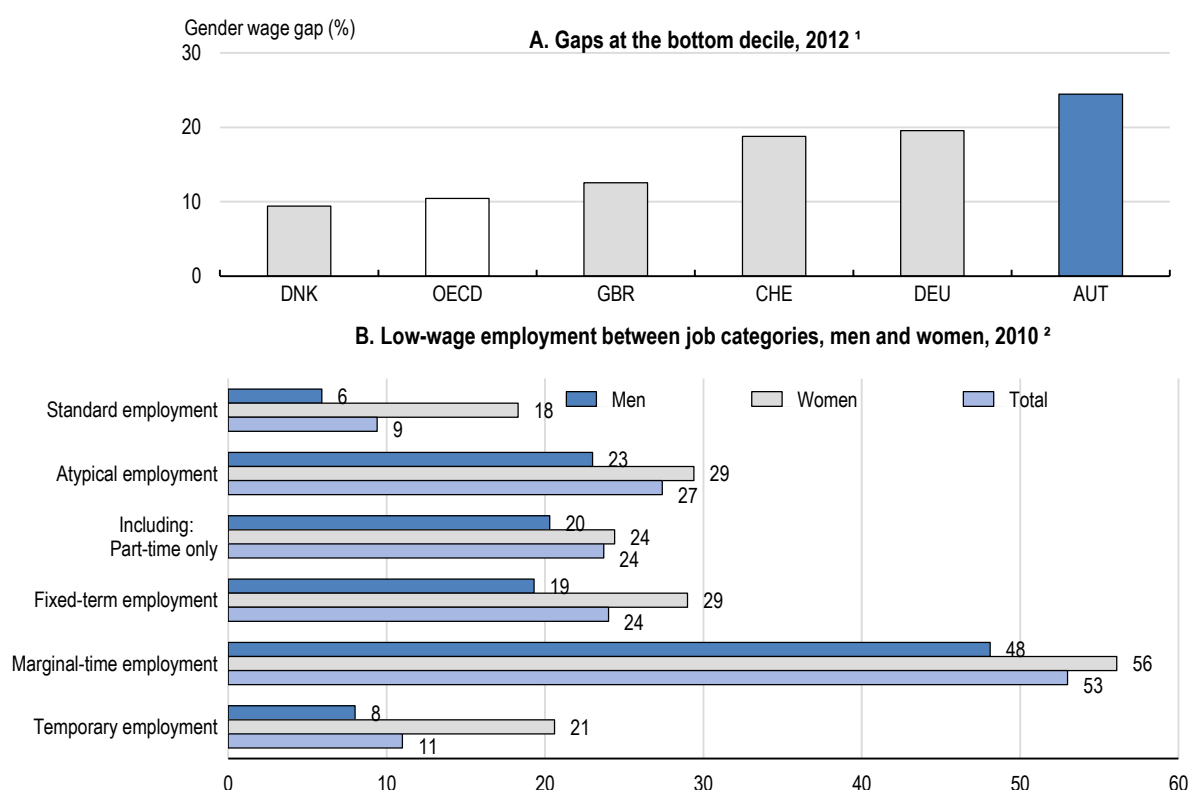
Source: Geisberger, T. and T. Glaser (2014), "Geschlechtsspezifische Verdienstunterschiede - Analysen zum Gender Pay Gap auf Basis der Verdienststrukturerhebung 2010", Statistische Nachrichten 2014 (3), Statistik Austria, Vienna. Goldin, C. (2014), "A Grand Gender Convergence: Its Last Chapter", *American Economic Review*, 104(4).

48. According to OECD Employment Statistics, the Austrian gender pay gap is particularly large at the low end of income distribution (Figure 17, Panel A): despite some narrowing over the past decade, it

remains the second largest for low-income earners among all OECD countries (after Korea). The pay gap was 5.5% for civil servants in 2012, 50% for white-collar employees and 57% for blue-collar workers (AMS, 2014). The absence of a national minimum wage, combined with asymmetries between collective agreement outcomes in different branches may explain this result. A quarter of all working women are in low-wage jobs (defined as earning less than 60% of the median hourly wage), against 9% for men. This is the largest gap among low-wage earners in EU countries. Women's weight in non-standard jobs is a major driver: almost 30% of fixed-term and nearly 60% of marginal jobs occupied by women are low-paid (Figure 17, Panel B). In addition, low-wages are more persistent for women: one out of five women who had a low-paid job in 2000 was in the same position in 2010, while for men the same ratio was 1 out of 10. Between 2000-10, 70% of men changed successfully to a better paid job, while only a quarter of the women managed to do so.

49. As a result, poverty risks are highest for women. The incidence of absolute poverty is low in Austria as a whole, but relative poverty, which designates the persons earning less than 60% of median income, concerns a majority of women. Poverty risks are highest in single-parent households, the quasi-totality of which (90%) are single-mother households.

Figure 17. Pay gaps are larger for low income workers



1. 2011 for Germany, 2010 for OECD unweighted average and for Switzerland.

2. Low-wage jobs are defined as those earning less than 60% of the average hourly wage.

Source: OECD Employment database as of 11 February 2015 (www.oecd.org/els/emp/onlineoecdemploymentdatabase.htm); Statistik Austria.

50. Income gaps between genders result chiefly from earned income, but are amplified by gaps in pension entitlements and capital revenues. Around 15% of women at poverty risk are single female pensioners. The low level of women's pensions mirrors their generally discontinuous and part-time

contribution histories. Average female pensions attained only 62% of men's in 2014 (EUR 890 per month on average, against EUR 1 430 for men).

51. Despite significantly lower entitlements in terms of annuities, women's lifetime "pension wealth" is well above that of men, due to lower legal retirement ages, longer life expectancy and generous survivor pensions. Female retirees spend 6 years more than men in retirement, this length reaching 28 years in average - and about 32 years for "middle-class" women (middle-class is defined according to income level, occupation, social insurance status and place of residence) (Marin, 2013). Cross-gender subsidies within the social security system secure these entitlements, without however raising them significantly above the material deprivation floor: average female pensions (EUR 890 per month) are only slightly above that level (EUR 870 per month, i.e. the level of the socially guaranteed minimum income) (Box 2).

52. Women and men have also uneven financial wealth, generating uneven capital revenues. As the majority of people live in couple households, the crucial factor is how ownership of and returns from these assets are shared in the households. This evidence is not available but recent information from European *Household Finance and Consumption Surveys* shed some light on wealth differences between single male and single female households (Box 3).

Box 2. Pension subsidies to women

Current pension rules support women through four channels (in addition to earlier opportunities to "purchase" contribution years at about 10% of actuarial value):

Childcare years are taken into account: childcare periods of up to four years per child are credited on the basis of a fictitious pensionable salary of EUR 1 650 per month. Fathers too have such years credited as contributory years if they are the main carer of the child, e.g. as a lone parent or male homemaker living with a working mother.

