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„Same Same But Different: The Political Recruitment of
Women and Men to the Austrian Government“

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List of Abbreviations and Translations Used

Ab	Österreichischer Akademikerbund
AG	AktionsGemeinschaft
AGV	Alte Gymnasialverbindung
AHS	Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule (academic secondary school)
AK	(Bundes)Arbeiterkammer ((Federal) Chamber of Labour)
AKS	Aktion kritischer SchülerInnen
AOM	APA-Online Manager
APA	Austria Presse Agentur
Art.	Artikel
ATB(Ö)	Akademischer Turnbund in Österreich
AUF	Aktionsgemeinschaft Unabhängiger und Freiheitlicher
AUVA	Allgemeine Unfallversicherungsanstalt (General Accident Insurance Institution)
BAWAG	Bank für Arbeit und Wirtschaft
BHS	Berufsbildende Höhere Schule (higher technical and vocational college)
BKA	Bundeskanzleramt
BMBWK	Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur
BMS	Berufsbildende Mittlere Schule (intermediate technical and vocational school)
BMWF	Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung
BSA	Bund sozialdemokratischer Akademiker, Intellektueller und Künstler (Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists)
B-VG	Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz
BZÖ	Bündnis Zukunft Österreich
CAWP	Center for American Women and Politics
CC	Coburger Convent der Landsmannschaften und Turnerschaften an deutschen Hochschulen
CV (the same as ÖCV)	Österreichischer Cartellverband der katholischen österreichischen Studentenverbindungen (Union of Catholic Austrian Student Fraternities)
DB	Deutsche Burschenschaft
DBÖ	Deutsche Burschenschaft in Österreich
DS	Deutsche Sängerschaft
ENA	École nationale d'administration
EU	European Union
FA	Freiheitliche Arbeitnehmer
FBO	Freiheitliche Bauernschaft Österreichs
FCG	Fraktion Christlicher Gewerkschafter (Christian Union's Faction)
FEG	Freie Exekutivgewerkschaft Österreichs
FFVÖ	Freiheitlicher Familienverband Österreichs
FGÖ	Freie Gewerkschaft Österreichs
FÖST	Freie Österreichische Studentenschaft
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs
FSG	Fraktion Sozialdemokratischer GewerkschafterInnen (Social-Democratic Union's Faction)
GKK	Österreichische Gebietskrankenkasse (Health Insurance Agency)
GPA	Gewerkschaft der Privatangestellten (Union of Private Sector Employees)

HVB	Hauptverband der österreichischen Sozialversicherungsträger (Austrian Federation of Social Security Agencies)
idF	in der Fassung
IFF	Initiative Freiheitlicher Frauen
IP	Interviewed Person
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
JG	Junge Generation (Young Generation)
JVP	Junge Volkspartei
K.a.V.	Katholisch Akademische Studentenverbindung
K.Ö.St.V.	Katholisch Österreichische Studentenverbindung
KA(Ö)	Katholische Aktion (Österreich)
KAB	Katholische ArbeitnehmerInnenbewegung
KAJC	Kongreß Akademischer Jagdkorporationen
KAV	Katholischer Akademikerverband
KFB	Katholische Frauenbewegung
KHG	Katholische Hochschulgemeinde
KHJ(Ö)	Katholische Hochschuljugend (Österreichs)
KJÖ	Katholische Jugend Österreich
KJS	Katholische Jungschar
KMB	Katholische Männerbewegung
KÖL	Akademischer Bund Katholisch-Österreichischer Landsmannschaften
KPÖ	Kommunistische Partei Österreichs
KSCV	Kösener Senioren-Convents-Verband
LIF	Liberales Forum
LWK	(Bundes)Landwirtschaftskammer ((Federal) Chamber of Agriculture)
MA	Master's Degree
MKV	Mittelschüler-Kartell-Verband der katholischen farbentragenden Studentenkorporationen Österreichs (Union of Catholic Austrian Secondary School Student Fraternities)
MP	Member of Parliament
NRWO	Nationalratswahlordnung
ÖAAB	Österreichischer Arbeitnehmerinnen- und Arbeitnehmerbund
ÖBB	Österreichischer Bauernbund
ÖBB	Österreichische Bundesbahnen (Austrian Railways)
ÖBJR	Österreichischer Bundesjugendring
ÖCV (the same as CV)	Österreichischer Cartellverband der katholischen österreichischen Studentenverbindungen (Union of Catholic Austrian Student Fraternities)
ÖFB	Österreichische Frauenbewegung
ÖGB	Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund (Austrian Federation of Trade Unions)
ÖGJ	Österreichische Gewerkschaftsjugend
ÖH	Österreichische Hochschülerinnen- und Hochschülerschaft
ÖIAG	Österreichische Industrieholding Aktiengemeinschaft
ÖKV	Kartellverband katholischer nichtfarbentragender akademischer Vereinigungen Österreichs
ÖLM	Österreichische Landsmannschaften
ÖLTC	Österreichischer Landsmannschafter- und Turnerschafter-Convent
OMV	Österreichische Mineralölverwaltung
ÖNACE	NACE is the acronym for the French name "Nomenclature générale des Activités économiques dans les Communautés Européennes". It is a classification system for economic activities in the European Union. ÖNACE is the Austrian version of the scheme.

ÖPR	Österreichischer Pennälerring
ORF	Österreichischer Rundfunk (Austrian Broadcasting Cooperation)
ÖSB	Österreichischer Seniorenbund
ÖSR	Österreichischer Seniorenring
ÖSU	Österreichische Studentenunion
ÖVP	Österreichische Volkspartei
ÖWB	Österreichischer Wirtschaftsverband
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy or Dissertation
PVA	Pensionsversicherungsanstalt (Pension Insurance Agency)
PVÖ	Pensionistenverband Österreichs
RFA	Ring Freiheitlicher und Unabhängiger Arbeitnehmer
RFJ	Ring Freiheitlicher Jugend
RFS	Ring Freiheitlicher Studenten
RFW	Ring Freiheitlicher Wirtschaftstreibender
SJ(Ö)	Sozialistische Jugend (Österreichs)
SoHo	Sozialdemokratie und Homosexualität
SPÖ	Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs
SPSS	SPSS is a statistical software
SS	Schutzstaffel
SV	Sozialversicherung
SWV	Sozialdemokratischer Wirtschaftsverband
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States
UV(Ö)	Unitas-Verband in Österreich
VCS	Vereinigung christlicher farbentragender Studentinnen Österreichs
VdSt!	Verein deutscher Studenten
VdU (the same as WdU)	Verband der Unabhängigen
VfGH	Verfassungsgerichtshof (Constitutional Court)
VfM	Verband farbentragender Mädchen
VGÖ	Vereinte Grüne Österreichs
VÖI	Industriellenvereinigung or Vereinigung Österreichischer Industrieller (Association of Industrialists)
VSM	Verband Sozialistischer Mittelschüler
VSSTÖ	Verband Sozialistischer Studentinnen und Studenten Österreichs
VVD ST	Verband der Vereine Deutscher Studenten
VwGH	Verwaltungsgerichtshof (Administrative Court)
WBIS	World Biographical Information System Online
WdU (the same as VdU)	Wahlpartei der Unabhängigen
Wiener S.C.	Wiener Senioren-Convent
WK(Ö)	(Bundes)Wirtschaftskammer Österreich; ((Federal) Economic Chamber)

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1. Introduction

(1) Topic & Research Question

In this thesis, the sex/gender relations in the political recruitment processes of females and males as Austrian ministers will be explored. This dissertation thus examines females and males who are both part of government; however, the preconditions are far from equal (“same same but different”). Many research works claim to deal with political recruitment, but only focus on the outcome of the personnel selection and are thus elite studies. The term “political recruitment” can be defined as the processes by which members of a society climb the political career ladder and finally occupy positions of power. Hence, a study on political recruitment has to refer to the side of the recruited and their accession process as well as to the processes of selection from the side of the selectors (Chapman 1993, 29). Recruitment processes and the sexed/gendered relations in these do not persist detached from the societal and political framework conditions. Sex/gender relations have to be understood as sites of unequal power relations, immanent in society and the political field, which structure all relations, are deeply undemocratic and set women at a disadvantage. Politics was an exclusively male field; women have to be understood as relatively new invaders of a formerly entirely male occupation. The allegedly sex/gender-neutral recruitment processes to positions of power – such as the Austrian governmental posts – represent sites of power and domination which harbour sex/gender-specific structures: It is those unequal sexed/gendered power relations that need to be uncovered. From this aim follows the methodological angle to analyze women *and* men and explore the ways sex/gender plays out in the political field. Only through that, a “*feminist institutional archaeology*¹” (Kreisky 1995, 89) is possible, which aims to uncover the sexed/gendered structures of the political field and the state. Political recruitment processes need to be analyzed with respect to sex/gender in every single dimension in order to explore where the *differences* between women and men are. The leading research question for this project thus is: How do the unequal (powered) sex/gender relations manifest themselves in the political recruitment processes of the Austrian ministers? Hence, which sex/gender differences can be ascertained in the political recruitment of women and men?

¹ In the original: “*feministische Institutionenarchäologie*”

The main research question can be split into several sub-questions. The reference to sex/gender relations was left aside in the formulation of these sub-questions for the sake of simplicity, but have to be considered for every sub-question: (1) By whom are the ministers selected? (2) How do political careers work? (3) Who are the Austrian ministers? (This sub-question targets the social structure of the governmental members.) (4) Which differences between women and men *in* government can be identified and how did this change? The last sub-question targets two dimensions: Firstly, the quantitative representation of women and men tackling the numerical presence. Secondly, the qualitative representation, which entails the allocation of portfolios to women and men according to the different power statuses of the portfolios.

The government includes the Federal Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor and the ministers (B-VG, Art. 69); the state secretaries are legally not members of the government (Müller 2006e, 169) and are therefore not included in this research. The national government is at the centre of the political field in Austria. Its domination is a, if not the aim of the parties in the elections to the National Assembly (Müller 2006e, 185). In 1966, the first female politician – Grete Rehor (ÖVP) – was selected to lead a ministry. When I began work on this thesis in 2006, I only wanted to research enclosed cabinets. A change of government only took place in the same year. This is why this study explores political recruitment processes of female and male ministers in Austria from 1966 to 2006. It represents a period of time of forty years, which is valuable in determining the mechanisms of political recruitment and their sexed/gendered structures. In this period of time, three parties took part in government: the Social-Democratic Party (SPÖ), the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) and the Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ), respectively: In 2005 – during the governmental participation of the FPÖ – the BZÖ broke away from the FPÖ. The governmental members of the BZÖ were largely already part of the cabinet before the founding of the party. Only one minister, Ursula Haubner, was selected during the party's existence. However, she too was previously member of the FPÖ party. Additionally, she had been party leader before her ministerial position, which is why she is excluded from the research selection in the biographical analysis: She was recruited into the governmental position because of her position as party leader and the selection of party leaders follows entirely different rules than those for the recruitment of cabinet members. For this reason only the FPÖ will be covered in this thesis.

Table 1: Overview of the Austrian Governments 1966-2006

Government Cabinets ¹	Period of Government	Government Constellations
Klaus II	1966-1970	Majority Government: ÖVP
Kreisky I	1970-1971	Minority Government: SPÖ
Kreisky II-IV	1971-1983	Majority Government: SPÖ
Sinowatz, Vranitzky I	1983-1986	Little Coalition: SPÖ-FPÖ
Vranitzky II-V, Klima	1987-1999	Grand Coalition: SPÖ-ÖVP
Schüssel I-II	2000-2006	Little Coalition: ÖVP-FPÖ/BZÖ

Notes: (1) The indicated names in the first column represent the respective Federal Chancellors and cabinets.
Source: Own compilation on the basis of the *Österreichischer Amtskalender* (2007/2008).

The SPÖ and the ÖVP represent the (at least formerly) two major parties. The FPÖ was the third party of relevance for decades. The traditional strength of the parties has been due to erosion, however, and since the end of the 1980s the traits of the party system shifted markedly by the entry of the Greens and the (temporary) presence of the LIF (Liberales Forum) in the national parliament and by the immense rise of voters in the case of the FPÖ (Plasser/Ulram 2006, 559). In 2005, the new party BZÖ entered the political arena.

(2) Literature Review & Theoretical Argument

Who is in power and why are traditional questions in political science that have been treated from many different angles. They range from political psychology aiming to draw out personality traits typical for political leaders to the vast biographical and historical literature. One of the pivotal research branches is represented by studies on political elites, which entail – in their classic version – the idea that a minority of the population (the elite) takes the pivotal decisions for the majority or the mass, is somewhat cohesive, and gained their positions other than from elections in a non-democratic way (Parry 1969, 30-31). Another seminal research strand is the literature on political parties, in which it has been queried that the personnel selection for government is one of the questions that has received the least attention from scholars (De Winter 2002, 205). Rational choice theory is currently the dominant framework to research careers in the US and focuses on the question under which conditions people are willing to run for office, and was much informed by Schlesinger's (1966) landmark study on political ambition (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 1, 21-22). Many of these studies bring forward a gender-blind perspective or only included gender as *one* dimension of sex belonging. More recently, a new field of research developed which is mainly interested in the barriers of the political field or the entry of outsider groups in politics like women or ethnic minorities (e.g.: Chapman 1993; Puwar 2004).

The *broader research field*, which was of major relevance for this thesis, is located within the overlap of *political recruitment and sex/gender questions*. This current of literature has mainly developed in the last few decades. There are two main approaches in the field which need to be differentiated: (1) Cross-national studies, which focus on aggregate-level systemic factors (like the electoral systems, party systems, or the types of parties), cultural factors, and partly also party-level factors in order to explain varying levels of female candidatures and representation or to explore the reasons for the underrepresentation of women (e.g.: Norris/Inglehart 2000; Inglehart/Norris 2003; Kunovich/Paxton 2005; Siaroff 2000; Kenworthy/Malami 1999; Davis 1997). (2) The second approach considers questions of political recruitment in a national context or embeds the national research into a comparative perspective (e.g.: Sanbonmatsu 2006; Norris/Lovenduski 1995; Carroll 1994/1985; Chapman 1993; Haavio-Mannila et al. 1985; Kunovich/Paxton 2005; Lovenduski/Norris 1989; Randall 1991; Epstein 1981). It was foremost the latter that was of relevance for my study. From the accessed literature, some of the studies theoretically link empirical accounts on sex/gender-specific structures of political recruitment to questions of representation in democratic theory (Carroll 1994/1985), focus on the question whether women and men experience selection processes differently (e.g.: Lovenduski/Norris 1989), draw out the hindering factors for female representation (e.g.: Carroll 1994/1985; Lovenduski/Norris 1989), or examine what the contribution of female officeholders to public life or to the framing of policies will be (e.g.: Norris 1996; Lovenduski/Norris 2004). Hence, many research works focusing on the questions of women or sex/gender and political recruitment or politics more broadly informed this thesis with interesting inputs and hypotheses, but did not provide me with an analytical and theoretical understanding of how to grasp sex/gender-specific structures in political recruitment processes. The works that brought forward a theoretical and analytical concept of political recruitment, though, did not fit the Austrian context: They largely focus on legislative recruitment and hence discuss dimensions which are of no relevance for governmental recruitment in Austria. The selection processes to parliament are mostly quite formalized, the electoral system has a significant influence on them and they often include the possibility for the candidates to apply for candidacy such as in the UK (e.g. Norris/Lovenduski 1995) or are strongly characterized by self-entrepreneurship such as in the US (e.g. Sanbonmatsu 2006). The selection to government has only rarely been subject of discussion, in comparison, and – in case it was treated – was not comparable to the Austrian situation because of the distinct national context (e.g. Martin 1997). Only the

model of supply and demand of Norris and Lovenduski (1995), which is widely used internationally, proved to be a useful point of departure for a theoretical and analytical understanding of political recruitment in this thesis. The scholars developed an analytical model of supply and demand in order to understand political recruitment to the British parliament (cf. Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 15-21, 184). Although this model clearly has its merits in its analytical clarity, several points may nevertheless be criticized, which will be subject of discussion in the theory chapter. Most importantly, though, a concept of power is not included, which is critical in order to understand political recruitment in Austria, though: The Austrian recruitment processes to government are largely informal and determined by the power relations between the different party groups and agents *within* the parties, which are characterized by sex/gender relations. Hence, I needed a theoretical approach of political recruitment in which a sex/gender-sensitive concept of power was at the fore. Power and its link to sex/gender relations, however, were hardly ever in the centre of the theoretical debates or concepts.

The shortcomings of Norris/Lovenduski's approach for my endeavour were balanced by incorporating *Bourdieuian concepts* (e.g.: Bourdieu 1977; 1986; 1987; 1992; 1995/1985; 1996; 1997/1991; 2001; 2005/1995; Fröhlich 1994; Vester 2002), mainly the understanding of field, capital and – to a lesser extent – habitus. This approach is powerful to conceptualize and analyze sexed/gendered power relations. However – as will be ascertained in the theory chapter – the understanding of the sex/gender relations brought forth by Bourdieu (1997; 2005) himself as masculine domination was dismissed in this thesis. This is why *further research on sex/gender relations* needed to be employed, which mainly includes works that have endeavoured to further develop the Bourdieuian framework (e.g.: Kraus 2001; 2006; Moi 1991; 1999; Adkins 2005; Lovell 2000) and works on the maleness/masculinity of the state or – more widely put – the political field (Kreisky 1995; 1997; Sauer 2003; 2004).