Survivor benefits: survivors' pensions are fixed according to benefit rules which were revised in 2009. Benefits can reach up to 60% of the income of the deceased person depending on the financial conditions of the survivor. More than 25% of pensioners were drawing survivor benefits in mid-2000s and this proportion is projected to stay above 20% until 2050. The benefit is available to both women and men, but the incidence is smaller for the latter because of the gap in life expectancy and pension entitlements.

Working-time reductions: government subsidies are granted to women above 53 - and men above 58- to help them reduce working hours and shift to part-time work without losing income (*Altersteilzeit*). Two thirds of the users of this scheme are women.

Minimum social assistance: Elderly people in financial distress can obtain this assistance (*Mindestsicherung*), which ensures a minimum retirement income of EUR 828 per month to each single person, and EUR 1 242 to a couple. There are 14 payments per annum. This is available to men and women alike but a majority of women receive it in practice.

Source: OECD Economic Survey of Austria, 2013 and OECD, Pension at a Glance, 2013.

Box 3. Gender wealth gaps

According to Mader et al. (2014), who used data from the new European Household Finance and Consumption Survey, the financial wealth gap between genders in Austria is wider than in comparable countries. Comparing single-person households, the authors find that men households are richer than in the rest of Europe, and female households poorer (Table below, Panel A). The gap stays large through income deciles (Panel B).

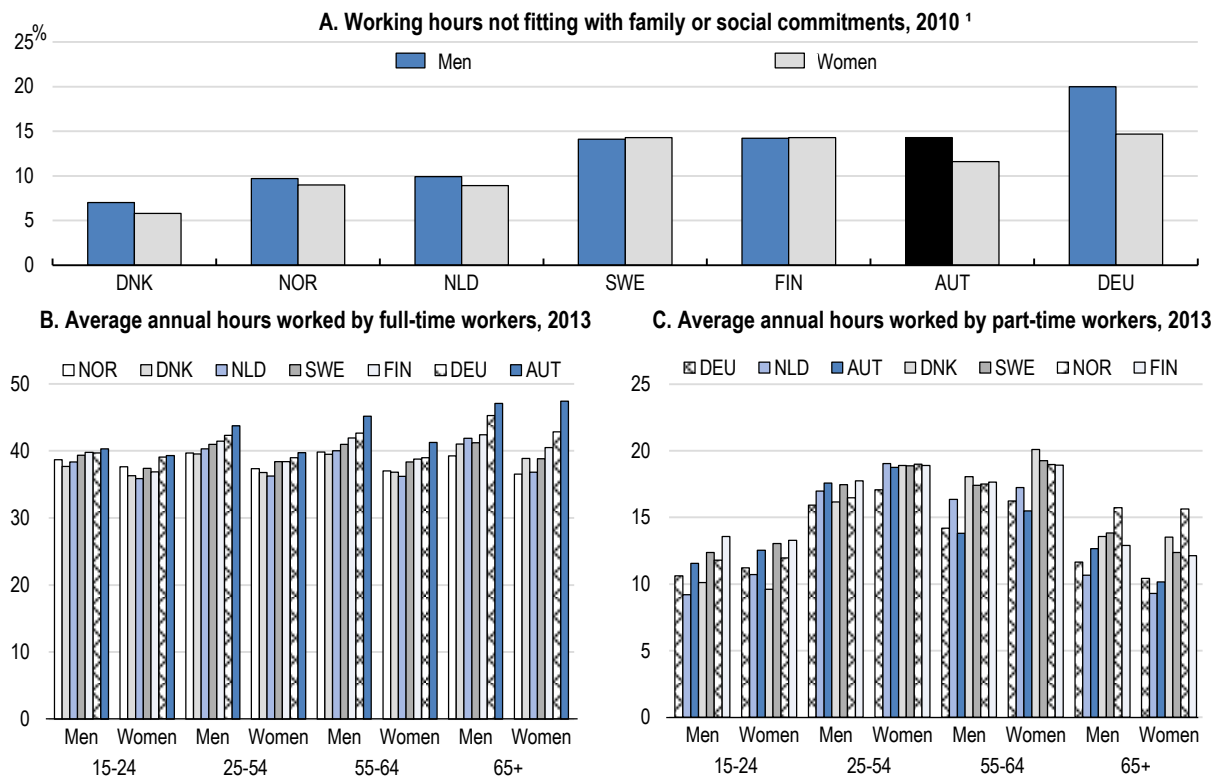
A recent analysis (Altzinger, 2014) found that financial wealth plays a role only for top earnings. Until the 95th percentile, households live almost entirely out of labour or entrepreneurial incomes. Gaps in financial wealth affect incomes at the highest end of the income distribution.

A) Net wealth by household type (EUR thousands)						
	Austria			European Union		
	Mean	Median		Mean	Median	
Single female households	110	22		127	42	
Single male households	194	123		151	39	
Couple households	381	170		292	164	
B) Net wealth by income distribution (EUR)						
Single female households				Single male households		
Income percentiles	Annual Income	Wealth		Income	Wealth	
		Mean	Median		Mean	Median
1	600	39 479	11 300	900	8 322	5 140
10	6 653	49 456	6 913	9 022	243 414	13 535
25	12 538	75 459	12 023	16 240	191 893	5 655
50	19 530	84 930	12 080	24 028	195 444	11 977
75	29 733	88 168	16 135	33 363	142 981	13 990
90	43 857	89 355	17 788	48 560	139 944	16 683
99	83 285	90 412	19 523	120 671	159 874	19 840

Source: Mader et al., 2014.

Work-life balance

53. The OECD's *Babies and Bosses* (2007) and *How's Life* (2013) underline that obtaining the right balance between work and personal life is a key factor in people's well-being. Insufficient work prevents people from earning enough income to attain the desired standard of living. In contrast, overly absorbing work has a negative impact when health or personal lives suffer. Work-life balances do not only affect the well-being of individuals but also of their family. Notably, children's well-being depends strongly on the capacity of parents to both work and care for them.

Figure 18. Work and life balances

1. Question: In general, do your working hours fit in with your family or social commitments outside work very well, well, not very well, not at all well? Answers included in the graph: “fit not at all” and “fit not very well”.

Source: Eurofound, European Working Conditions Survey 2010; OECD Labour Force Statistics database.

54. Existing work-life arrangements give rise to four specific tensions in Austria (Figure 18.): *i*) the excessively long hours worked by men crowd out their private and family life; *ii*) a share of women part-timers desire to work longer hours but do not have the necessary service support; *iii*) households opting for other arrangements confront many practical challenges; and *iv*) the population as a whole faces a more restricted set of options in work and life arrangements than in comparable countries:

- In Austria 10% of employees work more than 50 hours per week, more than in comparable countries. In 2013, 25% of men worked overtime, against 13.5% for women. According to a survey by the Chamber of Labour, 46% of all full-time working men with children below age 12 regularly work overtime, against 28% for full-time working women (Bergmann *et al.*, 2014). The number of working hours is particularly high when the partner is out of employment: 40% of the full-time employed sole-earners work more than 10 overtime hours per week.
- The OECD report on family policies stresses that “there is a premium to part-time work in terms of control over working time, stress and health, and for the vast majority of part-timers the advantages outweigh the disadvantages” (OECD, 2011a). OECD (2010a) reports that across the OECD 83% of part-time workers declare doing so voluntarily, and that they deliberately accept lower earnings and slower careers “in exchange for better working-time arrangements and less stress”. Female part-time work in Austria reinforces this pattern, which is supported by an institutional and infrastructural framework. According to OECD’s *Gender Equality in Employment* database the share of involuntary part-time workers is lower than in comparable countries in

Austria, at less than 2% of total employment. However, there is a common perception, as in other OECD countries with a similar experience (*e.g.* Germany and Switzerland), that if conditions were more conducive for full-time work, a significant proportion of women would shift from part-time to full-time employment to improve earnings and careers. In an earlier survey, only 19% of households with a child below 6 had two full-time breadwinners, but twice as many of them (36%) declared to be willing to do so (Jaumotte, 2003).

- Men and women opting out of disparate gender roles find a relatively unsupportive environment. The “double burden” of job and care duties for full-time working women and sole mothers generate time deprivation and stress, with negative effects on life satisfaction and health. Multivariate analyses suggest that a further child generates a reduction in discretionary time for women of 2.3 hours per week (1.7 hours for men), and an increase of 3.5% in the probability to be time-poor (2.6% for men) (OECD, 2013b). Such households face many practical, organisational and financial strains.
- Overall, the Austrian population has fewer options to combine work and life priorities than in comparable countries. Available time and life organisation patterns are more limited, while demand for alternative arrangements expands (Box 4). The distribution of workers by weekly work hours suggest that intermediary arrangements have started to spread, but they remain less common (Figure 18, Panel A). Austria also lags comparable countries in possibilities to vary work hours according to employee needs (Figure 19, Panels B and C). Long-term leave possibilities are unevenly available, according to enterprises. A parent who has been working in a firm with more than 20 employees for three or more years is in principle entitled to part-time work. However, specific aspects of the leave, including scheduling, duration, etc. need to be agreed with the employer. If no agreement is reached, the Labour and Social Court rules “with due regard to the interests of both parties”. The entitlements of parents who have been with the same employer for less than three years, and those working in firms with less than 20 employees are subject to bilateral negotiation.

According to the European Commission (EC, 2014b), Austrian legislation on employee rights for care needs is less generous than in other countries. Half of Austrian enterprises offer long-term parental leave and 20% leave possibilities for other family tasks - the lowest ratios among EU countries. A recent review confirmed that not all legal entitlements available to parents can be utilised in practice (Bucheibner-Ferstl, 2014).

55. The current legal framework intended to reconcile work and family tasks appears to face a number of new tensions. The costs that it implies for the flexibility and international competitiveness of firms are more frequently invoked than before. The Ombud for Equal Treatment mentioned companies which report difficulties in complying with the existing gender equality legislation (Mairhuber, 2009). Relatedly, employer organisations propose to reduce the long-term part-time leave option from seven to four years. The enforcement of the recently adopted *Freizeit* agreements face also similar difficulties. Many workers prefer to trade a lower wage for more free time under the choices offered by these agreements, but only part of the employers can go along: 20% of workers applied for more free time in related negotiations, but only 10% of enterprises agreed (Chamber of Labour, 2014).

56. As a result, the menu of options to help reconcile work and family life is available along a pecking order: it is generally more generous in the public sector, then in international firms, then respectively in large, medium-sized and smaller enterprises. Given the high weight of SMEs in Austria’s business sector, this deprives a significant share of the population from the options available in the more advanced parts of the economy (KMU Forschung Austria, 2010).

Box 4. Reconciling work and family life in a competitive economy

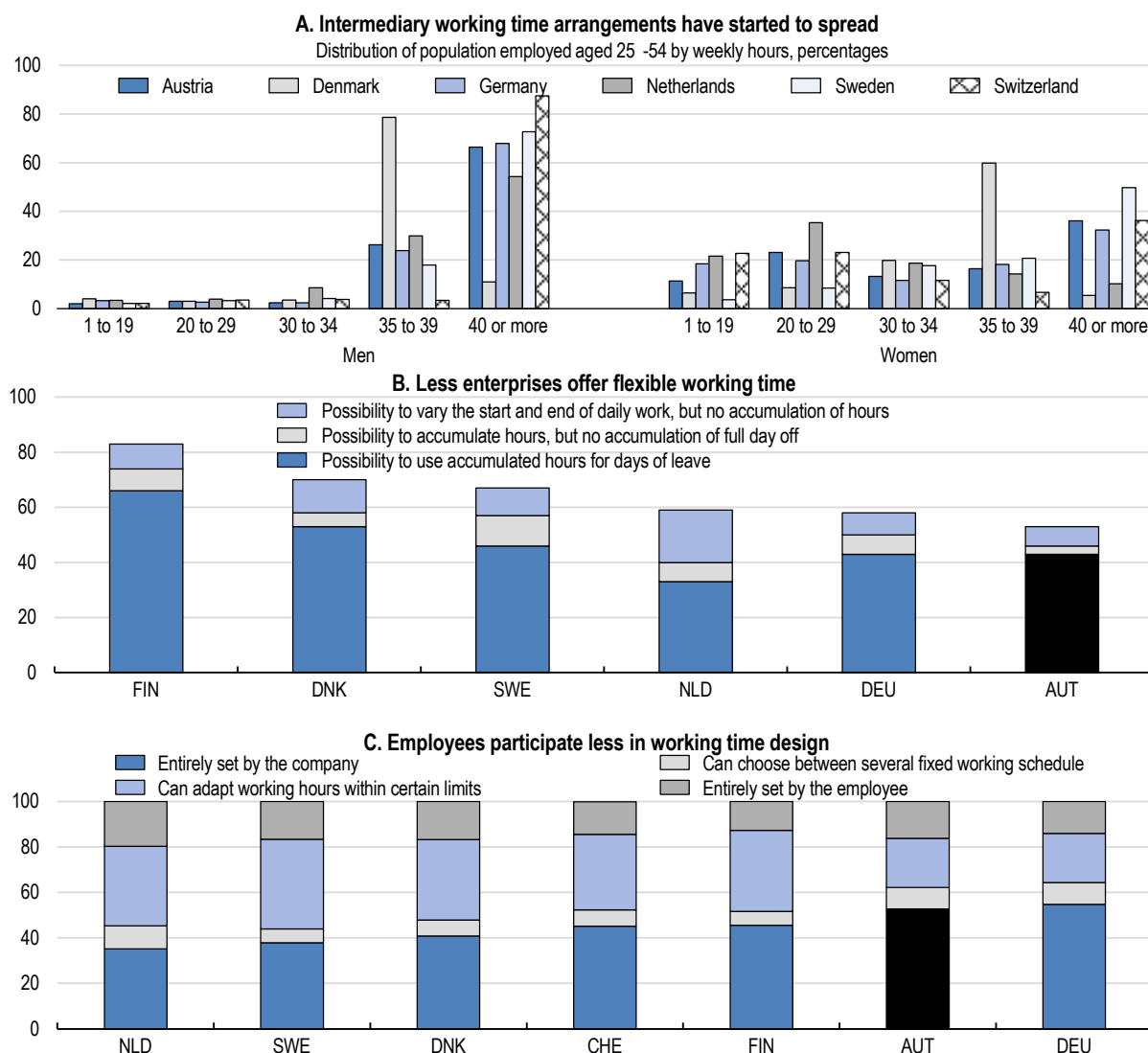
A recent survey of “time poverty” reviewed internationally available evidence on the factors modifying the work-life balances of highly educated professionals of both genders (The Economist, 2014). It suggests that over the past three decades European economies tended to trade wages for free time (Blanchard, 2004). However, this model is now coming under pressure, notably for highly skilled professionals. The better educated who face stronger income and career opportunities are putting in more hours, especially in “winner-takes-all” professional settings. A survey of 1 000 executives in the United States confirmed that 95% worked more than 50 hours per week, and 50% more than 65 hours per week. Similar pressures are mounting in the European countries, including in Austria. The fast extension of the so-called “all-in” employment contracts in the recent period, which facilitate overtime work by providing it with more flexible conditions, is a sign of this. They already cover half of all Austrian managers. Furthermore, senior managers are exempt from the Working Hours Act, which allows them to work more than 50 hours per week.