The *research on political recruitment in Austria* in general is quite humble. A majority of the studies is already quite old (e.g.: Freytag 1958; Naßmacher 1968; Pelinka 1970; Stirnemann 1988; Baumgartner 1983; Fischer 1982/1974) or focuses on periods before the 1970s (Stimmer 1997). Many of the works only deal with the topic of political recruitment in a few chapters or an article (Dachs/Gerlich/Müller 1995b; Müller/Philipp/Steininger 1988; Nick 1995; Steininger 1999; Schausberger 1995a; Patzelt 1998) or represent publications, in which the topic of political recruitment is only one of many topics (Nick/Pelinka 1996/1993; Müller 2006e; Fischer 1982/1974) and could hence not provide

me with an encompassing understanding of political recruitment in Austria. The category sex/gender is largely neglected as a structural category in the existing literature (e.g.: Naßmacher 1968; Pelinka 1970; Nick 1995; Stimmer 1997; Fischer 1982/1974), which is at least partly rooted in the age of these research works. When “sex/gender” is explored at all, it often only entails the development of the quantitative female representation in the respective institution and hence only targets sex belonging as *one* dimension and not sex/gender as an encompassing category (e.g.: Baumgartner 1983; Müller/Philipp/Steininger 1988; Steininger 1999). Sex/gender-sensitive research focusing on political recruitment or on the representation and participation of women in the Austrian political sphere was predominantly produced by women. When the sex/gender-specific traits of political recruitment are dealt with, though, it is mostly – again – only done in an article or a chapter (Neyer 1991; Niederkofler 2004), as part of publications treating the wider topic of women in the Austrian political system (Neyer 1985; 1997; Steininger 1992; 2000; 2001; 2006), or as problematization of the relative exclusion of females in the social partnership (Neyer 1995; 1996; Appelt 1995). Additionally, most of the research works focus on the political institutions of the National Assembly; the government is relatively rare in the centre of the debate. In conclusion, the research on political recruitment in Austria in general and its sex/gender-specific aspects more specifically is tenuous. The literature of the intersecting points sex/gender and political power positions is clearly underdeveloped in Austria – in contrast to, for example, the UK or Scandinavia. Moreover, the existing current of literature is insufficiently linked to ongoing international debates on political recruitment. For example, if at all, references are mostly made to the German researcher Herzog (1975; 1982; 1990) or rather relate to scholars who endeavour empirical accounts on political recruitment in several states (e.g.: Blondel/Müller-Rommel 1997/1988). However, also these links are rarely made. As a result, firstly, a thorough discussion on political recruitment to the Austrian government and its sex/gender-specific traits, which correlates to seminal theoretical debates and brings forward a theoretical framework, is missing in Austria. Secondly, and more importantly, the personnel selection to government in Austria represents an interesting example of political recruitment which does not fit into the existing theoretical accounts on recruitment and can thus inform the international debates on recruitment with relevant inputs. This will be ascertained later on in this chapter.

In sum, the theoretical concept in this thesis is based on (1) Norris/Lovenduski’s (1995) analytical model of recruitment, (2) a Bourdieuan framework and (3) research works on

sex/gender relations, which are chiefly constituted by sex/gender-sensitive Bourdieuan studies and works on the maleness/masculinity of the state. In the theory chapter, the theoretical concept will be laid down first. Then an analytical model to understand the sexed/gendered structures of political recruitment will be developed, which will guide the empirical undertaking. In this model, the theoretical concept will be condensed and tied to the literature on political recruitment in Austria as well as to the theoretical inputs of the studies on women or sex/gender and political recruitment or politics more generally.

(3) The Theoretical Approach in a Nutshell & Handling the Sex/Gender Dimension

The developed analytical model of political recruitment can be briefly summarized as follows: Recruitment processes will be theoretically understood as being embedded into the analytical levels of the political parties, the political field and society. These layers have to be conceptualized as “Russian dolls”: Recruitment processes take place within the political parties, which are part of the political field, which itself is embedded into society. All levels are characterized by unequal sex/gender relations and influence the outcome of the personnel selection. Sex/gender has to be understood as a structural variable that structures all levels of analysis. Thus, processes of recruitment and careers have to be characterized first and then analyzed with respect to sex/gender in every single dimension. The level of recruitment processes will be further differentiated into the perspective of the selectors and the perspective of the recruited for analytical purposes. The perspective of the selectors targets the sub-question of *Who selects?* and its sex/gender relations. In the theoretical chapter, the most important dimensions as concerns the side of the selectors as well as their sex/gender relations will be carved out, such as party ideology or rules. Most importantly, though, I will argue that it is the (sexed/gendered) relations of power within the parties which are decisive for the processes of selection. The power relations are determined by the holding of capital of the different party agents and thus the relational positions between the agents within the party.

The perspective of the recruited tackles the sub-questions *How do political careers work?* and *Who are the Austrian ministers in terms of their social structure?* and their sex/gender relations. In order to answer the first sub-question, the sexed/gendered composition and volume of capital and other resources and the typical sexed/gendered career paths will be elucidated. The (sexed/gendered) typical career paths are in so far connected to the

typically selecting party agents, as the selecting party groups usually delegate someone into government from their midst. To answer the second sub-question, the social structure of the ministers will be ascertained. The social structure is also connected to the sub-question *How do political careers work?* in so far as education, for example, is understood as cultural capital.

Finally, the last sub-question *Which differences between women and men in government can be identified and how did this change?* aims to explore the unequal structures in government for women in terms of the quantity and the quality of representation.

The term “sex” refers to the biological differences between men and women, whereas the term “gender” refers to the socially constructed definition of men and women. Since the 1980s, it has been argued that the concepts of sex and gender were separate and the term “gender” has been increasingly exclusively used (Lovenduski 1998, 335). In many research works, though, the notion of “gender” was employed to entail both meanings, or the term was used although it was really the dimension of sex that was at the fore. In German, the term “Geschlecht” entails the biological and the social definition of sex and gender and is hence able to include the linkages which exist between the two concepts: Gender *typically* (!) follows the belonging to a sex. Similarly, the male dominance of an organization is often accompanied with a rather masculine definition. Unfortunately, no term exists in English which comprises both the biological as well as the social dimension of the sex/gender belonging. This is why the term “sex/gender” and the according adjectives male/masculine and female/feminine are employed in this thesis, unless only one side is specifically addressed. When thoughts of scholars are summarized or referred to, I will follow their use of terms.

Additionally, it has to be outlined that neither only two sexes, nor two genders exist.

However, in a heteronormative society and – even more so – in a heteronormative political field, politicians are usually perceived as women or men. Thus, the term sex/gender refers to the relations between females and males in this work.

(4) Research Approach, Methodology & Data

Conceptually, recruitment processes are embedded into a wider framework built by the layers political parties – political field – society. The relationship to society has to be conceptualized, otherwise recruitment processes specifically or the political field in general

may appear as detached from society, which is most certainly not the case. However, the empirical analysis basically sets in with the political field; societal dimensions cannot be directly researched as it would be clearly beyond the context of this study. Yet the analysis of the social structure and its sex/gender relations allows for inferences about typical gates and barriers in society to enter the political field.

Sex/gender relations are inherent in all relations, which represented a major difficulty during the research process: This meant that the dimensions of political recruitment had to be carved out first and then had to be analyzed with respect to their sex/gender relations only in a second step.

The hypotheses that will be explored in this thesis largely follow from the theoretical concept and are partly derived from the empirical endeavour. The former will be developed in the theoretical chapter, whereas the latter will be introduced in the according chapters.

The topic of political recruitment to the Austrian government was approached by five methods, which are ordered along their relevance in the following:

- (1) An analysis of factual biographical data of the Austrian ministers (in the form of a prosopography);
- (2) Qualitative expert interviews with episodic elements;
- (3) Statistical calculations in SPSS;
- (4) Selected case studies; and
- (5) A quantitative and qualitative data analysis of the Austrian cabinets, more specifically about the (quantitative and qualitative) allocation of the portfolios to females and males.

The different methods were triangulated in the research. The term “triangulation of methods” originates in the field of navigation or land surveying. It means the determination of a point by the measurement of two known points. Hence, it aims to explore a phenomenon by several methods (Kelle/Kluge/Sommer 1998, 345-346), which are complementary and shed light on different aspects of the same phenomenon (Kelle/Kluge/Sommer 1998, 354). As every method has its limits, triangulation aims to intertwine different methods in order to gain deeper insights (Flick 2007). The concepts “mix of methods” and “triangulation” have to be distinguished: Triangulation is more systematic, considers the theoretical and epistemological underpinnings of the used methods and does not only tie several methods to one another in a thoughtless manner (Flick 2007). Following Kelle/Kluge/Sommer (1998, 352), the different methods should be

carried out separately; the interim results of one method can already be taken into account in the conduct of another method. If the triangulation process of different methods shows inconsistencies, this may be illustrated as a “methodical problem” (“Methodenproblem” in German) or may raise doubts about the employed theoretical concept (Kelle/Kluge/Sommer 1998, 355).

The five different methodical approaches used in my study are complementary; each of the methods targets a different aspect of the research problem: I conducted *15 expert interviews with episodic elements* with 16 interviewees. These predominantly served to identify the crucial recruitment mechanisms in the political parties and the power relations within them, i.e. the side of the selectors. Also, the question of how political careers work was discussed in the interviews. The episodic elements are built by specific examples of recruited ministers and the according recruitment mechanisms the respondents gave and – in case the interviewees had been ministers themselves – the story of their own selection. Although the respondents were able to make evaluations about sex/gender relations in political recruitment and in careers, those could not be entirely covered by the instrument of expert interviews: The interviewees were not provided with thorough knowledge about, for example, which career paths are rather male dominated and which are not or over which social structure the ministers pertained. Hence, the sex/gender relations as regards their political career and their social structure, i.e. the political career paths, the volume and the composition of the held capital forms and resources as well as the social structure are best tackled by a *biographical analysis*: In the selected time frame from 1966 to 2006, 120 persons were ministers. From these, the ministers who had been party leaders before their participation in government were excluded, as those only became ministers because of their party leader position and the selection processes for party leaders differ from those for governmental members. Most of the party leaders had been ministers before their party leadership and were included in the research selection anyway. This resulted in the exclusion of Josef Klaus (ÖVP), Bruno Kreisky (SPÖ), Norbert Steger (FPÖ) and Ursula Haubner (FPÖ/BZÖ). Finally, 116 persons were included in the research, of which 23 are female and 93 are male.

Through the research on the biographies of the governmental members, the selectors and their sex/gender relations were indirectly investigated as well, since they were reflected in the empirical results of the typical career paths and their sex/gender relations. Empirically, the analysis of individual lives at large leads us from an individual to a structural level. The research on the biographies of the Austrian ministers from 1966 to 2006 permits to identify

regularities or patterns as concerns the criteria of interest and their sex/gender relations. The main strength of the biographical analysis lies in the possibility to directly compare attributes of women and men in the political field. The comparison leads us to uncover sexed/gendered power structures in the recruitment mechanisms of the political parties specifically and – more generally – allows for inferences about the sexed/gendered power structures of the political field itself.

The *statistical calculations* in SPSS include a factor analysis and several calculations of correlations (using different correlation coefficients). These were employed to help me identify how the different positions in the course of a political career are interrelated and form different career types. Therefore, the quantification of the positions executed in the course of a career reached by the biographical analysis was further processed here.

Additionally, the quantitative data of females and males as concerns several variables of the social structure (also attained in the biographical analysis) was correlated with the variable sex belonging in order to assess potential correlations. Hence, the statistical calculations in SPSS helped to elaborate the questions on the course of the political careers and on the sex/gender relations in the social structure.

The typical career paths in each party are illustrated by female and male *case studies*, which should show what individual biographies of this group look like as well as depict the typical features of the group in individual portraits. The employed data for the case studies build the episodic elements of the expert interviews, the biographical database and specific data files, in which notes and quotes from the literature for every person were collected. Lastly, the *analysis of the Austrian governments* targeted the quantitative and qualitative representation of females and males in government and its change. In order to be able to research the sexed/gendered distribution of the portfolios in terms of the quality of representation, the ministries first had to be defined according to their power position. This was achieved by asking the respondents in the interviews.

In conclusion, the triangulation process was most pronounced as concerns the biographical analysis and the interviews. The two methods were interrelated at three points: (1) The first interim results of the expert interviews were employed to design the variable set of the biographical analysis. Thereby, statements of the interviewees were assessed as hypotheses in the biographical analysis. (2) The findings of the interviews were used as a source of biographical information and were incorporated into the biographical databases. (3) The final findings of the interviews and the biographical analysis were controlled against one

another, which eliminated minor mistakes, in the statements of the interviewees for example, and served to improve the data this study depends on.

The three remaining methods were triangulated with either the biographical data or the interviews or both: For the case studies, both methods were needed, the biographical data as well as the episodic elements of the interviews. The results of the prosopography were further processed in the statistical calculations, whereas the evaluations of the interviewees as concerns the different power positions of the portfolios were triangulated with the results of the data analysis of the Austrian governments.

Overall, the triangulation process was very successful and did not raise any problems or inconsistencies. However, the concept of triangulation can be understood much more broadly, if it is not limited to the area of methods, as the results of other studies were incorporated into this project as hypotheses as well.

The aim of my study is to carve out sex/gender differences in political recruitment to government. This is why the female and male ministers build two groups in the biographical analysis – irrespective of their time of selection. Hence, the prosopography does not depict the changes of sex/gender relations as concerns the political careers and the social structure. This would not be possible in any case since the involved entities would be too low to meet significant evaluations about the changes of the sex/gender relations. The latter is only a marginal topic of my study. It is mainly covered in Chapter 3, which analyzes the changes of quantitative and qualitative representation of females in government, and by the evaluations of the respondents.

(5) Contribution to the Research Field

The topic of sex/gender relations in political recruitment processes to the Austrian government represents an interesting case study, which can be valuable for the further advancement of the research field for several reasons: (1) The hitherto produced research works largely focus on the personnel selection for parliament; in contrast, governments are seldom at the fore. (2) The recruitment processes for the Austrian government are also in so far relevant as they are not characterized by traits, which are mostly referred to in the literature, as already mentioned: The processes of selection to government are determined by informal party-internal rules and established practices, rather than by laws. Most importantly, though, I will bring forward the argument that the processes of selection in the

parties are chiefly determined by (sexed/gendered) power relations within them. (3) Furthermore, the Austrian political field is strongly characterized by corporatist traits (Pelinka 2003a, 540): Professional representation by specific organizations is given in many countries; in Austria, however, the associations have far reaching competences in comparison to other countries (Neyer 1997, 198), even compared to corporatist states (Appelt 1995, 610). For example, Austria has the most comprehensive system of chambers in Europe (Karlhofer 2001, 1): The chambers are legally introduced public interest bodies and are as such a worldwide recognized specific feature of Austria (Tálos/Kittel 1995, 3). Federalism is legally relatively underdeveloped, but the regions are in fact highly relevant in terms of power (Pelinka 2003a, 546). Hence, it will be interesting to see how these characteristics relate to female representation. (4) Furthermore, this study shall add to the research on the sex/gender relations in the political field and the state by empirically uncovering the concealed sex/gender relations in political recruitment, which mirror the sex/gender-specific structures of the state and the political field. (5) Finally, I hope to make a relevant contribution by furthering the methodical tool of a sex/gender comparison between females and males. The research strand concerned with questions of women and gender so far often solely focuses on women. However, it is exactly the comparative approach between the sexes/genders which can powerfully reveal sexed/gendered structures.

(6) Chapter Outline

In the following chapter, the theoretical concept and the analytical model will be developed and the theory-driven hypotheses will be derived. The first empirical chapter (Chapter 3) tackles the sub-question of the differences between women and men *in* government and their change by elucidating the development of the quantitative and qualitative representation of females and males in government.

The sub-questions *Who selects?* and *How do political careers work?* and their sex/gender relations and thus the perspective of the selectors and of the recruited will be analyzed in the following four chapters: Chapters 4 to 6 are dedicated to the sexed/gendered recruitment processes in the SPÖ, the ÖVP, and the FPÖ. In Chapter 7, political recruitment to the Austrian government and its sex/gender relations will be subject to a more general discussion, whereby it will be more thoroughly applied to and embedded into the analytical framework, which is developed in the theoretical chapter.

The chapter on the social structure of the ministers from 1966 to 2006 (Chapter 8), finally, builds the last empirical chapter, in which the sub-question *Who are the Austrian ministers?* and its sex/gender relations is dealt with. This chapter is followed by the conclusion (Chapter 9).

Issues concerning the methods used are treated in detail in Appendix 1, and the interview questionnaire is enclosed in Appendix 2.

2. The Theoretical Approach

The aim of the theoretical concept is to develop an analytical framework, which can grasp the different dimensions of political recruitment to government in Austria and the unequal sex/gender relations in these.

The literature employed for the theoretical background can be chiefly separated into three dimensions: (1) The analytical model of political recruitment developed by Norris/Lovenduski (1995). (2) A Bourdieuan framework, mainly relying on his key concepts of capital and field (and thus power) and – less so – habitus (Bourdieu 1977; 1986; 1987; 1990; 1992; 1995/1985; 1996; 1997; 1997/1991; 1998; 2001; 2005; 2005/1995). (3) Sex/gender relations, structuring all levels of analysis, need to be conceptualized. To do so, I mainly drew on research works which can be located at the intersecting points of a Bourdieuan framework and sex/gender research (e.g.: McCall 1992; Kraus 2001; Skeggs 2004), and the concepts of the maleness/masculinity of the state or the political field (Kreisky 1995; 1997; Sauer 2003; 2004).

In the first section of this chapter, I will ascertain Norris/Lovenduski's model and explain why I combined these three kinds of literature by demonstrating the shortcomings of Norris/Lovenduski's concept and of Bourdieu's concepts for my study. In the second section, the theoretical concepts of Bourdieu will be summarized and the sex/gender relations will be theorized. In the third section, an analytical model to understand political recruitment and its sexed/gendered relations will be developed. This will be achieved by condensing the theoretical background and tying it to the research works on political recruitment (and its sex/gender relations) in Austria (e.g.: Neyer 1991; 1997; Stirnemann 1988; Dachs/Gerlich/Müller 1995a; Appelt 1995; Niederkofler 2004). Furthermore, the analytical model is informed by further inputs of studies mainly on women or sex/gender relations and political recruitment or politics more broadly (e.g. Epstein 1981; Sanbonmatsu 2006; Kunovich/Paxton 2005; Haavio-Mannila et al. 1985; Randall 1987; 1991).