Female professionals with children are recognised as the most time-scarce segment of society “even more so because of the rise in standards for what it means to be a good parent”. The tension concerns in principle both fathers and mothers but affect women more severely in practice. Female professionals’ desire for time flexibility augments with the arrival of children. According to a review of occupational choices in the United States, many skilled women tend to prefer jobs which put stable and predictable workplace demands on them (Goldin, 2014). This concerns the number of hours to be worked, the particular hours worked, being “on call” etc.

The study finds that the distribution of total employment between jobs involving more or less time pressure is driven by the evolution of technologies. Overcoming tensions in work-life balance “does not necessarily involve government intervention, women’s bargaining skills and men being more responsible. It involves alterations in the labour market, in particular changing how jobs are structured and remunerated to enhance temporal flexibility”. The gender gap can be reduced and “might even vanish if firms did not have an incentive to disproportionately reward individuals who worked long hours, and who worked particular hours. Such change has already occurred in various sectors, but not in enough”. The study also emphasizes that this is not a woman’s issue: all workers will benefit from structural changes providing greater command on time schedules, although those who do not value the amenity will likely lose from its lower price.

A large-size investigation covering Germany, Switzerland and Austria (Stock *et al.*, 2012) analysed the margins of freedom available to face these pressures. It in particular focused on their impacts on fertility. Child raising is recognised as a prime life aspiration, as well as a key determinant of the long-term balances of ageing societies. The study went through the time sovereignty needs of professionals of both genders and concluded that:

- There is a large diversity in people’s time-use priorities. However, each person needs to assume that in certain phases of life he/she will have adequate time for family and care responsibilities;
- Paid and unpaid work should be recognised as having equal importance for families’ and children’s well-being. Mothers and fathers who prefer part-time work should be permitted to do so;
- “Time policies” are needed to achieve these objectives. They should be compatible with practical conditions in various professions, spheres and fields of economic activity;
- A vast array of lifestyles must be accommodated. Individuals should be enabled to follow various work/life arrangements, which evolve through their life cycle.

Figure 19. Work/life organisation options are more limited in Austria

Source: OECD, Labour Force Statistics database; OECD (2011), Doing Better for Families, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264098732-en.Health>.

Health

57. According to OECD (2013) “being healthy and living a long life free of illness and disability are among the aspects that people value the most. Being healthy affects the probability of having a job, earning an adequate income, and actively participating in social activities”. Life expectancy is the most widespread indicator of health outcomes for purposes of international comparison.

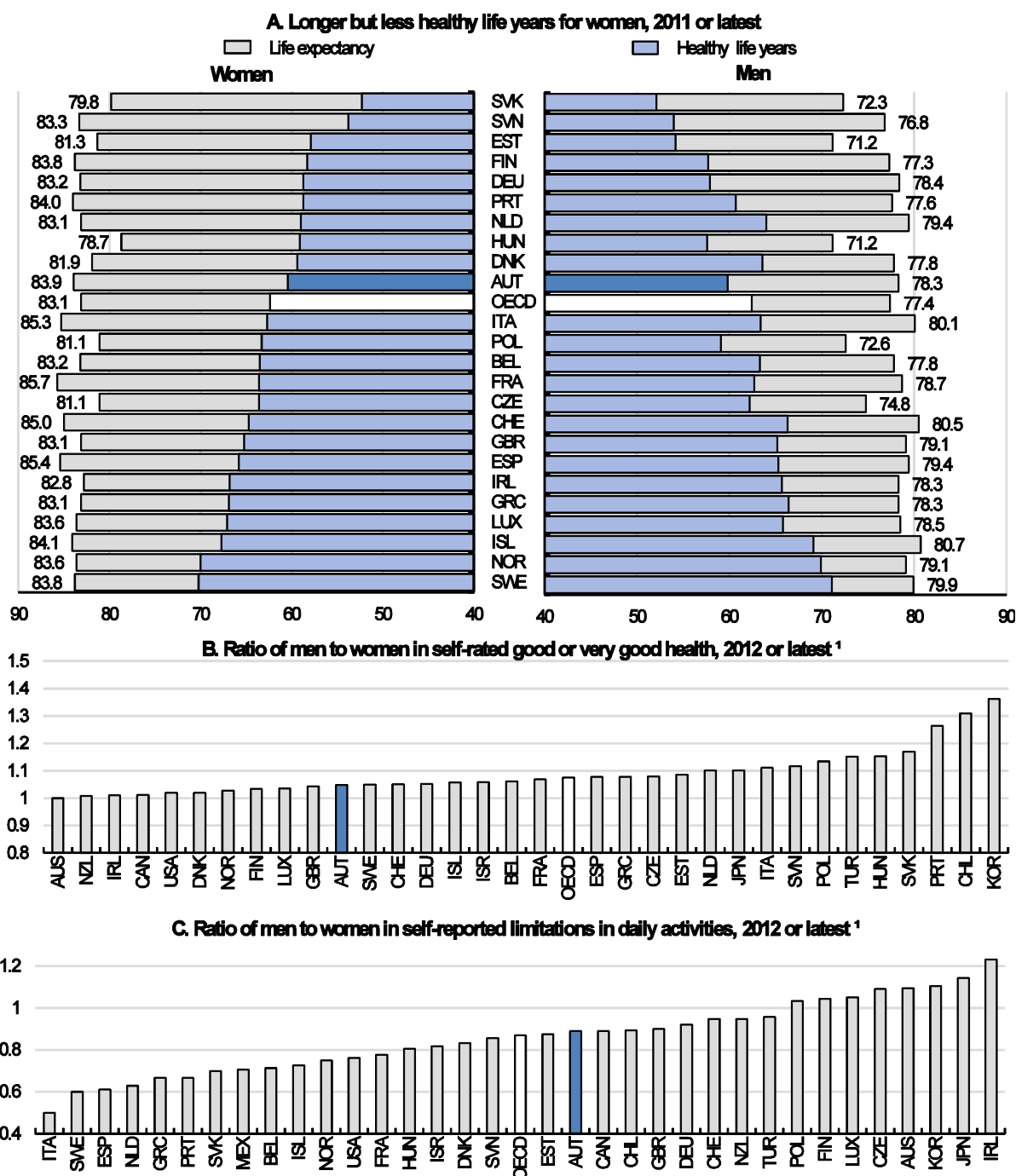
58. Women enjoy a longer life expectation than men in Austria (84 years against 78), and the difference is one of the widest in OECD (Figure 20, Panel A). However, the indicator does not provide a full picture of the health status of the population because additional years of life are not necessarily lived in good health. Research on gender gaps in health outcomes brought to light, in particular, the so-called “male-female health-survival paradox”: despite having consistently higher life expectancy, women in all

countries report worse health than men. They show higher rates of morbidity (life under serious health limitations) for longer periods.

59. Morbidity is widespread in Austria despite a well-regarded public health system. Both genders suffer from it, but a higher share of women's lifespan is affected by disease and injury (25% of years lived, as opposed to 19% for men). Still, because of the gap in aggregate life expectancy, women live longer healthy years than men (Figure 20, Panels B and C).

60. Men and women's asymmetric work and life trajectories may be contributing to their observed health strains at old age. Some recent research started to investigate this avenue in Austria, with no clear conclusion so far (Leoni and Eppel, 2013). Nonetheless, it revealed that strong strains experienced in life have detrimental impacts on individuals' long-term health. Additional research may confirm, in line with the international literature, that work-life imbalances may negatively affect both life expectancy and morbidity (Darden, 2014; Barney, 2014). Damaging effects of such imbalances on the well-being of employees and the productivity of enterprises start to be better understood at the international level, notably through their effect on mental health (OECD, 2015b). Further research in Austria could shed more light on these effects.

Figure 20 Gender gaps in health outcomes



1. Persons aged more than 15.

Source: OECD (2013), How's Life? 2013: Measuring Well-being, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201392-en>; and OECD.

Life satisfaction

61. OECD (2013) suggests that individuals' subjective well-being should be monitored as a key indicator of a society's welfare "as people are the best judges of how their own lives are going". The

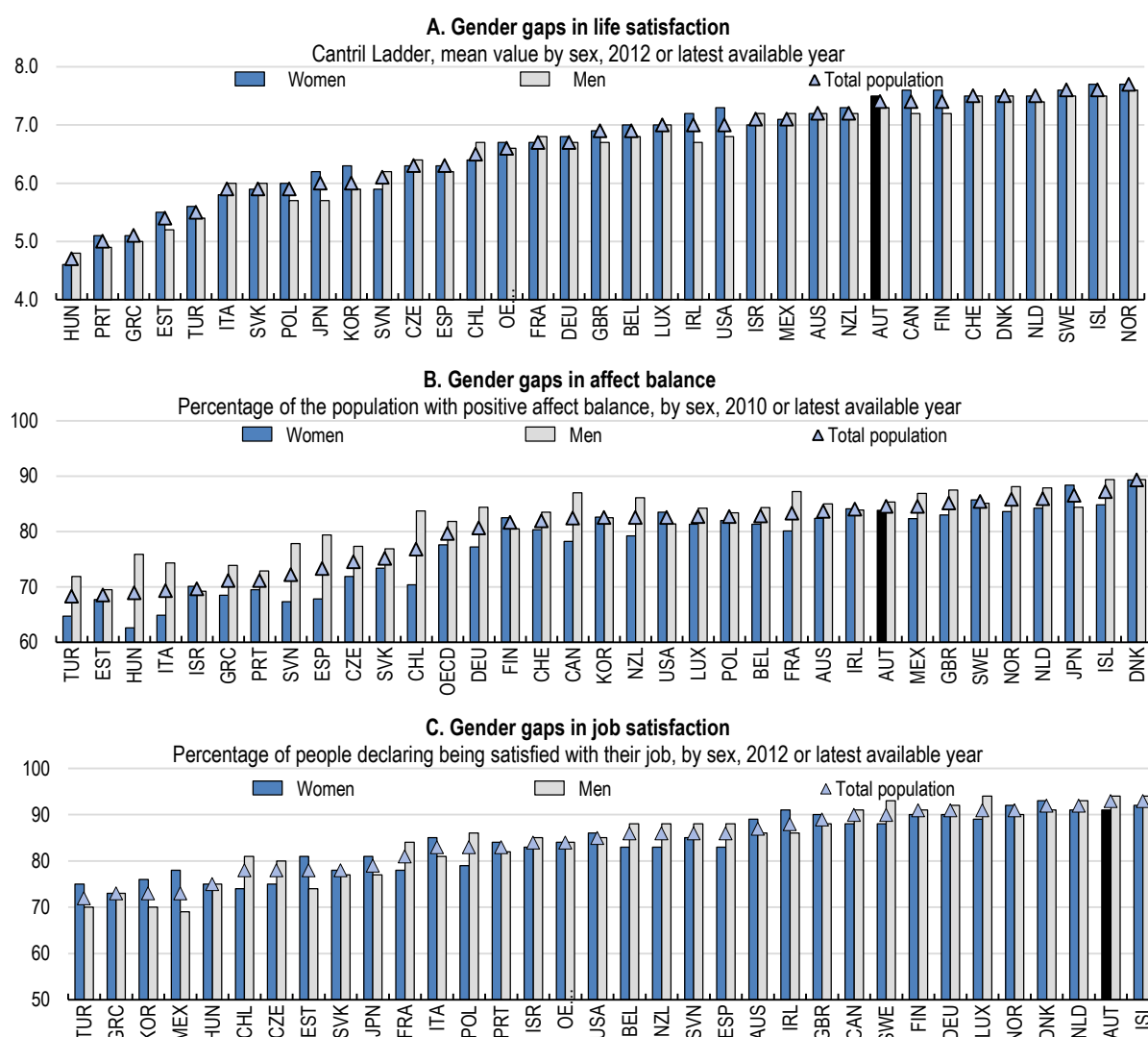
headline indicator of subjective well-being, life satisfaction, aims to capture people's evaluation of their life as a whole. Another indicator, affect balance, yields additional information on their emotional situation in the short-term.