I. Why Three Kinds of Literature? – The Theoretical Concept in a Nutshell

Norris/Lovenduski (1995) focus on the questions, who gets selected, how and why, and on the social bias with respect to gender², race, and class of the outcome in the British parliament for the 1992 general election. The authors designed an analytical model in order to conceptualize recruitment processes to parliament in Britain and elsewhere. The model distinguishes four analytical levels: *The first level* comprises systemic factors influencing elite formation processes, which are further differentiated into legal system, party system, and electoral system. The different opportunities for political careers and their constraints result in specific “*structures of opportunities*” for different types of candidacies. Those are constrained by barriers in the legal system, for example, or by the number of distributable positions (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 26). *The second level* contains factors influencing recruitment within the political parties, namely party ideology, organization, and rules. *The third level* comprises individual recruitment decisions, which are described to work along market rules of supply and demand. Therefore, the recruitment decisions are determined by the supply of personal (“supply-side”) and the demand of the recruiting institutions (“demand-side”). Finally, *the fourth level* represents the outcome of the personnel decisions (cf. Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 15-21, 183-184).

Their analytical model of supply and demand has been widely used in empirical studies and indeed captivates with its analytical clarity. However, there are several reasons why it is not suitable for capturing sex/gender differences in political recruitment to the Austrian government. In the following, I will develop the basal structures of my own analytical framework, for which Norris/Lovenduski’s concept (1995) served as a starting point, by explaining the shortcomings of their model for my case:

(1) Most importantly, a concept of power is missing. In Austria, it is the power distribution among the party agents in the governing parties which decides which party groups will be represented in government by a delegate. This is where Bourdieu comes in. His understanding of capital and field is apt to grasp the power relations in the processes of recruitment.

² As ascertained in the Introduction, I will follow the scholars’ use of the terms sex/gender, when delineating their views.

(2) The societal level is missing. It is needed, however, firstly, in order to theoretically conceptualize the relation between the political field and society. Secondly, the unequal sex/gender relations in recruitment processes and in politics must not be seen as being independent from the wider social universe; they are embedded into the societal framework and its sex/gender relations. This relationship can be conceptualized with Bourdieu and his concept of field.

(3) The unequal sex/gender relations structure every level of analysis and need to be incorporated into an analytical model.

(4) Furthermore, an analytical framework requires a dimension of time or historical context in order to grasp change, which is especially important in the case of sex/gender relations in political recruitment, which underwent major change in the last few decades.

The shortcomings of Norris/Lovenduski's (1995) approach for the application to my study are levelled by Bourdieu's framework, mainly his (powered) concepts of capital and field, and – to a lesser extent – habitus, in order to explain political recruitment to the Austrian government. As concerns the sex/gender relations, though, it is well recognized that Bourdieu did not address sex/gender in a systematic fashion (Adkins 2005, 3; Mottier 2002, 346; McCall 1992, 837), although the category is not completely absent in his work. With the essay "La domination masculine" (1990), which he later published in book form, he addressed the topic of sex/gender relations explicitly for the first time (Mottier 2002, 346, 350). In short, Bourdieu argued – exemplified by the Kabyle society – that masculine domination is a form of symbolic domination. It is inscribed in the social space by a system of sexualized oppositions and is so deeply incorporated in the habitus of the individuals that it appears as natural. Through that, Bourdieu grants importance to symbolic classification systems as the basis of social practice; gender operates as a highly complex symbolic order and comes to effect via the habitus. Masculine domination is thus imposed upon the body whose cognitive effects (the doxa, i.e. the social beliefs and practices, which are not to be questioned and are not questioned) result in the further naturalization of arbitrary social differences. It is essentially operating with a specific mode of exerting domination, namely, symbolic violence, which essentially manifests its power in face-to-face interactions and is exercised sub-consciously. Symbolic violence is one of the most important pillars of masculine domination, it is hidden and invisible and is thus not recognized as violence by the victims but as being legitimate, and operates – through the strength of symbolism – without physical force. It has the effect that women

tend to misrecognize their domination and forges a relation of complicity of the dominated towards their domination (hence the accompliceship of the victims). The dominated tend to adopt the view of the dominant as concerns the dominant as well as the dominated. Women can thus only perceive themselves as inferior subjects. Females are not attributed the status of subjects, they represent symbolic objects of exchange in the economy of symbolic goods in order to serve the capital accumulation strategies of their families and men. They are excluded from the plays of honour of men, which determine the public and – for example – politics and science, and cannot even acquire the status of subjects. Masculine domination is constructed and reproduced by the unequal symbolic gender order, in which mechanisms of reproduction are at work, which can be barely broken. The main reason for this lies in the constancy of the habitus: The gender order is subconsciously intertwined in the habitus and is thus beyond the grip of conscious control and is not amenable to transformations. The subversion of this gender order is only possible through a revolution of the symbolic order (cf. Bourdieu 1997; 2005).

Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination met harsh criticism. In the following, I will only refer to those points which seem of most relevance to me: (1) Bourdieu failed to incorporate the rich literature on women and sex/gender relations (Rademacher 2002, 149; Kraus 2006, 122). (2) In his concept, social change is barely possible and an emancipation of women is only possible through a revolution of the symbolic order as a whole. He also failed to recognize the changes, which were already underway as concerns women and sex/gender relations, such as the growing presence of women in the labour market (Kröhnert-Othman/Lenz 2002, 176; Kraus 2006, 122; Mottier 2002, 353; McCall 1992, 847). Sex/gender relations are by no means tacitly accepted or, in other words, they are by no means entirely doxic as there *is* a struggle over the sex/gender order going on (Moi 1991, 1033). (3) He brings forward a simplified dualistic picture of sex/gender relations: Whereas men are subjects, he does not recognize women as subjects, only as objects (Kröhnert-Othman/Lenz 2002, 176; Kraus 2006, 124; Lovell 2000, 20). The understanding of power in the sex/gender order is binary in that men possess power, women (as victims) do not. Furthermore, he conceptualizes femininity and masculinity in binary, homogenous terms, which ignores the diversity of femininities and masculinities (Kröhnert-Othman/Lenz 2002, 165-166; Mottier 2002, 354-55).

Many further criticisms can be and have already been brought forward (e.g.: Rademacher 2002; Kröhnert-Othman/Lenz 2002; Kraus 2006; Mottier 2002; Lovell 2000). Overall, the

concept of masculine domination is lacking the differentiated understanding of complex social relationships Bourdieu's work usually brings forth. As concerns my study, the concept is foremost occupied with themes that are not the focus of my dissertation: With masculine domination, Bourdieu focuses on symbolic domination and gender-specific being and acting. The core of masculine domination is thus the habitus and key words refer us to agency, subjectivity or identity, for example. The scope of my study, however, mainly centres on the organizational or institutional and positional relations of inequality (of power) between the sexes/genders in the political field, on the example of political recruitment. Bourdieu's concepts – mainly those of field and capital (and thus power) – represent a powerful framework to understand sex/gender relations and are therefore fruitful for a sex/gender analysis operating with power, and were mainly employed in this thesis. As Bourdieu did not provide me with the analytical tools for a *sexed/gendered* analysis, I further incorporated research on sex/gender relations. Among them are most prominently those who have worked on the maleness/masculinity of the state and in politics (Kreisky 1995; 1997; Sauer 2003; 2004) and those who have proceeded with Bourdieu's framework to make it applicable for women's or gender studies (e.g.: Moi 1991; 1999; Adkins 2005; Kraus 2006; Lovell 2000).

An encompassing concept to make the Bourdieuan framework as concerns field and capital (and also habitus) applicable for an analysis of the category of sex/gender is still missing, which leads me – among other things – into the thorny topic of sex/gender and class. Bourdieu himself posited that class is the seminal factor in the determination of the habitus, even though the class socialisation is deeply influenced by a gendered socialisation. Hence, for him, gender is a secondary determinant of social class position (Bourdieu 1997, 224): Secondary variables such as gender, ethnicity or age are considered to obtain their specificity from the social class position (McCall 1992, 840). This view makes clear once again that Bourdieu was primarily interested in class, not in sex/gender and this concept has to be dismissed. There have been different proposals from researchers who have undertaken to integrate Bourdieu's key concepts of fields, habitus and capital, among whom are Kraus (2006), McCall (1992), McNay (2000), Moi (1991; 1999), Skeggs (1997; 2004), and Lovell (2000) and – in the German-speaking context – Nowotny (1981), Kröhnert-Othman/Lenz (2002) and Rademacher (2002): Skeggs (2004, 24), for example, argues that femininity can be a form of cultural capital. McCall (1992, 842-843) proposed to view (constructed) femininity and masculinity as indices of class structure and capital.

She argued that certain types of dispositions are themselves capital forms and vice versa: Capitals are gendered because they are given form by gendered dispositions, therefore gender should be read as a capital form itself. Other scholars suggested that gender should be tied to symbolic capital, which conveys recognition (“honour”): It was argued that for women and for ethnic groups, the conversion of other capital forms into symbolic capital is just *not possible* as concerns specific activities or specific fields, as they are excluded from those (Kröhnert-Othman/Lenz 2002; Rademacher 2002). Also Moi (1991, 1036, 1038) proposed that femaleness might be an advantage or a burden, but that mostly maleness functions as positive and femaleness as negative symbolic capital.

For Moi (1991, 1036), the capital at stake is always the symbolic capital relevant for the specific field. I second Moi’s view that femaleness/femininity mostly comes into effect as negative and maleness/masculinity mostly as positive symbolic capital. However, the interrelation of the “original” capital forms (economic, social, cultural capital) and the category of sex/gender should be conceptualized as well as the confinement of sex/gender to symbolic capital stops short to grip, how sex/gender influences every form of capital, from my point of view: For example, women long experienced major obstacles in acquiring cultural (educational) capital. Or, another example, the transmission of economic capital in the rural context depends on the sex/gender of a person (“the boy gets the house and the land”). Bourdieu argued that social class chiefly determines the volume and composition of capitals, the habitus as well as the social field as such. Leaning towards the idea of intersectionality, which acknowledges that neither gender, nor class or race alone suffices to grip the complexity of social relations and inequalities (Knapp 2009, 90), I would like to propose tentatively that class and sex/gender (and race) are seminal in determining the possibilities of the acquisition, transmission or the conversion of capital forms, the kind of habitus as well as the social field as such. The three dimensions influence each other. The rules of the game for women as concerns the capital accumulation or the strategies are time- and context-specific (Lovell 2000, 22). Gender should be understood as socially variable entity (Moi 1991, 1036) that can take different forms in different contexts. By this, the question of the priority of the category of class or sex/gender is dismissed; class and sex/gender (and race) are all taken as constitutive of the social structure.

Social contradictions between and within these three dimensions are possible as, for example, class and race are hierarchies, which also separate women from each other in social space (Lovell 2000, 21). For example, whereas Bourdieu takes the perceived sex too

seriously by attributing feminine dispositions only to females and masculine dispositions only to men, a woman may choose to obtain masculine gendered capital by acquiring masculine traits on the job, which is perhaps already part of the disposition (“she is not like most women”). However, she might not escape her sex-stereotyped disposition and be subject to social sanctions (McCall 1992, 845).

This view of the interrelation of field and sex/gender brought forward here is also leaning towards Moi (1991; 1999), who suggested that gender should be understood like class in structuring the social fields, which leads us to an understanding of gender as a social category that infiltrates and influences every other category (Moi 1991, 1034). The stance brought forth is also compatible to the research works on the maleness/masculinity of the state or the political field more generally (Kreisky 1995; 1997; Sauer 2003; 2004). In accordance with Lovell (2000, 22), I will peruse an analytical focus in this thesis and scrutinize how the different forms of capitals, the field, and the habitus interact with sex/gender.

In the following section, the Bourdieuan concepts and the sex/gender relations in those will be ascertained.

II. Society, the Political Field, and Sex/Gender Relations

(1) The Relation between the Political Field and Society

Bourdieu defines the relation between the political field and society as one of a “relative autonomy”. This means that the political field is embedded into society, but – at the same time – is a microcosm of its own, disposing over its own game with its own rules. Societal laws of functioning apply to the political field as well, but the political field is freed from some societal constraints and also disposes over its own laws (Bourdieu 2005/1995, 32, 34). Hence, the political field can be conceived as a game apart (from that of the bigger social universe), which has partly nothing to do with the overall social world and in which specific stakes are defined (Bourdieu 2005/1995, 35). There are many things such as e.g. activities in the political field, also a specific “political culture”, that only exist in the political microcosm and are expressions of the complex social relations between the

different agents within the field. From this autonomy of the field results that all fields tend to closeness (Bourdieu 2001, 34), i.e. a certain distance to the social macrocosm often referred to as distance between “elites and masses” (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 184). Bourdieu states that the political field is strongly independent and increasingly becomes closed in on itself and concentrates on its own stakes, as for example the competition for power among the parties and within each party shows (Bourdieu 2005/1995, 34).

Bourdieu further explicates that the activities in the political field have – because of the relative autonomy of the field – a specific significance on its own, but only a relative strength. The power of activities or discourses in the political field depend on the mobilizing power in the social macrocosm, on support by the people and groups that recognize them and identify themselves with them, even if it is only by silence or absence of refutation. The political agents seek to get the people to believe in their principles of division of the social world and in their capacity to conduct the political aims they are proclaiming. Hence, a current of ideas only becomes a political movement if they are recognized outside the political field, and political positions can only be successful if they converge with the often unconscious interests of the people outside the field. The spokesperson appropriates the words of the group of non-professionals (which is most of the time silence), but also the power of that group, which he helps to increase by lending it a voice recognized as legitimate in the political field (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 188, 190). Hence, the struggle for political power tends to become a two-stage competition: First, as an internal struggle, between professionals alone as a competition for who may struggle for political power and hence votes. And second, as an external struggle, as competition for votes between candidates (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 196). Summarized, internal struggles of the political field as well as external struggles of the social universe are at play in the political field, which results in a kind of double play for the political actors (Fritsch 2001, 14). The outcome of the internal struggles depends on the power the political agents can mobilize outside the field by votes (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 188). It is because politicians depend on the support of voters that the political field cannot close in on itself completely (Bourdieu 2001, 34).

This relationship as theorized by Bourdieu helps to understand the political field as a microcosm of its own with its own mechanics, but – at the same time – as embedded into the society. This concept is of special significance for theorizing the sex/gender relations: The society is characterized by a sex/gender order with unequal power relations between

the sexes/genders, which partly are also in effect in the political field. Partly, however, the political field also disposes over sex/gender relations which are only located in the political field and are independent from the wider social macrocosm. The fact that the sex/gender relations of the wider society are partly also in effect in the political field and the dependency of the political field on the electorate is valuable in theorizing sex/gender relations in political recruitment and their *change*: Segments of society and the political field demanded and pushed for the emancipation of females, which slowly changed the structure of relations as concerns the status of women in society and in the political field. Neyer (1991, 59), for example, explicates that the party loyalty of the electorate in Austria has been due to erosion since around the beginning of the 1980s; the voters have been more strongly oriented towards topics in their decision. Thus, the political parties could no longer ignore the demands of females for a stronger parliamentary representation of women since they then feared to lose female voters, also because the “women’s question” had become established as a relevant issue. Furthermore, the share of females represented in politics today would not have been possible without the political pressure exerted by the Austrian women’s movement since the 1970s (Steininger 2000, 24). Additionally, the dependency on the electorate can have a direct impact on recruitment as the selectors may anticipate the expected reactions of the voters in their recruitment decisions in the form of positive or negative discrimination of women.

(2) The Definition of the Political Field

In order to analyze the mechanisms of political recruitment, an encompassing understanding of politics is needed. This is supplied by Bourdieu with his concept of the field. Bourdieu proposes that a field can be defined, firstly, as a field of forces with a structure of relations of forces specific to this field at a specific point in time. Therefore, a field is somehow comparable to a field of physical forces (Bourdieu 2005/1995, 30; 2001, 35). In every field, the force or the capital that is at stake in the game is a different one. Generally speaking, every agent in the field may be assumed to seek maximum power and dominance within it by amassing the maximum amount of the specific kind of symbolic capital current in the field. The symbolic capital current in the political field is political capital, i.e. political legitimacy (Moi 1991, 1021). The agents occupy different positions in the political field, endowed with specific amounts of political capital and have to be seen in relation to the other positions of the agents (Bourdieu 2001, 35; 1997/1991, 171). Bourdieu

hence stresses the positional and relational aspects of the field. The unequal distribution of capital determines the specific structure of relations of forces.

The condition for participation in the political field is to *play the game*, i.e. one has to commit oneself to the game and invest in it. Investment in the game is the “(...) *product of the game at the same time as it is the condition of the game being played.*” (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 179-180). In order to “*play*” one has to accept the tacit agreement, implied in participating in the game, that it is “*worth playing*”. This tacit understanding unites all players in a kind of “*initial collusion*” and drives all players to protect the game, i.e. the field, which is particularly evident when the game is threatened. The profits that can be derived from the game include the pleasure of playing, besides the material and symbolic advantages tied to the possession of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 180). The agents have interests of their own (apart from the interests of the “represented”) and compete with each other in the “game” of the political field (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 183, 187). The rules of the game and the handling of the rules are determined firstly by the established (male/masculine) players (Krais 2000, 40). The newcomers and the less powerful agents in every field are less content with the structure of relations of forces than those who have already accumulated “sufficient” capital. Therefore, and secondly, a field can also be defined as a field of struggles in order to transform the relations of forces that are structuring the field at a specific point in time (Bourdieu 2001, 35; 1997/1991, 171): “*A field is a field of forces and a field of struggles in which the stake is the power to transform the field of forces. In other words, within a field, there is competition for legitimate appropriation of what is at stake in the struggle in the field.*” (Bourdieu 2005/1995, 44). This explains the statics and dynamics of a field (Bourdieu 2001, 35). Power and domination can not – following Bourdieu’s understanding – simply be understood as quantitative accumulation of specific attributes, but have to be seen *relationally*, i.e. in relation to the other agents and their positions in the field. Every field is characterized by symbolic violence: The agents who are the powerful possessors of symbolic capital and are hence recognized in the field become the spokespersons of symbolic power and for the *doxa*, i.e. the beliefs and practices that are not to be questioned and are not questioned, and try to relegate the challengers to their position as heterodox, i.e. as lacking in capital (Moi 1991, 1022).