62. Austrians report being generally satisfied with their lives. When asked to rate their life satisfaction on a scale from 0 to 10, they assign it an average score of 7.5, higher than the OECD average, but slightly lower than in some countries (Figure 21, Panel A). Eighty per cent of respondents to a recent survey reported being very satisfied or satisfied with their lives. Austrians' high level of satisfaction with work conditions appear to contribute to these good outcomes (Figure 21, Panel C). Women report a higher degree of life satisfaction than men, despite feeling comparatively less satisfied with their work conditions. This suggests that their sources of life satisfaction may be more varied than men's (Box 5).

Box 5. Gender differences in job satisfaction

OECD (2013b) confirms the growing interest in Member countries in understanding gender divergences in job satisfaction. It discusses the so-called "paradox of the contented female worker", i.e. the fact that "lower wages that women generally receive, as well as the gender bias that they may face through hiring and occupational segregations seem to be at odds with their reported job satisfaction". Research reviewed suggests that, in the OECD area as a whole, job characteristics valued by women and men differ: "Women are less likely to identify earnings as the most important feature of a job. Higher income adds more to the job satisfaction of men than to that of women. Women are more likely than men to identify the flexibility of work schedule, social relations at work, and the significance of the task as the most important aspects".

Source: OECD (2013b), *How's Life? 2013: Measuring Well-being*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201392-en>.

Figure 21. A generally high degree of work and life satisfaction in Austria

Source: OECD (2013), *How's Life 2013*.

63. Although Austrian women report a higher degree of life satisfaction than men, as in most other OECD countries, their satisfaction is declining. A review by the OECD of trend declines in women's life satisfaction across the OECD area suggests that this may result from "changes in family structures... and the fact that today's women have to juggle more complicated lives and many more objectives than in the past. These multiple goals compete for women's time and resources" (OECD, 2013b). These forces seem to be at play in Austria.

64. OECD investigations on the determinants of subjective well-being in Member countries (Fleche *et al.*, 2012 and Boarini *et al.*, 2012, which were summarised in the *2013 OECD Economic Survey of Austria*) have been updated with 2013 data. Gender-specific factors which drive Austrian men and women's life satisfaction are confirmed. Comparisons with similar countries hint at the persistence of, but also tensions in, separate gender roles:

- *Income* is a major driver of well-being in Austria, as in all OECD countries. However, its effect is weaker for women than for men. The difference between the contribution of income to men's and women's life satisfaction is larger than in peer countries.
- Voluntary *part-time work* is associated with higher life satisfaction for women without children. Notably, tertiary educated voluntary female part-timers emerge as a group with particularly high reported life satisfaction, more than in comparable countries.
- As a difference from comparable countries, *the presence of children* reduces reported life satisfaction for Austrian women, except when they are working full-time. This may be seen as a sign of tension in separate gender roles.
- For mothers who are not forced to withdraw from full-time work (either because they have access to full-day child care and schools, or find other solutions via family and/or informal support) there is a positive link between number of children and life satisfaction.
- Life satisfaction is lower among women who work part-time and have children. This suggests that part-time work may be preferable when material needs are limited, but may become detrimental when they increase. A large share of Austrian women feel indeed unhappy with their household income level. These findings hint at the fragility of part-time work as a determinant of life satisfaction.
- *Living in urban areas*. Life satisfaction is higher in urban than in rural areas. This is notably the case of women. In Austria's circumstances, living in a city may be a proxy for wider life options via better access to employment opportunities and support services.

Raising awareness about persisting gender gaps and their causes and consequences

65. The evidence presented in this working paper identifies Austria as one of the countries with the most distinct gender roles in the OECD. Many aspects of well-being are shaped by this separation, whereby women withdraw fully from the labour force when children are young, and return to the labour market through part-time work as children grow up. Men remain fully devoted to breadwinning. This model puts genders on diverging paths of skill acquisition, careers, incomes and other well-being dimensions.

66. Making work/life patterns more gender-equal would produce gains in all key well-being dimensions. The society's talent and resources can be better mobilised, and economic growth and fiscal resources, and consequently the material foundations of individual and societal well-being can be strengthened. Gender-specific motivations in education can be reduced and economic participation would increase, including in entrepreneurial activities. Both women and men can then fully use their potential and benefit from the same set of opportunities. Work/life balances would be expected to improve for all. An important gain would be in form of more equilibrated and better resourced families, which would be more able to have as many children as they wish.

67. Higher awareness of the persisting gender gaps, their sources, and their impact on various dimensions of well-being would help policymakers, families and enterprises focus on the top priorities in "opening-up" the separate roles model. This working paper suggests that the following areas deserve special attention:

- School age girls (and their families) should pay full attention to life opportunity, career and income implications of their study area choices.

- Young women should pay full attention to the long-term consequences of their labour force participation and employment decisions, including on their long-term pension entitlements.
- Men should pay more attention to the impact of imbalanced work/life patterns on families' long-term well-being, children's development and own health outcomes.
- Employers should fully realise the loss of talent and productivity arising from less than full engagement of women with children in professional activities.

68. Wider evidence, research and information in these areas would help Austrians of all genders, ages, professional positions and managerial responsibilities in the public and private sectors to realise the potential of opening-up the separate roles model for well-being gains and stronger economic growth (Box 6).

Box 6. Promote awareness of gender gaps, their sources and consequences

- Produce and disseminate up-to-date evidence and research on persisting gender gaps in Austria, their sources, and their impact on main dimensions of well-being.
- Publicize information on innovative practices successfully helping open-up the separate gender roles model. Notably:
 - Wider study area choices for schoolgirls and schoolboys.
 - Higher labour force participation of mothers with young children.
 - Better balanced paid and unpaid work duties within families, including in child and elderly care.
 - Workplace innovations to facilitate more purposeful time management by both genders.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adema, W. (2013), "Greater Gender Equality: What Role for Family Policy?", *Family Matters*, No. 93.

Adema, W., N. Ali and O. Thévenon (2014), "Changes in Family Policies and Outcomes: Is there Convergence?", *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*, No. 157, OECD Publishing, Paris. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jz13wllxgzt-en>

Altzinger, W. (2014), "Income and Wealth Distribution in Austria", mimeo, Vienna University of Economics and Business, Vienna.

AMS (*Arbeitsmarktservice*) (2014), *Bericht Gleichstellung am österreichischen Arbeitsmarkt (Report on Gender Equality in the Labour Market)*, Vienna.

Arbeiterkammer Wien (2013), *Beschäftigte im Reinigungsgewerbe – Analyse der Beschäftigteninterviews (Workers in the Cleaning Industry - Analysis of Employment Interviews)*, Institut Für Empirische Sozialforschung, Vienna.