In the political field, unequal sex/gender relations are built-in: Barriers for females – broadly referred to as “*glass ceiling*” (Krais 2000, 34) – are incorporated into the

institutions and structures, the everyday communication and in self-evident courses of actions – short in all the properties of the political field, so that it is difficult for the involved agents even to identify them (Krais 2000, 34). Sex/gender relations are thus understood as power relations, which are enmeshed into all features of society and the political field.

The state has to be conceptualized as an institutional apparatus of its own that is part of the political field. The concept of the maleness/masculinity of the state can be transferred to the political field in general: It is a result of the societal structures that were established with the founding of the bourgeois and capitalist society. Public and private spheres were divided and distributed along sex/gender lines. It was the military service (for men), which brought forth the male political subject. With the inclusion of men, the political exclusion of women had been settled (Kreisky 1997, 167-171). The state is thus not sex/gender neutral, but forged and has supported the conditions of a hierarchical sex/gender order (Kreisky 1995, 87). The concept of modern masculinity was as ideology concrete and determined enough to substantiate a coherent patriarchal system, but it has to be differentiated from masculinity or masculinities in the real world, which do not represent consistent phenomena and for which no universal truths can be put forth (Kreisky 1997, 171). With the introduction of the general, active and passive suffrage for women – in 1918 in the case of Austria –, sex/gender equality was *formally* established in questions of political participation and representation (Rosenberger 1991, 38). Since then, women increasingly entered the political field. However, the abolition of formal exclusionary mechanisms for females resulted in a weakening of the state masculinism³, but did not change its basal structures. The sex/gender hierarchy has been increasingly secured by informal, often hidden exclusionary mechanisms. Hence, it meant a weakening of an openly visible, direct form of maleness/masculinity, which transformed itself into a more invisible, indirect character, subsequently. Therefore, the maleness/masculinity of the state did not change, but has only developed into a more complex phenomenon: The state is not an exclusively men's domain anymore, its hierarchic sex/gender relations have diversified. As a result the state has to be understood as consolidation of social contradictions (Sauer 2003, 7).

³ In contrast to masculinity and maleness, “*masculinism*” refers to the level of ideas and idols, the value preferences and symbolic orders. Foremost, masculinism means the exaggerated, ideologically strengthened version of masculinity (Sauer 2009, 128).

Sauer (2004, 118-119; 2003, 6-7) differentiated the maleness/masculinity of the state into three dimensions: first, as positional or nominal dimension, which is embodied in a quantitative male overlap and is thus oriented towards the sex belonging; secondly, as policy-masculinity referring to the in- and output; and thirdly, as organizational or substantial dimension. The latter refers to male/masculine-defined rules, values, norms, and structures. Although female/feminine values or codes are present in the political field, it is the male/masculine ideal that is standard and underpins the institutional structures and practices (Mackay 2004, 111). Organizational maleness/masculinity entails that the sex/gender hierarchy contains a vertical perspective (in the sense of female lower positions and male higher positions), but also a horizontal one: Women are attributed “women-specific”, peripheral positions, whereas men get powerful positions traditionally considered as masculine (cf. Sauer 2004, 118-119; 2003, 6-7). It is the first and – more importantly – the third dimension of the maleness/masculinity, which are relevant for my research.

Kreisky’s concept of “old boys’ networks” (in German: “Männerbund”) aims to conceptualize – beyond a positional understanding of maleness/masculinity – the institutional masculinism of the state as organizational structure (Sauer 2003, 7): With the concept, friendships and personal relations (among men) are theorized as political category. Kreisky argues that everyday politics is disproportionately influenced by the personal relations between men and that behind every apparently so objective rule, emotional relations between males are hidden. This amicable-emotional aspect thus works as lubricant of professional politics, entails specific rites and rules (as concerns language, for example) and is nursed in different social sites like the pub or sports (Kreisky 1995, 93-95; 1997, 200-201). “Old boys’ networks” comprise diverse organizational forms, from formal, voluntary to informal or even unconscious forms of unions, and are not only based on a rational, but on an emotional and often also on an erotic ground. The exclusion of women may be intended or not (Kreisky 1995, 109-110).

Professional politics represents a more loosely organized “old boys’ network” in comparison to others: Its rites and ceremonies are slowly softening through the growing inclusion of women, but politics maintains its characteristic trait as old boys’ networks, namely the exclusion of the *other* (Kreisky 1997, 202). The patriarchal system is persistent and disposes over an enormous flexibility. Although the patriarchal domination experiences fluctuations and was – for example – irritated by the women’s movement,

other events, on the other hand, contribute to a revival of maleness/masculinity (Kreisky 1995, 100).

Women as group are relative newcomers in the political field. It was not long ago that the political field was completely male. Since the arrival of women in the political field, the sex/gender relations of the political field have transformed. Nevertheless, the field must still be defined as male/masculine. The political field has been created by men and only “invaded” by women (cf. Puwar 2004) at a later point in time. Hence, wherever women are seeking access to political power positions, they have to do so by aspiring the attributes and the stakes defined by men, in the institutions created by men. Women are hence less likely to possess the demanded requirements for political recruitment and to pass through the eye of the needle (Chapman 1993, 18).

(3) The Agents and the Struggles Between Them

The widespread focus on the relation between representatives and represented conceals the fact that the agents are involved in a competitive struggle with the other agents of the field (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 183, 187). In the political game, firstly, the monopoly over the production of the vision of the social world and, secondly, the monopoly over the use of objectified political capital (such as law, the army, the police or public finances) respectively the distribution over public powers (i.e. the state administration) are at stake. The struggle over the former is the means to achieve both ends: In electoral combats, agents struggle over the monopoly of the production of the vision of the social world and therefore over the mobilization of the greatest number of voters (in order to achieve the monopoly over the vision of the social world and over state powers). In this struggle, the production of ideas is subordinated to the conquest of power (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 181). The visions of the social world constitute the current political discourse and therefore limit what is currently thinkable and what is not. Hence, the distribution of opinions in a population hinges on the principles of division offered respectively on the (limited) political discourses presented and also depends on the access that different groups have to these “*instruments of perception and expression*” (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 172) of the social world (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 190). It can be understood as a struggle of symbolic power of “*making people see and believe*” (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 181) the proposed vision of the social world that is “*(...) dominant and recognized as deserving to dominate, that is to say, charged with symbolic violence.*” (Bourdieu 2005/1995, 39).

The different agents hence struggle for state power, such as the governmental positions. The outcome of this fight depends on the relations of forces in the political field. These are influenced by various factors such as strategic abilities by the agents, but are most importantly dependent on the outcome of the elections. This struggle, however, does not only apply to the relations between the political parties, but also to the different agents or party groups *within* the parties.

The agents of the field occupy positions that “(...) *determine the positions they take with respect to the field (...)*” and that are “(...) *aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces (...)*” of this field (Bourdieu 2005/1995, 30). The agents need to be seen in relation to the relations of forces; they perceive and construct them, and react to them. Also, the agents are “(...) *constrained by the forces inscribed in these fields and being determined by these forces as regards their permanent dispositions, they are able to act upon these fields, in ways that are partially preconstained, but with a margin of freedom.*” (Bourdieu 2005/1995, 30).

As concerns sex/gender relations, women were long completely excluded from these male/masculine games of honour in the political field because it was not possible for them to acquire the needed symbolic, i.e. political capital. Nowadays, women are still outsiders in the political game; they are foreign in the field (Schöler-Macher 1992, 406). Besides women, there are other out-groups as well such as the poor or ethnic groups (Chapman 1993, 10). Femaleness/femininity usually comes into effect as negative symbolic capital (cf. Moi 1991) and females are often not conceived as full players, they are often “*forgotten*” when it comes to the staffing of positions. This non-recognition of female players cannot only be seen as omission, but has to be seen as actively edging women out by the means of symbolic violence (cf. Rademacher 2002, 153; Kraus 2000, 46-47).

(4) The Capital Forms

Generally, Bourdieu uses the concept of capital in order to locate the positions of the agents in the field. For the identification of the position of the agents in the social space in terms of their *class* belonging, economic, cultural, and social capital are employed (Bourdieu 1995/1985, 12; 1992, 52). The accumulation of capital needs time (Bourdieu 1992, 49). The transfer of the accumulated forms of capital starts in the family and its

accumulation is continued in the further life course of the individual (Rebenstorf 1997, 158).

Economic capital is directly convertible into money and is especially apt to institutionalization in the form of proprietary rights. *Cultural capital* is – under specific preconditions – convertible into economic capital and takes three forms: incorporated, objectified, and institutionalized (Bourdieu 1992, 52): (1) Incorporated cultural capital can only be appropriated by an individual by her- or himself. It is understood as education or cultivation of someone and costs time. Incorporated cultural capital becomes an integral part of the person and thus part of the habitus as long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (Bourdieu 1992, 56; Fröhlich 1994, 35). The appropriation of this sort of capital mainly depends on the incorporated cultural capital in the family. The transmission of cultural capital in the family therefore also is the product of time and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1992, 54). The required time in order to attain this capital form represents the link between economic and cultural capital: Not every family disposes over the economic and cultural means that allows them to prolong the time their children spend for educational purposes more than the minimum. The varying dispositions over cultural capital in the family results in differences as concerns the date of the beginning capital accumulation, but also to differences with regard to the abilities to fulfil the demands of such a long accumulation process (Bourdieu 1992, 58-59). (2) Cultural capital in its objectified form represents cultural goods such as paintings, for example (Bourdieu 1992, 53). (3) Lastly, cultural capital can be institutionalized in the form of formal educational titles. This form of capital can be transformed into economic and symbolic profits, which also depends on the rarity value of the capital (Bourdieu 1992, 61, 63).

Social capital targets social obligations and relations (Bourdieu 1992, 52). It can be defined as the “(...) *aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (...)*” (Bourdieu 1986, 51). It involves resources which evolve through the belonging to a group. The profits, which result from the affiliation to a group are at the same time the foundation for the solidarity, which makes those profits possible. For the reproduction of this capital form, relationship work is ceaselessly required. The group can gather on the basis of specific events, places like neighbourhoods, or practices like for example sport. It can involve belonging to a family, a class, a tribe, a school, or a party. The whole capital, which all group members have, serves as security net for all group members and provides them with a sort of creditworthiness. The extent of the

capital is hence determined by the size of the net of relations of the individual and by the size of other forms of capital of those with whom she or he has a relation. The social capital of a person is thus not completely independent of the size of her or his economic and cultural capital. In all groups there are forms of delegation. Through that it is possible that the whole social capital of a group is concentrated in individual people. The representative shall and is entitled to set courses of actions in the name of the group (Bourdieu 1992, 63-64, 66-68).

All forms of capital can be appropriated with the help of economic capital and are dependent on the according sex/gender. Whereas some things can be attained directly without further costs, the acquisition of other things requires additional work of transformation (Bourdieu 1992, 70). The transfer of economic into social capital, for example, requires the work of being attentive, which involves, for example, buying a very personal gift. The transformation from economic into cultural capital requires the time, which is needed for the accumulation of this capital form (Bourdieu 1992, 72). In the conversion process from one form into another, benefits in one area are paid by losses in another area. Also, the capital may be due to loss in this process (Fröhlich 1994, 37).

Symbolic capital has its foundation in being known and recognized. It means reputation, honour or prestige. It is the form that economic, cultural, and social capitals take in the social space when these elements are perceived as legitimate (Bourdieu 1995/1985, 11; Mottier 2002, 349). It is thus the currency of symbolic value. Its most decisive characteristics are its precarity, its variability, and its transversal effects on the conversion processes of capital. Bourdieu places the function of disguising domination and calculating interests in the centre of symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is thus a category which also coins the consensual forms of appreciation or depreciation of individuals or groups, without turning into a simple, mechanic, and predictable process of social practice and relations of inequality as the process of converting capital forms into symbolic capital is dynamic and remains open as concerns its outcome. In a negative sense, symbolic capital ensures the misjudgement of objective social inequalities and the reproduction of a symbolic order, which enforces the hierarchic structure of society by means of symbolic violence. The relations of domination and inequality remain concealed to the individuals and are initially inaccessible to reflexion (Kröhnert-Othman/Lenz 2002, 171-172).

As outlined before in more detail⁴, I tentatively conceptualize class, sex/gender, and race as constitutive of the social structure: The three dimensions are – following the idea of intersectionality (e.g.: Knapp 2009) – seminal in determining the social position an individual can occupy. Gender is thus conceptualized as a social category that is socially variable according to the context and influences every other category (Moi 1991, 1034, 1036). Thus, the sex/gender dimension is critical for determining the rules of the accumulation, conversion or transmission process of capital. For example, the rules of acquisition, the transfer or the convertibility of the different capital forms, or the required capital forms in a specific field can be different for women and men. Femaleness may be of advantage or disadvantage, but typically comes into effect as negative symbolic capital, whereas maleness usually works as positive symbolic capital (Moi 1991, 1036).

Political capital is a capital form specific to the political field and can be understood as *strength*. It can be defined as good reputation, wherefore politicians are so vulnerable to scandals, and can be accumulated vis-à-vis non-professionals as well as agents of the political field (Bourdieu 2001, 34). Political capital is a form of symbolic capital founded on belief and recognition or more precisely “(...) *on the innumerable operations of credit by which agents confer on a person (or on an object) the very powers that they recognize in him (or it).*” Symbolic power is a power, “(...) *which exists because the person who submits to it believes that it exists.*” (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 192). Political capital is concentrated in the hands of very few people (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 172). Power can be objectified in things, especially in those that constitute the symbolic nature of power such as thrones or sceptres (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 192). Its amount relies on the power of mobilization that the politician has at his disposal, either personally or by delegation, whereby the two forms of political capital, personal and delegated, can also be combined (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 194; Fritsch 2001, 15). Similarly to the other capital forms, the sex/gender dimension is seminal in determining the rules of acquisition, conversion or transmission of capital.

Personal political capital is tied to a specific person and is either the product of a long accumulation process or of charisma. Personal capital can be defined as a good personal reputation. Conditions for its accumulation are being “*famous*” and “*popular*” in the sense of being known and recognized and the disposal over certain qualifications. Political

⁴ Please see the section “I. Why Three Kinds of Literature? – The Theoretical Concept in a Nutshell” starting on page 34.

personal capital is often the product of a conversion of capital of fame accumulated in other domains, especially from those which allow for some free time and which presuppose a certain cultural capital and (in the case of lawyers) eloquence. Personal capital disappears with its bearer, although there may be quarrels over its inheritance (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 194; Fritsch 2001, 15). Personal political capital is less accessible to women: It presupposes that someone climbed to an influential position in order to become “famous” and “popular”, which only applies to a minority of females.

Delegated political capital, on the other hand, can be described as institutional capital, which is only transferred to specific persons in a limited and provisional way (although it is renewable, sometimes for life). Over the course of history, the institution has, through the actions of the people belonging to it, accumulated symbolic capital of recognition and loyalties. The delegation of political capital presupposes the objectification of political capital in permanent institutions such as party organizations, jobs, or mobilizing instruments, and its continuous reproduction by mechanisms and strategies. The permanent organization of a party enables the party officials to mobilize and organize the work necessary to obtain votes and therefore jobs and thus permits party officials to be maintained on a long-term basis (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 194-196). The transfer of delegated capital to a specific person requires the act of “investiture” by the institution. It is the magical act of an institution by which the party officially consecrates the official candidate at an election and which marks the transmission of political capital. The act of investiture can only be the result of a long investment of time, work, dedication, and devotion to the institution by the politician because the institution only invests in those who have invested in the institution: “(...) *the institution gives everything, starting with power over the institution, to those who have given everything to the institution (...)*” (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 195). These institutions were, in their encompassing understanding such as the definition of their structures, the values or the requirements to be fulfilled, created by men and for a long time political capital was only transferred to males. Today, the institutions of the political field can still be understood as male/masculine: Political capital is less delegated to women; hence, the conditions of access to this capital form is more difficult for women than for men.

Personal and delegated political capital are two forms of the symbolic capital, which is at stake in the political field (i.e. political capital), and recur to the levels of *individuals*.

Whereas personal political capital is often constituted by the conversion of another form of symbolic capital acquired in another field and thus presupposes the disposition over other

capital forms (such as cultural capital), delegated political capital can be somewhat *independently* acquired. However, social, cultural, and economic capital are also of relevance in the political field. For example, cultural capital can be of advantage in the course of a career (e.g.: “we need academics”). Hence, all four forms of capital are relevant for an analysis from the perspective of the individuals.

As concerns the different *institutional and organizational forms* in the political field, male organized party groups (often tied to masculine traits) had – due to the longer existence and entrenchment in the political field – more chances to accumulate political capital than female organized party groups, which are relatively new. Hence, the positions of female organized institutions (which may have feminine traits, conversely) are by tendency weaker in the political field than those of the male organized groups. Through the analysis of capital and the category sex/gender, the (sexed/gendered) power relations – which have to be understood as *relational* – become visible.