- Arbeiterkammer Wien (2014), *Frauen Management Report*, Vienna.
- Austrian Court of Audit (2013), *Bericht des Rechnungshofes (Report of the Auditors)*, Vienna.
- Barnay, T. (2014), “Health, Work and Working Conditions: A Review of the European Economic Literature”, *OECD Economics Department Working Papers*, No.1148, OECD Publishing, Paris. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jz0zb71xhmr-en>.
- Berghammer, C. (2014), “The Return of the Male Breadwinner Model? Educational Effects on Parents’ Work Arrangements in Austria, 1980-2009”, *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol. 28, No. 4.
- Bergmann, N., L. Danzer and S. Schmatz (2014), “*Vereinbarkeit von Beruf und Kinderbetreuung – betriebliche Rahmenbedingungen aus Sicht berufstätiger Eltern*” (*Reconciliation of Work and Childcare - Framework for Working Parents*), L&R Social Research, Vienna.
- Blanchard O. (2004), “The Economic Future of Europe”, *NBER Working Paper Series*, No. 10310.
- Bloom, D., et al (2009), “The Cost of Low Fertility in Europe”, *NBER Working Paper Series*, No. 14820.
- Boarini, R. et al. (2012), “What Makes for a Better Life?: The Determinants of Subjective Well-Being in OECD Countries – Evidence from the Gallup World Poll”, *OECD Statistics Working Papers*, 2012/03, OECD Publishing. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k9b9ltjm937-en>
- Böheim, R., et al (2013), “The Gender Wage Gap in Austria: eppur si muove!”, *Empirica*, Vol. 40, No. 4.
- Buber-Ennser, I., N. Neuwirth and M. Testa (2014), *Families in Austria 2009-2013: Descriptive Findings on Partnerships, Fertility Intentions, Childbearing and Childrearing*, Vienna Institute of Demography, Vienna.
- Buber-Ennser, I. and R. Panova, (2014), “Attitudes towards parental employment across Europe, in Australia and in Japan”, *Vienna Institute of Demography Working Paper No. 5*, Vienna.
- Buchebner-Ferstl, S., M. Kaindl, R. Schipfer and M. Tazi-Preve (2014), “Familien- und kinderfreundliches Österreich?”, *Austrian Institute of Family Studies, Forschungsbericht, No. 13*, Vienna University, Vienna.
- Chamber of Labour (2014), “Labour Market and Reconciliation of Work and Family Life”, Background Information for the OECD Economic Survey, mimeo, December.
- Darden, M. (2014), “Workplace Stress in the United States: Issues and Policies”, *OECD Economics Department Working Papers*, No. 1150.
- Eder (2012), Divergence of Pupils Interests in Austria, unpublished mimeo quoted by Lassnigg (2014).
- Eiffe, F. and K. Gärtner (2014), Distribution and Determinants of Subjective Well-Being in Austria, mimeo based on *Statistische Nachrichten 2014 (1)*, Statistik Austria, Vienna.
- European Commission (2012a), *The Role of Men in Gender Equality – European Strategies and Insights*, DG Justice, December, Brussels.
- European Commission (2012b), *2010 Ad Hoc EU SILC Module on the Intra-Household Sharing of Resources*, Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, November, Brussels.

- European Commission (2014a), *Statistical Data on Women Entrepreneurs in Europe, Country Fiche Austria*, Enterprise and Industry, September, Brussels.
- European Commission (2014b), *Family-related Working Schedule Flexibility Across Europe*, Statistical Report No. 6, April, Brussels.
- European Commission (2014c), *Adequate Social Protection for Long-term Care Needs in an Ageing Society*, Brussels.
- European Commission (2015), *Country Report Austria*, Commission Staff Working Document, February, Brussels.
- European Trade Union Confederation (2015), *Collective Bargaining and Gender Equality website*, <http://www.etuc.org/collective-bargaining-and-gender-equality>.
- Eurostat (2010), *Structure of Earnings Survey website*, <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/labour-market/earnings>
- Eurostat (2011), *Adult Education Survey website*, <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/microdata/adult-education-survey>.
- Fleche, S., C. Smith and P. Sorsa (2012), “Exploring Determinants of Subjective Wellbeing in OECD Countries: Evidence from the World Value Survey”, *OECD Statistics Working Papers*, 2012/01, OECD Publishing.
- Freisinger, C., A. Palienko and J. Straner (2014), *Zugangsbeschränkungen und Chancen(un)gleichheit im Hochschulsystem*, Arbeiterkammer Vienna.
- Geisberger, T. and T. Glaser (2014), “Geschlechtsspezifische Verdienstunterschiede - Analysen zum Gender Pay Gap auf Basis der Verdienststrukturerhebung 2010” (Gender specific earnings differences – Analysis of gender pay gap on the basis of the Earnings Structure Survey 2010, *Statistische Nachrichten 2014 (3)*, Statistik Austria, Vienna.
- Goldin, C. (2014), “A Grand Gender Convergence: Its Last Chapter”, *American Economic Review*, 104(4).
- Huerta, M., W. Adema, J. Baxter, M. Corak, M. Dedding, M. Gray, W. Han and J. Waldfogel (2011), “Early Maternal Employment and Child Development in Five OECD Countries”, *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*, No. 118.
- Huerta, M. et al. (2011), “Early Maternal Employment and Child Development in Five OECD Countries”, *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*, No. 118, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5kg5dlmtxhvh-en>
- Kaindl, M. and G. Wernhart (2012), “Wie Großeltern ihre Kinder und Enkelkinder unterstützen. Persönliche und finanzielle Hilfe von Großeltern aus Sicht der Großeltern und der erwachsenen Kinder”, *Österreichisches Institut für Familienforschung Working Papers*, No. 78.
- KMU Forschung Austria (2010), *Study on Non-legislative Initiatives for Companies to Promote Gender Equality at the Workplace*, Austrian Institute for SME Research, Vienna.
- Knittler, K. (2011), “Intergenerationale Bildungsmobilität” (Intergenerational educational mobility), *Statistische Nachrichten*, No. 4, Statistik Austria, Vienna.