(5) The Habitus

The hexis or habitus can be understood as the general attitudes of an individual, the dispositions which result from social conditioning related to one’s position within social space (Fröhlich 1994, 52; Mottier 2002, 349). It is the system of permanent and transferable dispositions, as “*structured structures*”, which figure as “*structuring structures*” at the same time, i.e. as foundation to produce and order practices and ideas (Bourdieu 1977, 72). Habitus is thus the product and the producer of practices at the same time. Former experiences condense in the human bodies as schemes of perception, thinking and actions and thus remain actively present. It involves a system of barriers: Whoever knows the habitus of a person knows which behaviour and which course of action is denied to a person (Fröhlich 1994, 38). It is due to constant alterations (Fröhlich 1994, 43). Collective generative schemes and dispositions, thus *praxis*, are incorporated into the body (Fröhlich 1994, 39). Mainly in the family, general codes are habitualized in the language and in the behaviour. The thus emerging habitus therefore bears class-specific traits and is a sign of belonging to the class (Rebenstorf 1997, 127-128). Sex/gender has a major impact on the formation of the habitus: The perceived sex belonging is decisive for the question which gender attributes seem *suitable* for a person. Hence, the sex belonging and gender definition is chiefly relevant in determining which kind of habitus and hence which

gendered dispositions can be acquired, and what is possible for a person and what not. This is how sex/gender relations are embedded into the very structures of a person.

The habitus links the interaction of agent and field or structure and agency: It is the habitus that allows individuals to populate institutions, to appropriate them, and to keep them alive through that, but only by imposing alterations on them (Krais 2000, 36). Hence, it is the habitus that makes the politicians ready to play the game. That also means that one had to acquire a habitus, which allows to participate in the game (Moi 1991, 1021-1022). What is relevant in the course of appropriating the habitus is the investment into the game. It targets work, energy, and time given to the political field and a political career. Through those investments, one acquires competences, manners of thinking, and behaviour, which permit to participate in the game (Krais 2000, 40). A certain “*tacit knowledge*” (Polanyi 1966), i.e. an implicit knowledge, is required in order to know what is possible in the political field and what is not. For example, there are not only factual criteria for who is regarded as the most competent in the political field (cf. Krais 2000, 41). A good politician disposes over a good sense of objective positions in the field and the dispositions of those occupying them, i.e. of actual and potential stances. He has a feel for the possible and impossible of other agents and for himself (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 177-179). The habitus of a politician depends on special training in order to convey the corpus of specific kinds of knowledge, more general abilities (such as a certain kind of language and rhetoric) and to “(...) *inculcate the practical mastery of the immanent logic of the political field and to impose a de facto submission to the values, hierarchies and censorship mechanisms inherent in this field (...)*” (Bourdieu 1997/1991, 176).

It has often been criticized that social change is hardly possible with Bourdieu’s framework. However, it is possible: It is the process of encountering between the field and the habitus, which generates a certain dynamic: The homology of positions and dispositions of their occupations is never perfect. The permanent dialectic between the properties of the agents populating the field and the properties of the field is one of the major determinants of change in the field (Bourdieu 1996, 183). The game metaphor helps to corroborate the dynamic by underlining its traits as fluid and flexible (Krais 2006, 129).

After having delineated Bourdieu’s concepts relevant for my study and having tied it to an understanding of sex/gender relations, the theoretical framework will be condensed to an

analytical model of political recruitment and made applicable for the specific conditions of political recruitment processes in Austria.

III. An Analytical Model of Political Recruitment

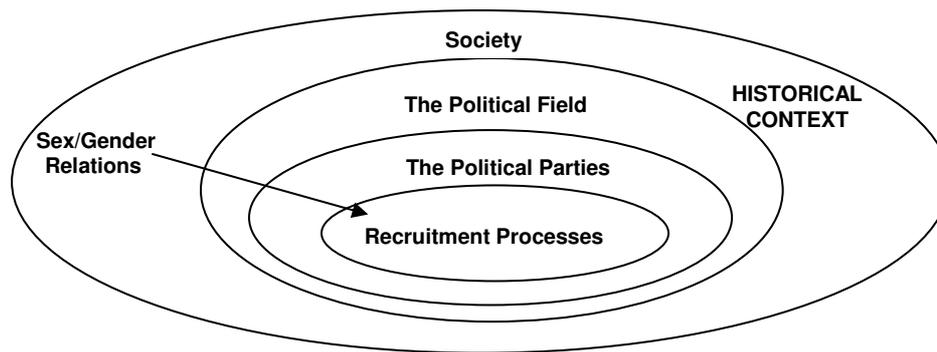
In the following, an analytical framework to understand political recruitment in Austria and its sex/gender relations will be developed by tying the theoretical concepts laid down in the pages ahead with the findings of the literature on political recruitment (and its sexed/gendered structures) in Austria, and with other inputs derived from studies mainly located at the intersecting points of women or sex/gender and political recruitment or politics more broadly. Political recruitment will first be defined and the analytical model will then be ascertained. I would like to stress that it is impossible to map all factors which could influence political recruitment. Hence, the purpose of an analytical model is not to grasp every single possible influence factor, but to theoretically outline and explain the major dimensions of political recruitment.

“Recruitment processes” refer to the processes by which members of a society ascend to positions of political power and thereby become members of the political elite. The terms “recruitment” or “recruitment processes” are often misused in the literature. Chapman (1993, 29) concedes that many studies merely focus on the outcome of the personnel selection and are hence simply elite studies. A study of recruitment has to cater to both components, the individuals to seek these positions and the procedures of selection.

In order to conceptualize political recruitment, four analytical levels will be differentiated:

- (1) the societal level,
- (2) the political field,
- (3) the layer of the political parties, and
- (4) the recruitment processes in the narrow sense in the political parties.

Figure 1: An Analytical Model of Political Recruitment



Political recruitment processes have to be understood as processes of power and domination and do not proceed detached from the wider political field or society. Thus, the different levels have to be conceptualized as “Russian dolls” as the political field contains the political parties, and society includes both layers. Practices of recruitment can be further split analytically into the perspective of the selectors and the recruited. The properties of society, the political field, the political parties and the practices of recruitment processes themselves and their sex/gender relations prestructure the possibilities for women and men to ascend to positions of power. All levels are coined by unequal sex/gender relations, which are entrenched into all components of the respective layer, such as – for example – the structures and the every day practice. Due to the structures of inequality with respect to sex/gender, women and men face unequal possibilities to pursue a political career. The sex/gender relations were subject to major change in society as well as in the political field and hence also in the recruitment processes in the last few decades. This is why the historical context is a further important dimension of all levels, as it is able to grasp *change*.

The societal level needs to be part of an analytical framework of political recruitment in order to show the embeddedness of the practices of recruitment into the wider society and – especially – its changing sex/gender relations. However, this study chiefly focuses on outlaying the characteristics in the political field, as empirically investigating individual societal factors and packing them into a model of recruitment would be an impossible endeavour.

In the following, the major factors influencing the political recruitment of females and males and their structures of inequality will be ascertained, according to the different levels, society, political field, and recruitment practices. The respective factors are mainly

treated in the section to which they pertain. However, some dimensions are subsumed under the section “(3) The Recruitment Practices in the Political Parties”, although they belong to other layers. For example, the number of governmental positions has to be located on different levels: It depends on the structure of relations of forces between the parties and the outcome of the coalition negotiations (political field) and inner-party processes. However, for reasons of clarity, they are simply depicted under “(3) The Recruitment Practices in the Political Parties”. The layer of the political parties is omitted here, as the factors belonging to this level are depicted in the section of the selectors under the very same headline.

(1) The Societal Level

It was elucidated that the political field can never be entirely autonomous of the wider social space because it bears a relation of relative autonomy towards it. Hence, the agents in the political field are involved in internal as well as external struggles. The societal level is of special relevance in order to grasp the sex/gender relations in political recruitment and their change: Through the change of the sex/gender order in the wider society and in the political field, it became impossible *not* to recruit a woman into government.

(2) The Political Field

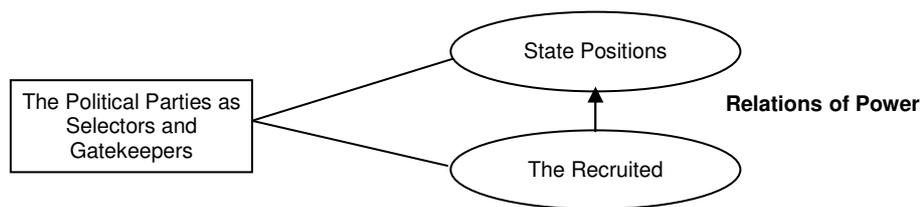
Norris/Lovenduski (1995, 31-32, 189-193) outline three factors which are of relevance on the level of the political system: the party, the legal, and the electoral system. The latter does not apply to my study, as it is only of relevance for legislative recruitment. The authors explain that “party system” refers to the structure of party competition in the electorate and in parliament and has two dimensions: The respective strength of parties, measured in votes or seats in parliament, and their ideological position in the party spectrum (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 31-32). “Party system” can thus be understood as the *properties of a political field* and the relational positions of the parties towards each other. The third dimension in their conception, the legal system, chiefly refers to restrictions of the legal system concerning age, nationality, residence, personal conduct, or the holding of public office (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 189). Besides those *formal* rules, there might be

informal rules of the political system like for example specific traditions that influence political recruitment.

(3) The Recruitment Processes in the Political Parties

I will analytically split recruitment processes into two different perspectives, that of the selectors and that of the recruited. The former provides for the demand-side and sheds light on the selection processes, whereas the perspective of the recruited entails the supply-side of recruitment processes and analyzes political careers. In most common explanations of the personnel outcome, the demand-side is referred to as being critical for the outcome (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 14). Norris/Lovenduski (1995, 15) propose that demand- and supply-side interact. In Austria, the political parties as selectors figure as gatekeepers for the staffing of state positions such as the governmental offices:

Figure 2: *The Political Parties as Selectors and Gatekeepers*



“Career” is a term conceptualizing the perspective of the recruited. It is used to describe an occupational ascendancy in a – very often hierarchical – organizational structure. Herzog (1975, 44) defines “career” as a sequence of positions, which an individual successively occupies and which are hierarchically staggered with respect to influence, prestige and/or income (see also: Rebenstorf 1997, 159). Therefore, political recruitment can also be understood as a procedure mostly containing several selecting mechanisms in hierarchical states; the recruitment to a political top position normally is only the last step in this process.

In the following, I will ascertain the side of the selectors and the perspective of the recruited separately. Whereas the first perspective tackles the sub-research question of *Who selects?*, the second perspective targets the sub-research questions *How do political careers work?* and *Who are the Austrian ministers?* (whereby all questions are tackled as

concerns sex/gender relations). Subsequently, the fourth sub-research question of sex/gender relations *in* government will be targeted under the according headline.

3.1. The Perspective of the Selectors

Norris/Lovenduski (1995, 15-21, 183-184) delineate three factors which come into play in recruitment on the level of the political parties: organization, rules, and ideology. The criterion of “organization” targets the internal structure of the party and hence comprises what will be understood as the *relations of forces* between the party-internal agents with the help of Bourdieu: It is the number of agents within the parties, their respective amount of political capital and hence their relational positions towards each other. Political recruitment processes can be defined as bargaining processes and power struggles within political parties over state powers, in which power mechanisms are at play. It is the structure of relations of forces at a specific point in time that determines which party agents are involved in the recruitment processes within the parties. The positions, which the various party groups and agents occupy, are mainly determined by their elective force. Neglecting party agents in the recruitment processes may result in pay backs later on: If the major pillars of the party are not included, the cabinet or even the incumbency of the party leader may be rather short-lived. The relative success of the established power balance (or imbalance) may thus affect future power struggles within the party. Hence, I hypothesize that it is mainly the structure of relations of forces and thus the power relations (which bear specific sex/gender relations characterized by structures of inequality for women) within the parties, which are decisive in the processes of selection. This is in so far connected to the recruited as the pivotal party groups have a delegative concept of representation and thus delegate someone into government who *belongs* to them. Hence, the *sex/gender relations within the party groups* can result in sex/gender-specific structures of political recruitment on the side of the recruited: Male organized party groups who figure as selectors put women at a disadvantage as concerns recruitment.

Norris/Lovenduski ascertained that *informal and/or formal rules* or established traditions within the parties might influence the structure of opportunities. Three informal principles of selection are ascertained in the literature for legislative recruitment in Austria, but can be transferred to the institution of government: (1) The principle of the permanence of the mandates means that MPs have – compared to newcomers – higher chances to be recruited

into the following parliament as well (Fischer 1982/1974, 121-122; Stirnemann 1988, 603, 623). This principle can be transformed for the national government into a *principle of the permanence of the incumbents*. It bears sex/gender differences according to Neyer (1991, 61-62) who stated that women are not as permanent as men, which will be explored by a hypothesis.

(2) The representational interests of specific party-groups located in the *social partnership* – the unions in the SPÖ and the leagues in the ÖVP (Fischer 1982/1974, 123) – need to be regarded and are particularly disadvantaging women, as these organizations are largely male/masculine organized (Neyer 1991, 63; 1985, 21; Niederkofler 2004, 389; Appelt 1995, 611). The social partnership is of seminal relevance in the Austrian political field⁵ (Appelt 1995, 611; Neyer 1997, 198; Pelinka 2003a, 540; Karlhofer 2001, 1). Whereas Neyer (1996, 87, 98) contends that corporatist traits have a negative effect on the political influence of women in all states with pronounced corporatist traits, Appelt (1995, 611) argues that neocorporatism does not necessarily result in the discrimination of females and corroborates this point with the cases of Sweden or Norway. In Austria, women were in fact completely excluded from the important decision-making positions in the social partnership and thus shut out in the organization of collective (male) interests in the welfare state (Neyer 1997, 198; 1996, 83). A top position could only be *conquered* by a female in 1994 for the first time, when a woman became president of the Chamber of Labour. This remains the exception, though (Neyer 1997, 198). The non-inclusion of women in the social partners has lasting consequences for the representation of females in political positions because of the interlacing of personnel between social partnership and (party) political positions (Neyer 1996, 90; 1997, 87, 199; Appelt 1995, 611; Niederkofler 2004, 390-391). Hence, the hypothesis will be explored in this work that the inclusion of the social partnership in government disadvantages the recruitment of women⁶.

(3) Although the *federal traits* are legally not pronounced, the regions are highly relevant in terms of power (Pelinka 2003a, 546) and thus for recruitment in the form of regional representation (Fischer 1982/1974, 123).

Some scholars claim that women do better at the local than the national level (Norris 1996, 91; Chapman 1993, 4) in most countries (Norris 1996, 91). Others, though, purport that

⁵ The Austrian corporatist structures are explained in detail as part of the properties of the political field, starting on page 207.

⁶ This stands in contrast to Wiliarty (2008), who claims that corporatist structures can be beneficial for women, provided that they are a recognized group. However, it is exactly the case that women are *not* an acknowledged group in the system of corporatism and are excluded from the organization of male collective interests.

efforts to increase the presence of females is rather rooted in national (party) politics than on the local levels (Lovenduski/Norris 1989, 535; Randall 1987, 141; 1991, 92-94). Accordingly, the inclusion of the regional and local levels in government disadvantages women as those adhere to a more traditional understanding of the sexes/genders and rather bring forward attitudes against women (e.g. Sanbonmatsu 2006, 134; Niederkofler 2004, 389-390). In Austria, the share of women is higher in the national political institutions than on the regional and local levels (Steininger 2006, 259): For example, the share of females in regional governments is already lower in comparison to the national government, the male dominance is the greatest as concerns the mayors on the local levels, though (Steininger 1992, 660). The analysis of the party positions in 2004 shows a similar trend: Women are the least present on the local levels (Steininger 2006, 251). I thus hypothesized that females are rather brought forth by the national level and rather disadvantaged on the local and regional levels.

Party ideology is decisive for recruitment in Norris/Lovenduski's (1995, 15-21, 183-184) analytical model: Internationally, leftist parties tend to have more descriptive female representation than other political parties. In the literature, this is attributed to the fact that leftist parties tend to provide greater support to female candidacies due to their egalitarian attitudes (cf. Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 15-21, 183-184; Mackay 2004, 103; Epstein 1981, 13; Kunovich/Paxton 2005, 506). Although those studies have focused on the quantitative dimension of recruitment, the correlation between party ideology and the quantitative and qualitative representation of women will be assessed in this work by two hypotheses.

The *sex composition of the selectors* might play a role for the chances of women to be represented. Cross-national studies have shown that the presence of women in high party positions helps explain the representation of women in office (e.g. Caul 1999, 90; Sanbonmatsu 2006, 147). This finding is also corroborated by experiments in the EU-Commission (Kraus 2008). Men – intentionally or unintentionally – tend to select men. Conversely, the domination of men on the side of the selectors can help to explain the underrepresentation of women.

The *number of available resources* to distribute is correlated to the representation of females (Neyer 1985; Sanbonmatsu 2006; Niederkofler 2004). Decisive for the number of distributable positions is the actual constellation of government: If a party is governing

alone, the pieces of cake to distribute are obviously more numerous than in times of coalitions. It is the structure of relations in the political field, which is largely determined by the elections results, that can explain which party or parties become part of the government or which relational positions two coalescing parties have towards one another and hence over *how many* and *which* portfolios they can finally dispose. I assume that inner party power struggles are stronger when the available resources are fewer, and vice versa. The intensity of the power struggles has an effect on female representation: Where parties recruit more candidates (Sanbonmatsu 2006, 158), i.e. when the distributable resources are enlarged or in the context of majority governments (Neyer 1985, 104-105; Niederkofler 2004, 380), more women are selected. Conversely, when the number of distributable governmental seats is low or diminished, women are *saved* (Neyer 1985, 21). This hypothesis is assessed by two means: Firstly, it is assumed that women are more likely to be represented in majority governments. Secondly, I will examine the hypothesis that the greater disposal over resources, i.e. governmental seats, has a positive effect on female representation, whereas the downsizing of distributable posts has a negative effect on the presence of female politicians.

As concerns the selection of women, *discrimination* can play a role⁷. Discrimination can be either positive or negative and is defined as a judgment based on the basis of characteristics ascribed to a certain group of people. However, discrimination typically has a negative effect on the recruitment of women. Three forms of discrimination can be differentiated:

- (1) *Direct discrimination*: Its positive form means the purposeful selection of women to obtain a certain level of female representation or enhance it. Its negative form entails that women are not selected because of stereotypes of women as a whole (e.g. have scarce time resources, are not good speakers, etc.) irrespective of the individual's actual characteristics.
- (2) *Imputed discrimination*: The selectors base personnel decisions towards a certain group of people on their perception of the anticipated reaction of the electorate, irrespective of their own personal evaluations. For example, party selectors can choose women because they think it might enhance their numbers of reached votes, even if they are convinced that women as a group are incapable of doing the job. Or, conversely, selectors could favour women as candidates, but fear that they will lose votes and do not recruit them.

⁷ The differentiation between the different forms of discrimination are relevant and are thus handled here, but do not represent a dimension of selection.

(3) *Indirect discrimination*: It results from defining the criteria a candidate should fulfil in such a way that – although sex/gender is not explicitly at the fore – women or men are favoured. This form of discrimination hence also applies to the formal and informal rules of recruitment that are in effect in the political parties. This form almost always appears in its negative form for women. This is the case, for example, when a union representative is needed, whereas only few women are represented in the unions (cf. Lovenduski/Norris 1989, 535; Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 14).

3.2. The Perspective of the Recruited

There are *typical career paths* to positions of power in the political field. They are connected to the sexed/gendered relations within the different selecting party groups in so far as those party agents who are able to select usually send a *delegate* into government, i.e. someone who belongs to them by a long investment of time and energy into the party group. Women as group are outsiders in the political field and typically only exist on its fringes and seek access to positions of power through the medium of institutions created by men. Epstein (1981, 10) concedes that the career paths for women and men differ in the sense that females often climb specifically female (alternative) career paths, which are fewer and less strong than those for men. Thus, I hypothesize that the career paths for women and men differ. In this endeavour, the two hypotheses delineated ahead – that the social partnership and the regional and local levels disadvantage the coming forth of women – will be scrutinized.

Capital and/or other forms of *resources* are required to be able to enter the political field in the first place and be subsequently willing and able to pursue a political career.. The sex/gender relations are embedded in the capital forms such as the rules of their acquisition, transfer or convertibility. Norris/Lovenduski (1995, 143) define resources as “(...) a range of assets which can be employed to advantage in pursuing a political career[.]”, which includes “(...) personal income, union sponsorship, time, political experience, and support networks.”. However, there are many other capital forms and resources which are favourable for a political career like a specific occupation, an influential professional position or time (Hoecker 1987, 108). The judgment of the candidates’ abilities by the selectors may include assumptions about their personal characters, formal qualifications, political experience, eloquence or trustworthiness

(Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 14, 107). It is not necessarily actual accomplishments which are valued in these considerations, but the perception of these. Overall, though, considerations of competences might not be at the fore in the selection of personnel. Other factors, such as the belonging to a specific party group or the social capital in the form of a personal relation with one of the selecting party groups might be decisive. Hence, the explanation of the personnel outcome in the sense of “*The worthy and gifted will succeed.*” (Epstein 1981, 8) is a popular myth, as the author nicely puts it.

There is a difference between the capital forms and resources, which can be of advantage for a political career from the perspective of the recruited, and those capital forms and resources which are demanded by the selectors. It is the latter which will be examined in this thesis. The (structural) demands of the selectors are mirrored in the capital forms and resources over which the recruited typically dispose and will be empirically investigated. These are coined by masculine values: For example, the involvement in old boys’ networks is advantageous for a political career. Experiences of females with housework and care for children and the old are thereby not beneficial (Kreisky 1995, 113-114; 1997, 200). Hence, women are less likely to possess the attributes valued by men (Chapman 1993, 18; Nowotny 1981). Thus, I hypothesize that women and men differ in their provision over capital forms and resources. For the individuals, foremost the disposal over cultural, social, and delegated political capital, but also personal political capital as well as other resources will be subject of the analysis. Economic capital cannot be directly explored. Similarly, symbolic capital, the form all capital forms including the political capital take, when perceived as legitimate, will be foreclosed, as it cannot be tackled with the employed methods. The definition of the capital forms and resources into specific empirical (research) criteria was partly operationalized from the theory, partly empirically derived from the field by the empirical results from the interviews and the biographical analysis.

Social capital in the form of belonging to and holding positions in networks is highly relevant. Networks include a broad range of organizational forms, formal or informal, voluntary or compulsory, and encompass, for example, loose circles of friendships, in-groups as well as relations of mentorship or regular gatherings to play sports or go to a bar. Many of the relevant networks can be characterized as “old boys’ networks” (“Männerbünde”) (cf. Kreisky 1995; 1997; Niederkofler 2004, 389; Appelt 1995, 611). Epstein (1981, 11) sees one of the reasons why women face difficulties in entering elites that women lack access to those networks. Sanbonmatsu (2006, 129-131) argued that party

leaders who are usually men tend to favour male candidates, not necessarily intentionally but because of the sexed composition of social networks of the party leaders: Women are excluded from the access to old boys' networks and are often less likely to be mentored than men (Sanbonmatsu 2006, 136); networking hence assigns an advantage to men (Sanbonmatsu 2006, 129). Hence, I hypothesize that many of the relevant networks are male organized and that the structure of representation in networks bears strong differences between women and men.

The social structure tackles the sub-question *Who are the Austrian ministers?* (and which sex/gender differences are discernable?). In different studies, the relevance of a certain *social structure* or a certain position in the social universe was elaborated in order to be able to *enter* and participate in the political field in the first place and to be able to ascend the political career ladder subsequently. Thus, the named findings of these studies will be assessed for the Austrian governmental members as somewhat sub-hypotheses and embedded into the leading research question of sex/gender differences. Furthermore, the hypothesis that women and men differ in their provision over capital and resources will be assessed with respect to cultural capital (i.e. education and occupation):

Foremost, it is the belonging to a certain sex which decides over the possibilities of a person to participate in the political field and the likeliness to be represented in political power positions.

Different scholars have pointed out that political leaders are disproportionately drawn from privileged family backgrounds (Putnam 1976, 22), also in Austria (Dachs/Gerlich/Müller 1995a, 634). This points to the relevance of capital in the family, which means for the politicians a relatively early start of the accumulation process of capital. The location of individuals in the social space is usually operationalized by the economic capital (measured by income) and by the educational titles and the occupational position.

Economic capital cannot be researched in my context; the social position will hence be identified by the other two dimensions, as those allow for inferences about the economic and also the social capital. The educational status embodies cultural capital in its institutionalized form. The occupation incarnates cultural capital (Vester 2002, 69) in its incorporated form by, for example, specific abilities acquired in the professional life. As concerns politicians in top positions, they are usually pulled from the well-educated classes (Putnam 1976, 26) and from upper-status occupations (Putnam 1976, 22; Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 110). In almost all countries, top decision-makers are

disproportionally pulled from law (Epstein 1981, 10; Putnam 1976, 59) and tend to be composed of relatively high numbers of “talking professions” such as lawyers, journalists, teachers or civil servants (Putnam 1976, 59; Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 110). For Austria, several authors identified a dominance of public sector employees in politics (Stirnemann 1988, 631; Baumgartner 1983, 199). Hence, it is often a very specific form of cultural capital as, for example, the specific knowledge acquired in law that comes into effect. The social bias as concerns education might be due to the fact that the better educated usually tend to participate more politically than other educational classes. On the other hand, it may also be a result of the fact that the selectors rather recruit the well-educated as a sign of ability and social status (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 113). Thus, if access to education is socially biased – as it is the case in Austria (Erler 2007) – reliance on education for political recruitment is by no means equal (Putnam 1976, 32). The bias as concerns the occupational classes might be due to several factors: On the one hand, selectors may refrain from selecting working class candidates because they tend to see them as less able. On the other hand, the middle class brings along resources, which are handy for political activities: Political careers are facilitated by jobs that allow for time to be employed in politics, flexibility, professional independence and self-reliance, financial security, networks, social status, experience and/or technical skills. This also helps to explain why women are underrepresented in politics (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 111). The place of residence during childhood can be another relevant resource as Putnam (1976, 32) proposed that elites are disproportionately drawn from cities as geography might affect political status directly and sometimes indirectly via the access to education. I further elaborate this assumption by hypothesizing that the closeness to political institutions during the childhood and youth might play a role. Thereby, I assume that the hierarchy of the accessible political institutions (none, town, regional, or national) and the chances to climb to positions of power are directly proportionally linked. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that a political engagement of a family member or a relative can be advantageous for a later political involvement of the politician her- or himself. Both criteria define the accessibility of politics for the politicians. The analysis of the regional representation of the politicians will complete the analysis of socio-geographical factors (besides the place of origin) and can also mirror sex/gender implications of the political relevance of the regions in political recruitment.

Last but not least, the private environment, hence a family, can be a resource for a political career as a place of retreat or a double burden – especially for women. Whereas Epstein

(1981, 12) came to the conclusion that the most successful women tend to have husbands and families, I hypothesize – following other authors (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 116; Sanbonmatsu 2006, 128) – that to balance a political career with a family is a barrier for females.

Finally, the investigation of the age of the governmental members will complete the analysis of the social structure. International studies have shown that female officeholders are commonly older than men (e.g.: CAWP 2001, 4; Sanbonmatsu 2006, 32); this will be evaluated as sub-hypothesis as well.

The willingness of the candidates to accept the job offered in government is affected by the status, power, and rewards of governmental office compared with other positions (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 108, 195). A restricted *pool of candidates*, i.e. a limited competition on the side of the recruited, might be positive for female representation. Diamond (1977, 4) suggests that selectors will be less likely to turn to females, when there is a high demand and they can choose among a big pool of candidates: “*Where competition for seats is strong, ‘out-groups’ face more difficulties challenging the status quo.*” (Sanbonmatsu 2006, 34).

3.3. The Unequal Sex/Gender Relations in Government

Finally, the unequal sex/gender relations in government and their change need to be tackled. One dimension of the definition of the male/masculine state by Sauer (2004, 118-119) refers to the fact that men prevail over women in terms of their *quantitative or descriptive representation* (cf. Pitkin 1967). Another dimension entails that the sex/gender relations do not only show a vertical inequality in the sense of the hierarchical subordination of women, but also a horizontal one: Women are attributed to peripheral positions in terms of power, whereas men are supplied with the posts of significant political capital (Sauer 2004, 118-119; Dahlerup/Haavio-Mannila 1985, 164-165). The attribution to powerful or -less portfolios targets the *quality of representation*: “*In a system constructed under masculinism, one would predict that the greater the power available in any particular part of the executive branch, the fewer women we will find.*” (Duerst-Lahti 1997, 19). The power position of certain governmental posts in relation to the others goes hand in hand with its attributed sex/gender definition: The portfolios with a lower status like health, education or family typically reflect the traditional women’s role

(Skard/Haavio-Mannila 1985, 79). Women are concentrated in the reproductive sector (especially education and social services), while men are clustered in the productive sector. This results in a “*sectorization*” (Dahlerup/Haavio-Mannila 1985, 165) of women and men as both sexes are clustered in certain areas of the political decision-making apparatus (Dahlerup/Haavio-Mannila 1985, 164-165; Sauer 2003, 7). The differences between women and men as concerns the quantitative and qualitative representation have eased over the last few decades, but are still in effect. Hence, I will explore the hypotheses that women are placed at a disadvantage as concerns the quantitative and qualitative representation in government, whereby it will be further explored as concerns the latter, whether the attribution of the portfolios to women and men typically reflects their traditional sexed/gendered notion and is linked to a typical power position (in the sense of weak female/feminine portfolios and strong male/masculine portfolios). Additionally, following the findings of Neyer (1997, 194-195; 1985, 105), it is hypothesized that women are rather selected into newly built ministries.

IV. Prospects for the Research

In the following empirical chapters, the theoretically derived hypotheses will be explored and amended by a few empirically derived hypotheses, which will be introduced at the beginning of each chapter. Chapter 3 focuses on the delineation of the quantitative and qualitative representation of females and males in government and thus tackles the sub-question of *sex/gender relations in government and their change*. In this chapter, the hypotheses that women are disadvantaged as concerns the quantitative and qualitative representation in government and the hypothesized links between female representation and party ideology, the availability of resources, and newly built ministries will be explored.

The sub-questions *Who selects?* and *How do political careers work?* and their sex/gender relations will be tackled in Chapters 4 to 7. The fourth to sixth chapters are dedicated to the recruitment processes in the three parties and will be analyzed from the perspective of the selectors and of the recruited. In these, three hypotheses will be investigated: Namely, (1) that it is the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces within each party that largely determine

the processes of selection, (2) that the typical career paths for women and men differ, and (3) that the representation in networks bears sex/gender differences.

In Chapter 7, political recruitment processes in all parties and their sex/gender relations will be at the fore, embedding them more broadly into the developed analytical model.

Thus the hypothesis treated in the party-specific chapters (1) that it is the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces that mainly determine the processes of selection will be subject in this chapter as well. Similarly, the hypothesis (2) that women and men differ with respect to their typical career paths will also be explored here. Additionally, the following hypotheses will be scrutinized: (3) The principle of the permanence of the incumbents applies less to women than to men; women are “less permanent”. (4) The principle of the inclusion of the social partnership into government disadvantages women. (5) The principle of territorial representation negatively discriminates women, as the representation of females is rather enhanced by the national than by the regional and local levels. (6) Women and men differ in their provision over capital and resources.

In the last empirical chapter (Chapter 8), the social structure of the ministers will be elucidated, targeting the sub-question *Who are the Austrian ministers?* and its sex/gender relations. In this chapter, so-called sub-hypotheses that were developed about the links of dimensions of the social structure and political recruitment or/and the sex/gender dimensions will be researched. Additionally, the hypothesis that women and men differ in their disposition over capital and resources will be also explored here (it is also targeted in Chapter 7) with respect to the holding of cultural capital.

The study concludes with Chapter 9, including the conclusions and an outlook.

In Appendix 1, the employed methodical means and the according questions such as the specifics of empirical classifications, for example, are treated in detail; the interview questionnaire is enclosed in Appendix 2.

3. The Quantitative and Qualitative Representation of Females and Males in Government

In this chapter, the sub-question of sex/gender differences in government will be examined. Several hypotheses, which were largely derived from the theoretical concept and were already elaborated in the theoretical chapter, will be explored here. I hypothesized that women are disadvantaged with regards to the quantity and quality of representation in government. As concerns the latter, it is further assumed that the distribution of females and males to the according ministries reflect traditional sex/gender perceptions of the concerned portfolios, which are linked to the different power status of the ministries at the same time (i.e.: “the powerful male/masculine portfolios and the weak female/feminine portfolios”). As concerns both dimensions, also the change of the sex/gender relations in government need to be tackled and will be ascertained here.

Furthermore, a link between party ideology and female representation was established in the literature as, internationally, leftist parties tend to be more likely to bring forward women than others. This hypothesis will be assessed with respect to the quantitative and the qualitative representation of women’s ministers. Additionally, the hypothesized correlation between the availability of resources and the quantity of females in government will be explored by assessing whether more women are represented during majority governments and whether the quantity of distributable government posts is directly proportionally correlated to female representation. Lastly, one hypothesis was derived from the theoretical part as well as from the empirical analysis: It is brought forth in the literature and by one interviewee that females are more likely to be recruited for newly founded ministries. This chapter is structured around these hypotheses for the most part. Additionally, a comparison between the development of the numerical representation of women in the National Assembly and the government will be carried out in order to be able to frame the context of female representation in the Austrian government compared to other political institutions.

As concerns the structure of this chapter, firstly, the comparison between the quantitative representation of women in government and the National Assembly will be undertaken. Secondly, the quantitative female representation in government will be outlined. Thirdly, the qualitative representation of women’s politicians in government will be discussed. And lastly, the presence of females in the parties will be compared as concerns the quantitative

and the qualitative dimension of representation. Despite the fact that the research focus is from 1966 to 2006, the different graphs will often show the picture of female representation since 1945 in order to convey a picture of the development of female representation in the Second Republic.

Although the nominal entities are partly low, percentage values are employed as they are needed to depict the development and the differences as concerns the quantitative representation of females and males in government. Because of the partly low nominal entities, several strategies were followed: Firstly, the nominal values are always indicated as well. Secondly, the use and the interpretation of the percentage values were prudently handled. And thirdly, the state secretaries were included for a calculation in order to enlarge the nominal entities and to be able to assess the according hypothesis.