- Korpi, W., T. Ferrarini and S. Englund (2013), “Women’s Opportunities under Different Family Policy Constellations: Gender, Class and Inequality Trade-offs in Western Countries Re-examined”, *Social Politics*, Spring.
- Lang, S. and B. Sauer (2012), “Does Federalism Impact Gender Architectures? The Case of Women’s Policy Agencies in Germany and Austria”, *The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 43, No. 1.
- Lassnigg, L., A. Kulhanek and P. Wejwar (2014), “*Quantitative Information About Sex and Gender Issues in the Austrian National Education Report*”, mimeo, Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS), Vienna.
- Lazear, E. and S. Rosen (1990), “Male-Female Wage Differentials in Job Ladders”, *Journal of Labour Economics*, Vol. 8, No. 1.
- Leoni, T. and R. Eppel (2013). “Women's Work and Family Profiles over the Lifecourse and their Subsequent Health Outcomes”, *WWF For Europe Working Paper*, No. 28.
- Lutz, H. and M. Schratzenstaller (2010), “Mögliche Ansätze zur Unterstützung von Familien durch die öffentlichen Haushalte (Options for Family Support Benefits)”, *WIFO Monatsberichte*, No. 83(8).
- Mader, K., A. Schneebaum, K. Hollan and P. Kopf (2014), Vermögensunterschiede nach Geschlecht: Erste Ergebnisse für Österreich (Wealth differences: First results for Austria), *Document on Economy and Society No. 129*, Arbeitskammer, Vienna.
- Mairhuber I. (2009), “*The Cost of Non Gender Equality – Report on Austria*”, Forschungs- und Beratungsstelle Arbeitswelt, Vienna.
- Marin B. (2013), *Welfare in an Idle Society? Reinventing Retirement, Work, Wealth, Health and Welfare*, Ashgate, London.
- Musset, P. et al. (2013), *A Skills beyond School Review of Austria*, OECD Reviews of Vocational Education and Training, OECD Publishing.
- OECD (2007), *Babies and Bosses, Reconciling Work and Family Times: A Synthesis of Findings From OECD Countries*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2011a), *Doing Better for Families*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2012), *Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2013a), *Recommendation of the Council on Gender Equality in Education, Employment and Entrepreneurship*, Paris.
- OECD (2013b), *How’s Life? Measuring Well-Being*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2013c), *Government at a Glance*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2013c), *OECD Economic Surveys: Austria 2013*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2014a), *Education at a Glance*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2014b), *Recruiting Immigrant Workers: Austria*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

- OECD (2014c), *Women, Government and Policymaking in OECD Countries*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2015a), *The ABC of Gender Equality in Education*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2015b), *Fit Mind Fit Job: From Evidence to Practice in Mental Health and Work*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OeNB (2014), *Financial Stability Report 28*, Österreichische Nationalbank, December.
- O'Neill, J. (2003), "The Gender Gap in Wages, circa 2000", *American Economic Review*, Vol. 93, No. 2.
- Plantenga, J., C. Remery, H. Figueiredo and M. Smith (2009), "Towards a European Union Gender Equality Index", *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol. 19.
- Queisser, M. (2013), "Investing in Europe's Demographic Future", 2013 Demography Forum, mimeo, OECD.
- Ray, R., J. C. Gornick and J. Schmitt (2010), "Who Cares? Assessing Generosity and Gender Equality in Parental Leave Policy Designs in 21 Countries", *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol. 20.
- Schratzstaller, M. (2015), "Familienpolitische Leistungen in Österreich im Überblick" (Family Benefits in Austria – An Overview), *WIFO-Monatsberichte*, No. 88(3).
- Schwartz, S. and T. Rubel-Lifshitz (2009), "Cross-National Variation in the Size of Sex Differences in Values: Effects of Gender Equality", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, No. 97/1.
- Schwarz, P. (2012), "Tax Disincentives and Female Employment in OECD Countries", *Journal of European Social Policy*, No. 22.
- Sen, A. (2001), "The Many Faces of Gender Inequality", *The New Republic*, September.
- Sparreboom, T. (2009), *Gender Equality, Employment and Part-Time Work in Developed Countries*, Report for the 98th Session of the International Labour Conference, Geneva.
- Statistik Austria (2007), *Erwachsenenbildungserhebung (Adult Education Survey)*, Vienna.
- Statistik Austria (2009), *Zeitverwendung (Time Use Survey)*, Vienna.
- Statistik Austria (2010), *Frauenbericht (Women Report)*, Vienna.
- Statistik Austria (2014a), *Vertiefende Analysen der PIAAC-Erhebung (In-depth PIAAC Analyses)*, Vienna: http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/bildung_und_kultur/piaac/vertiefende_analysen_der_piaac_erhebung_2011_12/index.html
- Statistik Austria (2015), *People, Society, Labour Market, Family and Employment Statistics - website*, http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/arbeitsmarkt/arbeitszeit/teilzeitarbeit_teilzeitquote/062882.html
- Steier, G. (2013), "Womonomics for Nursing Growth: Making the Case for Work Time Flexibility and Mother-Friendlier Workplaces", *Buffalo Journal of Gender, Law and Social Policy*, Vol. 21.

- Stock, G., H. Bertram, A. Fürnkranz-Prskawetz, W. Holzgreve, M. Kohli and U. Staudinger (2012), *A Future with Children: Fertility and the Development of Society in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland*, Campus Verlag.
- Tesch-Römer, C., A. Motel-Klingebiel and M. Tomasik (2007), "Gender Differences in Subjective Well-Being: Comparing Societies with Respect to Gender Equality", *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 85, Issue 2.
- The Economist (2014), *In Search of Lost Time: Why Is Everyone So Busy?*, 20 December.
- Thévenon, O. (2011), "Family Policies in OECD Countries: A Comparative Analysis", *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 37, Issue 1.
- Thévenon, O. (2013), "Drivers of Female Labour Force Participation in the OECD", *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*, No. 145, OECD Publishing, Paris.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k46civrngms6-en>
- Thévenon, O. and A. Gauthier (2011), "Family Policies in Developed Countries: A 'Fertility-Booster' with Side-Effects", *Community, Work and Family*, No. 14/2.
- Thévenon, O, N. Ali, W. Adema and A. Savi del Pero (2012), "Effects of Reducing Gender Gaps in Education and Labour Force Participation on Economic Growth in the OECD", *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers*, No. 138, OECD Publishing, Paris. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k8xb722w928-en>.
- Weber, A. and C. Zulehner (2014), "Competition and Gender Prejudice: Are Discriminatory Employers Doomed to Fail?", *Journal of the European Economic Association*, Vol. 12, No. 2.
- Wernhart, G. and R. Winter-Ebmer (2012), "Do Austrian Men and Women Become More Equal? At Least in Terms of Labour Supply!", *Empirica*, No. 39.
- Wirtschaftskammer Österreich (2013a), "Leitfaden Betriebliche Kinderbetreuung" (A Guide to Corporate Child Care), published in co-operation with the Ministry of Economy, Family and Youth, Vienna.
- Wirtschaftskammer Österreich (2013b), "Handbuch zur vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf" (Handbook on work-life balance), published in co-operation with the Ministry of Economy, Family and Youth, Vienna.
- Wirtschaftskammer Österreich (2015), "Jahrbuch" (Yearbook), <http://wko.at/statistik/jahrbuch/ng-geschlecht.pdf>.
- World Economic Forum (2014), *The Global Gender Gap Report*, Geneva.
- Ziemann, V (2015), "Towards More Gender Equality in Austria," *OECD Economics Department Working Papers*, No. 1273.