(1) The Representation of Females in Government and in the National Assembly

Müller/Philipp/Steininger (1988, 145-146) assert that women partly have a greater representation in government than in the National Assembly. This is indeed true for the comparison the authors conducted on the percentage values of female MPs and the entity of ministers and state secretaries. However, state secretaries are not – as explained in the introduction – part of the government legally and are not comparable to ministerial positions in terms of power. Hence, a comparison of the female shares in both political institutions has still to be evaluated:

Table 2: Comparison of the Female Shares of Ministers and MPs, 1945-1966

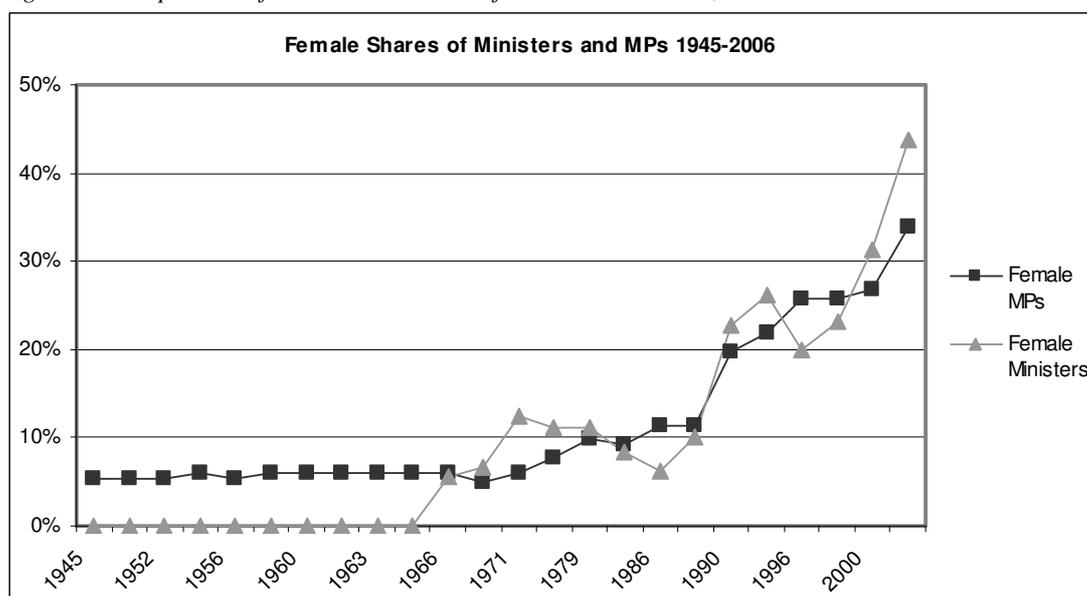
Cabinet	Beginning of Cabinet Period	National Assembly			Ministers		
		nominal		%	nominal		%
		Overall	f	f	Overall	f	f
Figl I	1945	165	9	5%	20	0	0%
Figl II	1949	165	9	5%	15	0	0%
Figl III	1952			5%	11	0	0%
Raab I	1953	165	10	6%	16	0	0%
Raab II	1956	165	9	5%	14	0	0%
Raab III	1959	165	10	6%	14	0	0%
Raab IV	1960			6%	12	0	0%
Gorbach I	1961			6%	12	0	0%
Gorbach II	1963	165	10	6%	12	0	0%
Klaus I	1964			6%	13	0	0%
Klaus II	1966	165	10	6%	18	1	6%
Kreisky I	1970	165	8	5%	15	1	7%
Kreisky II	1971	183	11	6%	16	2	13%
Kreisky III	1975	183	14	8%	18	2	11%
Kreisky IV	1979	183	18	10%	18	2	11%
Sinowatz	1983	183	17	9%	24	2	8%
Vranitzky I	1986	183	21	11%	16	1	6%
Vranitzky II	1987			11%	20	2	10%
Vranitzky III	1990	183	36	20%	22	5	23%
Vranitzky IV	1994	183	40	22%	23	6	26%
Vranitzky V	1996	183	47	26%	15	3	20%
Klima	1997			26%	13	3	23%
Schüssel I	2000	183	49	27%	16	5	31%
Schüssel II	2003	183	62	34%	16	7	44%
AVERAGE 1945-2006		3150	390	12%	389	42	11%
AVERAGE 1966-2006		2160	333	15%	250	42	17%

Notes:

- (1) In order to be able to compare the proportions of females in the National Assembly and in government, I proceeded as follows: In years when a new governmental but not a new parliamentary period started, I took the female proportion of the “former” parliamentary period again. Hence, the numbers for the National Assembly are “doubled” in some years; those are represented with a grey shading in the table.
- (2) For the calculation of the average values, I only took the “real” legislative periods for the National Assembly and not the “doubled” ones.

Sources: Own statistics. The values as concerns the National Assembly were produced on the basis of the Österreichisches Parlament (2008b), whereas the calculations as concerns the national government are based on several sources (Österreichischer Amtskalender 2007/2008; Müller 2006e, 170; Bundeskanzleramt Österreich 2004-2009; Österreichisches Parlament 2008a; Österreich Journal 2002).

Figure 3: Comparison of the Female Shares of Ministers and MPs, 1945-1966



In the comparison of the female proportions of the MPs and the ministers, especially four points are of interest:

First, the female shares show a rising tendency in both institutions. The two lines also show a somewhat correlated upwards trend. Second, both trends reached their peaks in 2003 with 34 % of females in parliament and 44 % of female ministers. Third, there were no female ministers until 1966 nor any female state secretaries, apart from one exception in 1945, for that part. In contrast, the female proportion in the National Assembly was at about 5 and 6 % during that time. Hence, if at all, female politicians could reach the National Assembly in the first two decades of the Second Republic, although only on a small scale of 5 to 6 percent. Government positions, however, were not accessible. Fourth, the developments of the female shares take distinct characteristics in the two institutions: In the National Assembly, the development of the female proportion shows a slow, but steady upward tendency. The proportions of females between one parliament and the following differed with more than 4 % in only two cases: It jumped from 11 % to 20 % from 1987 to 1990 (in fact, this applies to the parliamentary periods 1986 and 1990) and it achieved 34 % in 2003 compared to 27 % in 2000. The development of the representation of female ministers, on the other hand, is – in comparison – characterized by leaps and bounds. The portion of females is nil for the first twenty years, shows 6 and 7 % in 1966 and 1970, and rises to about 11 and 13 % in the following years until 1983. In the following three cabinets, the value stays low between 6 and 10 %. In 1990, it surpasses the 20 %-mark for the first time and attains values between 20 and 26 % until 2000. Then it achieves its two heights consecutively with 31 % in 2000 and 44 % in 2003. This difference might be attributed to the stronger formalised process of selection in the National Assembly, compared to the selection for government, for which practically no formal rules exist.

In the years from 1945 to 2006, the average share of female MPs of 12 % is slightly higher than the average proportion of female ministers of 11 %, but not considerably. However, a comparison for the years 1966 to 2006 shows a different picture: Here, the average female proportion in government is higher (17 %) than in the National Assembly (15 %) (Table 2), which is the result of the fact that women were present in the National Assembly in the first twenty years of the Second Republic, but not as ministers.

(2) The Quantitative Representation of Females and Males in Government

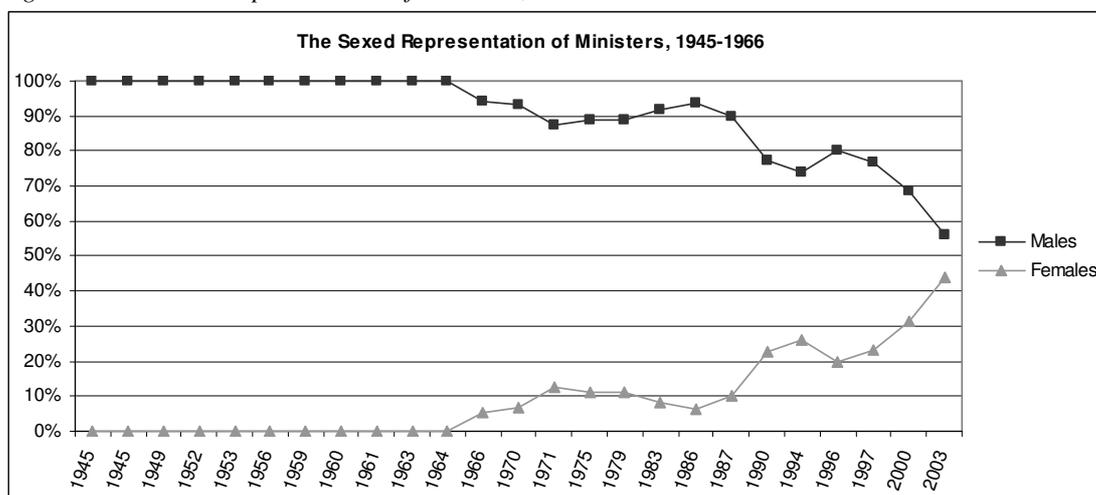
In the following, the hypotheses will be explored that women are disadvantaged as concerns the quantitative representation in government and that the availability of resources is linked to the number of females present in government. The development of the quantitative representation of female ministers since 1945 is shown in the following:

Table 3: The Sexed Representation of Ministers, 1945-2006

Cabinet	Beginning of Cabinet Period	nominal		%	
		Females	Overall	Females	Males
Renner	1945	0	15	0%	100%
Figl I	1945	0	20	0%	100%
Figl II	1949	0	15	0%	100%
Figl III	1952	0	11	0%	100%
Raab I	1953	0	16	0%	100%
Raab II	1956	0	14	0%	100%
Raab III	1959	0	14	0%	100%
Raab IV	1960	0	12	0%	100%
Gorbach I	1961	0	12	0%	100%
Gorbach II	1963	0	12	0%	100%
Klaus I	1964	0	13	0%	100%
Klaus II	1966	1	18	6%	94%
Kreisky I	1970	1	15	7%	93%
Kreisky II	1971	2	16	13%	88%
Kreisky III	1975	2	18	11%	89%
Kreisky IV	1979	2	18	11%	89%
Sinowatz	1983	2	24	8%	92%
Vranitzky I	1986	1	16	6%	94%
Vranitzky II	1987	2	20	10%	90%
Vranitzky III	1990	5	22	23%	77%
Vranitzky IV	1994	6	23	26%	74%
Vranitzky V	1996	3	15	20%	80%
Klima	1997	3	13	23%	77%
Schüssel I	2000	5	16	31%	69%
Schüssel II	2003	7	16	44%	56%

Sources: Own statistics on the basis of several sources (Österreichischer Amtskalender 2007/2008; Müller 2006e, 170; Bundeskanzleramt Österreich 2004-2009; Österreichisches Parlament 2008a; Österreich Journal 2002).

Figure 4: The Sexed Representation of Ministers, 1945-2006



The cabinets between 1945 and 1966 were composed of male ministers entirely. In that timeframe, there also was only one female state secretary: In the Provisional Cabinet of Renner in 1945, Helene Postranecky of the KPÖ was under-state secretary, which corresponds to the position of a state secretary today. In 1966, the first female minister, Grete Rehor, was recruited into the cabinet Klaus II (ÖVP⁸). Since then, the share of female ministers has shown a slow, but relatively steady upward trend. There has not been a cabinet without a female among the ministers since 1966. However, a substantial quantitative rise of the female representation in government was a long time in coming. In each of the governments from Klaus II to Vranitzky II from 1966 to 1990, one or two women were recruited out of 15 to 24 ministers overall, representing percentage values of female representation between 6 and 13 %. Only in 1990, with the cabinet of Vranitzky III (SPÖ-ÖVP), the female representation made a jump: Five of 22 ministers were female (23 %). The following cabinets under the Federal Chancellors Vranitzky and Klima (SPÖ-ÖVP) showed similar shares, ranging between 20 and 26 %. Under Schüssel I (ÖVP-FPÖ), the female representation gained more than 30 % for the first time (31 % or 5 of 16), only to reach its peak with 44 % or seven females among 16 ministers under Schüssel II (ÖVP-FPÖ/BZÖ).

The data analysis shows that women are – unsurprisingly – put at a disadvantage as concerns the quantitative representation in government. The according hypothesis can hence be affirmed. It has to be outlined, however, that the female deficit in the quantitative representation has been declining. Johanna Dohnal (SPÖ), a former Minister of Women's Affairs and a representative of the Austrian's women's movement, states: *“More women in politics at the same time implies fewer men. And exactly that is the reason and nothing else, why the rise of the female share in the legislative bodies was so low in these seven decades⁹.”* (Dohnal 1989). Although Dohnal is speaking about the legislative bodies, her view can be transferred to government. As the graph (Figure 4) above shows, selecting women equates to *“losing men”* as Mackay (2004, 104) put it.

As the entities of ministers and state secretaries will be employed further below to assess a hypothesis, we will cast a quick look at its development since 1966 in the following:

⁸ In the following, the respective governing parties are indicated in the brackets.

⁹ In the original: *“Mehr Frauen in der Politik bedeutet gleichzeitig weniger Männer. Und genau das ist der Grund und nichts anderes, warum die Steigerung des Frauenanteils in den gesetzgebenden Körperschaften in diesen sieben Jahrzehnten so gering war.”*

Table 4: The Sexed Representation of Ministers and State Secretaries, 1966-2006

Government	Beginning of Governmental Period	nominal		%	
		Females	Overall	Females	Males
Klaus II	1966	1	26	4%	96%
Kreisky I	1970	2	17	12%	88%
Kreisky II	1971	3	20	15%	85%
Kreisky III	1975	3	23	13%	87%
Kreisky IV	1979	7	28	25%	75%
Sinowatz	1983	4	30	13%	87%
Vranitzky I	1986	3	22	14%	86%
Vranitzky II	1987	3	23	13%	87%
Vranitzky III	1990	7	28	25%	75%
Vranitzky IV	1994	8	27	30%	70%
Vranitzky V	1996	4	17	24%	76%
Klima	1997	4	16	25%	75%
Schüssel I	2000	6	20	30%	70%
Schüssel II	2003	7	24	29%	71%

Sources: Own statistics on the basis of several sources (Österreichischer Amtskalender 2007/2008; Müller 2006e, 170; Bundeskanzleramt Österreich 2004-2009; Österreichisches Parlament 2008a; Österreich Journal 2002).

With the recruitment of the first female minister in 1966 by the then Federal Chancellor Klaus (ÖVP), the female share jumped from nil to 4 %. The SPÖ-party leader Kreisky furthered the rise of the female representation: During his first three cabinets, the female share was between 12 and 15 %. During Kreisky IV, a quarter of the governmental members was female. This was due to the legendary “thunderbolt” (in German “Paukenschlag”) of Kreisky in 1979 who recruited five state secretaries overall¹⁰. In the following three cabinets, led by Sinowatz and Vranitzky, however, the proportion of women fell back to 13 and 14 % again. Only with the cabinet of Vranitzky III, a steady increase of women set in: Since then, the female share is between 24 and 30 %.

The (hypothesized) relation between the constellation of government and the quantitative representation of females will be assessed by two means: Namely, that women are more likely to be recruited in majority governments and that the size of government is directly proportionally related to the quantity of female representation (cf. Neyer 1985, 21, 104-105; Sanbonmatsu 2006, 158; Niederkofler 2004, 380). For both means, the joint values of ministers and state secretaries are used as the higher nominal entities are better suited to calculate the potential correlations: As concerns the majority governments, they are constituted by the cabinets Klaus II (ÖVP; 1966-1970) and those of Kreisky II-IV (SPÖ; 1970-1983) in the time frame from 1966 to 2006. The government Kreisky I was a minority government, but can be included here as well, as the relevant factor is that only *one* party is part of the government. Since 1983, only coalitions were in place. Because of

¹⁰ In 1979, the Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky recruited four new female state secretaries at a time, which caused quite a stir. Before that time, not as many women had been ministers or state secretaries at the same time.

the fact that minority and majority cabinets can only be found in the first few decades in the investigated time frame, the hypothesis cannot be answered: The female share in government has clearly risen since 1966, mainly due to the change of sex/gender relations in politics and in society. Whether fewer women would have been represented in the first few cabinets until 1983, if they had been coalition governments, or – conversely – whether more women would have been part of the government since 1983, if the governments had been minority or majority cabinets, cannot be answered.

As concerns the link of the size of government and the female representation, the data analysis clearly affirms the hypothesis: When the number of governmental positions was augmented, the number of women in government mostly rose or – less so – at least remained at the same level. Similarly, when the government was downsized, the number of females represented usually declined, too (own statistics). Hence, overall, the results lead me to affirm the hypothesis that the availability of resources and the number of females in government are directly proportionally interrelated.

(3) The Qualitative Representation of Females and Males in Government

In the following section, two hypotheses will be explored: (1) It is assumed that women are disadvantaged as concerns the qualitative representation in government and that the attribution of the portfolios to a certain sex is linked to the traditional sexed/gendered notion of the ministry and its power status. (2) It will be explored whether women are more likely to be recruited into newly formed portfolios, as claimed by Neyer (1997, 194-195; 1985, 105) and one respondent (IP 4). In order to evaluate these hypotheses, the portfolios have to be characterized according to their power status first, then the distribution of portfolios to women and men needs to be analyzed, and thirdly the hypothesized correlation between newly founded ministries and female representation will be assessed.

The number, name, and the tasks of the ministries are defined in the Federal Ministries Act (“Bundesministeriengesetz”) since 1973. Before that, they were settled by different laws, clauses, and regulations. In times of coalitions, the portfolios are organized following ideas of power distribution rather than efficiency (Müller 2006c, 169).

The available resources (i.e. the governmental positions) cannot be equally valued as the various positions differ in terms of power (IP 8; see also: Müller 2006c, 175). The actual power position of a portfolio within a government depends on several factors:

(1) The relevance it is generally attributed to by the political agents of the field. The key portfolios were identified by the respondents of the different parties and are elaborated below. (2) The actual set up of the ministry: The power status depends to a large extent on the portfolio's disposal to spend money autonomously as money or economic capital strongly is a design factor (IP 4). The potential leeway of a portfolio is also determined by the fact whether the competences of the area are bundled in the ministry or not. When competences are widely spread to different portfolios, this usually results in scanty competences of the ministry in question. There might also be other factors, inherent to the definition of the portfolio, which influence the power status. For example, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has a lot of personnel, which positively affects its power position (IP 11). (3) The significance of the portfolio also depends on the respective minister and her or his assertiveness. For example, the Ministry of Social Affairs was very relevant, which was due to its minister, Alfred Dallinger, who was assertive and present (IP 1). (4) The actual political constellation: The parties assess the relevance of the portfolios differently. Whereas many SPÖ-partisans would probably like to abolish Defence, many functionaries in the FPÖ and the ÖVP would like to do the same with Women's Affairs (IP 14). Similarly, the significance of a ministry also results from the value it is attributed to by the reigning political power(s): If the governing party or parties focus on a specific area, the power of its portfolio will probably be greater. If a field is neglected by the political leaders, its ministry will also be rather powerless.

The Federal and Vice Chancellor embody as the heads of the party's governmental teams the highest positions in government. After that, the Ministry of Finance is by far the most important portfolio (IP 4; IP 13; IP 15; IP 3; IP 1; IP 11; IP 2; IP 8). Firstly, because the state finances are taken in and distributed to the other portfolios there (IP 14; IP 15) – no ministry can govern without a budget from the Ministry of Finance (IP 15). Secondly, it is also advantaged in so far as its minister legally has a right of approval to the individual expenses of all other portfolios even in the case of already decided budgets (IP 13) since 1986 (Müller 2006c, 175). Hence, the Minister of Finance has close insight into every detail of all the other portfolios (IP 3; IP 14; IP 15), which turns the position into a central linchpin within government. As concerns the power status of the other portfolios, the evaluations of the interviewees partly diverged. Internal (IP 13; IP 3; IP 4; IP 1; IP 11; IP 2; IP 8) and Foreign Affairs (IP 13; IP 3; IP 1; IP 2; IP 8) as well as Justice (IP 13; IP 4; IP 15) are characterized as the classic powerful portfolios by most of them. These three portfolios build the sensitive areas of the democratic organization (IP 13). Whereby some

interviewees assess that the power status of Foreign Affairs has been increasing since Austria's entry into the European Union (IP 1; IP 8), another respondent states that the portfolio has strongly lost impact because major competences of the ministry were or will be transferred to the European Union (IP 3). Social Affairs is a powerful ministry (IP 1; IP 4), at least for the SPÖ (IP 4). However, one respondent added that the power of the portfolio has diminished since the amount of money the ministry can autonomously allocate has been decreasing. As a result, the interviewee characterizes Social Affairs as a once powerful portfolio, but not anymore today (IP 4). The Economic (IP 1; IP 11; IP 15) and Infrastructure and Transport (IP 11; IP 15) ministries are also valued as central. Infrastructure and Transport is economically one of the most important portfolios because it administrates many of the big state-owned companies such as the Austrian Railways ÖBB (IP 11). Only one respondent also defines Agriculture as a powerful portfolio because it has many types of funding and a small number of clientele (IP 4). In contrast to that, the Ministries of Women's Affairs (IP 4), Health (IP 6; IP 2) or Family and Youth, for example, have a weak power position. As concerns Health or Family and Youth, this is also due to the spread competences of the areas (IP 15; Biografia, Entry: Flemming Marilies).

The distribution of the portfolios to women and men is depicted in the following table:

Table 5: The Distribution of the Portfolios to Women and Men, 1966-2006

	Klaus II, 1966	Kreisky I, 1970	Kreisky II, 1971	Kreisky III, 1975	Kreisky IV, 1979	Sinowatz, 1983	Vranitzky I, 1986	Vranitzky II, 1987	Vranitzky III, 1990	Vranitzky IV, 1994	Vranitzky V, 1996	Klima, 1997	Schüssel I, 2000	Schüssel II, 2003
Federal Chancellor														
Vice Chancellor														
Finance														
Internal Affairs														
Foreign Affairs														
Justice														
National Defense														
Agriculture and Forestry														
Environment														
Family & Youth														
Economy														
Labour														
Social Affairs														
Health														
Infrastructure														
Science														
Art/Culture														
Education														
Environment														
Health														
Women														
Constructions and Engineering														
Federalism and Administrative Reform														
Minister without Portfolio														

Notes:

- (1) The composition of the portfolios was empirically identified by the actual given name.
- (2) The filled cells represent the existing portfolios in the respective cabinets, identified by their name. An empty cell implies that the portfolio did not exist at the time.
- (3) The merged cells between different areas display the distribution of the ministries and their joint responsibilities at the respective time. The ministries, which are marked by grey shading, are doubly represented in the table. Those were merged with different ministries at different times, wherefore one row did not suffice to illustrate the state of the ministries at a specific time graphically.
- (4) The abbreviation “m” represents male ministers and “f” female ministers. The abbreviations “m-f” or “m-f-m” show changes in the sex belonging of the ministers and are depicted in chronological order.
- (5) Sports, Consumer Protection, Public Service, Public Accomplishments, and Generations (“Sport, Konsumentenschutz, öffentlicher Dienst, öffentliche Leistung, Generationen”) were attributed to different portfolios and are not considered in this table because of their minimal relevance.
- (6) The take-over of a ministry for only a short time in transition times was not considered.
- (7) When a portfolio was renamed or its responsibilities were redistributed only shortly after the beginning of the governmental period, the initial name and responsibilities were disregarded.

Sources: Own statistics on the basis of several sources (Österreichischer Amtskalender 2007/2008; Müller 2006e, 170; Bundeskanzleramt Österreich 2004-2009; Österreichisches Parlament 2008a; Österreich Journal 2002).

Key positions such as the Federal Chancellery, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Economy have been entirely male staffed. Other central portfolios such as the Vice Chancellery, Internal Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Infrastructure and Justice have been entirely male until recently. Only in the cabinets of Schüssel I and II were the first women represented in these functions. For Social Affairs, the first female minister, Grete Rehor,

was selected (1966¹¹). A long period of male dominance followed; the next female minister in this portfolio was only recruited under Klima in 1997. Since then, females and males have been in power. From this enumeration follows that the power distribution of the portfolios is clearly sexed/gendered: Most of the powerful portfolios are either still male dominated or have been male dominated only until recently, which leads me to affirm the hypothesis about the unequal qualitative representation that clearly disadvantages women. Still, it has to be outlined that the huge discrepancies between females and males have eased over the last few decades.

It remains to be seen whether the distribution of the portfolios to women and men reflects traditional sex/gender perceptions: As already mentioned, the Federal Chancellery, Finance, and Economy have only been staffed with male ministers. The portfolios National Defence, Agriculture and Forestry, Constructions and Engineering, and Federalism and Administrational Reform were entirely male, also. Furthermore, the Vice Chancellery, Internal and Foreign Affairs, Justice, and Infrastructure were staffed with solely male ministers only until recently. There is only one portfolio which was always occupied by females: the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The other portfolios had ministers of both sexes: Environment, Health, Family and Youth, Science, Education and Social Affairs¹². Of these, Health and Family & Youth were predominantly female, whereas Science and Social Affairs were predominantly male staffed. Hence, female ministers were indeed predominantly attributed to the "soft" or traditionally *female/feminine* topics such as education, arts and culture, health, environment, family and youth, and women's affairs. The hypothesis that traditional sex/gender perceptions are linked to the attribution of females and males to the different portfolios and the respective power status of the ministries can thus be affirmed. Women are indeed sectorized to traditionally "female/feminine" areas, which have a weaker position in the power relations than the traditionally "male/masculine" ones.

Neyer (1997, 194-195; 1985, 105) asserts that women have greater chances to be recruited for newly built portfolios. This view is shared by one respondent who thinks that women or other outsiders have greater chances to be selected for newly founded ministries: "*Because one says, let's see how it goes; otherwise she will not exist anymore in the following*

¹¹ The indicated years in brackets represent the years of the first selection as minister.

¹² Labour and Art/Culture are not treated here, as they were always attributed to other, already existing portfolios: Labour to Social Affairs or Economy, Art/Culture to Education or Science.

*government*¹³.” (IP 4). During the time frame from 1966 to 2006, six ministries were newly established. Of these, four were staffed with females as first ministers: Hertha Firnberg for Science (set up under Kreisky I), Ingrid Leodolter in Health and Environment (Kreisky II), Elfriede Karl for Family & Youth (Sinowatz), and Johanna Dohnal for Women’s Affairs (Vranitzky III). The Ministry for Women cannot be considered, as it would have been extremely odd to set up a new ministry for women with a man. In comparison to that, two of the new portfolios were set up with men: Heinrich Neisser in Federalism and Reform of Administration (Vranitzky II) and Vinzenz Kotzina for Construction and Engineering (Klaus II)¹⁴ (own analysis). When the Ministry for Women’s Affairs is not considered, the relation is three females to two males. These values have to be seen as proportions of the entities of females and males concerned: Thus, 13 % of the females and only 2 % of the males were placed into newly found ministries (own statistics). The hypothesis is hence affirmed.

(4) The Representation of Females in Government – Three Parties Compared

In this section, the hypothesized correlation between party ideology and the quantitative and qualitative representation of women in government will be evaluated. It is assumed that leftist parties tend to bring forward more women quantitatively and qualitatively due to their egalitarian attitudes towards women. According to the classification of the ideological orientation by Stöss/Haas/Niedermayer (2006, 17), which differentiates between left, middle and right, socialist and social-democratic parties – as the SPÖ – can be understood as “left”. The features that apply for the ÖVP are categorized as “middle” (agrarian parties) and as “right” (Christian and conservative parties). The FPÖ is rooted in the tradition of the German-nationalist camp. During the first governmental participation of the FPÖ in the 1980s, under the party leadership of Norbert Steger, the party had a liberal phase: “Right liberal” is classified as “middle” in the classification. This liberal period was terminated by the take-over of the party by Jörg Haider in 1986 and the beginning of the

¹³ In the original: “Weil da sagt man, schauen wir es uns an, sonst gibt es sie halt nicht mehr in der nächsten Regierung.”

¹⁴ Art and Culture does not count because it was attributed to an already existing portfolio, Education, under Kreisky I.

right-wing populist phase with extremist features (Pelinka 2005, 96-97). Overall, the FPÖ has to be classified as “right”.

Additionally, the attitude of the parties towards female representation is operationalized by the existence and the level of the female quota: The SPÖ was the first party to introduce a women’s quota of 25 %; since 1993 a women’s and men’s quota of each 40 % for all functionaries and candidates is devised in the statutes of the party (SPÖ 2004, 8; Steininger 2006, 248). In the ÖVP, a quota is not fixed in the statutes; the female quota of a third is merely set as a policy aim in the Policy Statements (“Grundsatzprogramm”) of the party for all *public* offices (ÖVP 1995, 16; 2007). In the FPÖ, there “(...) *is virtually no acknowledgement of the need to consider women’s representation (...)*” (Steininger 2001, 93). There is only one clause in the FPÖ’s party statutes which is concerned with the inclusion of females and determines that at least one female has to be part of the party executive (Steininger 2001, 93). According to these relational positions, I hypothesized that the SPÖ has a higher quantitative and qualitative female representation than the ÖVP and that the FPÖ would be last in the range. This will be evaluated in the following.

4.1. The Quantitative Representation of Females in the Political Parties

In the following, two different ways of counting are employed: The person-oriented approach counts all ministers between 1966 and 2006 only once. The cabinet-oriented approach depicts the representation of females and males for each government and hence includes persons who were part of more than one cabinet, more than once. The cabinet-oriented counting approach has been used in the other sections of this chapter as well.

The Person-Oriented Counting Approach

Overall, 120 ministers were in office between 1966 and 2006. Of these, 24 were female (20 %) and 96 (80 %) were male. If the party-specific female shares refer to the number of females represented (24 women), the SPÖ had the greatest share (10 of 24; 42 %), followed by the ÖVP (9 of 24; 38 %), the FPÖ/BZÖ¹⁵ (4 of 24; 17 %), and, finally, the

¹⁵ Although only the FPÖ is addressed as party in this thesis due to the fact that most governmental members were chosen by the FPÖ and later only entered the BZÖ, the party will be indicated as FPÖ/BZÖ in the following in order to include all governmental members of the two parties.

partyless (1 of 24; 4 %) ¹⁶. This, however, represents a somewhat distorted picture, as the SPÖ leads as concerns the staffing of governmental positions in general, which enhances their female shares as well. Therefore, the ministerial positions in government given to females have to be put in relation to the positions distributed by the respective party:

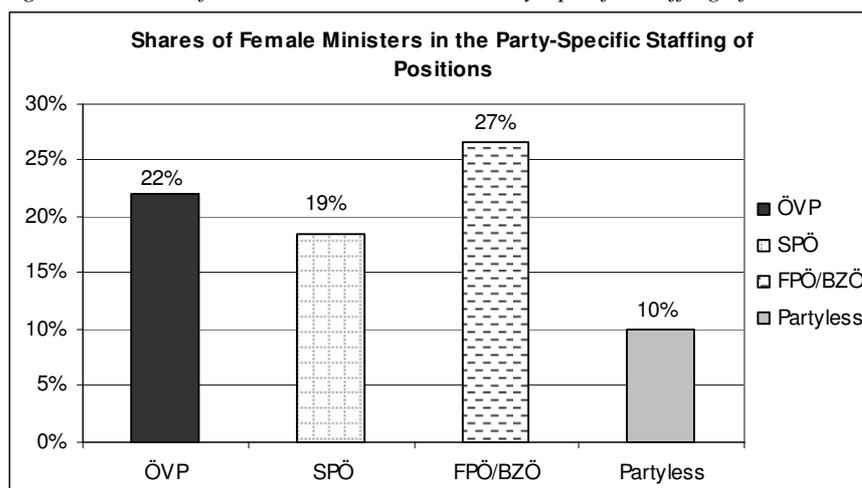
Table 6: Shares of Female Ministers in the Party-Specific Staffing of Positions, 1966-2006

Party	nominal		%
	Females	Overall	Females
ÖVP	9	41	22%
SPÖ	10	54	19%
FPÖ/BZÖ	4	15	27%
Partyless	1	10	10%
Overall	24	120	20%

Notes: Karl-Heinz Grassler was FPÖ-minister before he was part of the government as partyless minister; he is only considered as FPÖ-politician. Conversely, Karin Gastinger was first represented in government as partyless and later entered the BZÖ; she is only counted as partyless.

Sources: Own statistics on the basis of several sources (Österreichischer Amtskalender 2007/2008; Müller 2006e, 170; Bundeskanzleramt Österreich 2004-2009; Österreichisches Parlament 2008a; Österreich Journal 2002).

Figure 5: Shares of Female Ministers in the Party-Specific Staffing of Positions, 1966-2006



The FPÖ/BZÖ gave the most positions to women in relation to the entity of occupied ministerial positions. It is followed by the ÖVP, and then the SPÖ. The partyless occupy the last position in the range.

Most partyless ministers were selected by one party. This is why they are attributed to the according parties in the following presentation:

¹⁶ In this overview, the party leaders who later on became ministers are represented as well. They were excluded in the biographical analysis because recruitment mechanisms for party leaders differ from those of the ministers. That is why the numbers represented here differ from those depicted in the chapter on the social structure of the ministers.

Table 7: Shares of Female Ministers in the Party-Specific Staffing of Positions including the Partyless, 1966-2006

Party	nominal		%
	Females	Overall	Females
ÖVP	9	44	20%
SPÖ	10	59	17%
FPÖ/BZÖ	5	17	29%
Overall	24	120	20%

Notes:

- (1) Most partyless ministers were either selected under majority governments of a party or are clearly affiliated to one party. Hence, their attribution does not cause any problems. Only, Nikolaus Michalek and Egmont Foregger were both chosen during coalitions of the SPÖ and the ÖVP and were compromises between the two parties. Hence, each one is attributed to the SPÖ (Vranitzky) and the ÖVP (Mock).
- (2) Karl-Heinz Grasser was FPÖ-minister before he was part of the government as partyless minister; he is only considered as FPÖ-politician. Conversely, Karin Gastinger was first represented in government as partyless and later entered the BZÖ; she is only counted as partyless.

Sources: Own statistics on the basis of several sources (Österreichischer Amtskalender 2007/2008; Müller 2006e, 170; Bundeskanzleramt Österreich 2004-2009; Österreichisches Parlament 2008a; Österreich Journal 2002).

By including the partyless (see Table 7), the discrepancies between the parties are even enhanced: The FPÖ/BZÖ attains a share of females of 29 % and is succeeded by the ÖVP (20 %) and then by the SPÖ (17 %).

The problem with the person-oriented counting approach is that it can present the female proportion as being high, also if the concerned women were part of the government only shortly. Conversely, the party-specific female percentages are low, also if women were part of the government for decades. This is an inadequacy which can be rectified by the cabinet-oriented counting approach.

The Cabinet-Oriented Counting Approach

The cabinet-oriented counting approach depicts the historical development of the proportions of female ministers in the parties more accurately. In the following table, the party-specific female shares for each cabinet are indicated, whereby the cells are only attributed values for periods, when the respective party was part of government¹⁷:

¹⁷ If the party-specific female shares for each cabinet are computed, the entities referred to are partly quite low. However, the percentage values are needed to illustrate the party-specific development of the quantitative female representation. This is why the nominal numbers are indicated as well.

Table 8: Party-Specific Shares of Female Ministers per Cabinet

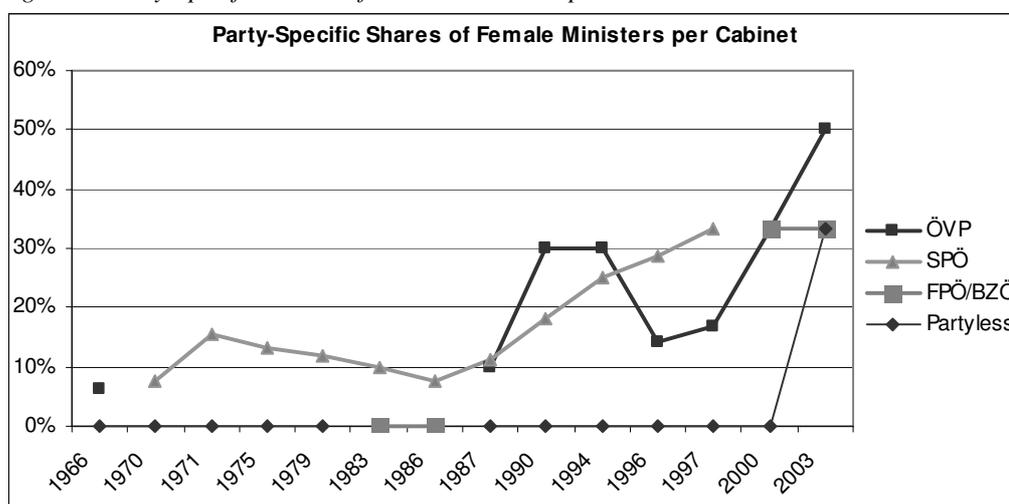
		ÖVP			SPÖ			FPÖ/BZÖ		Partyless			
		nominal		%	nominal		%	nominal	%	nominal	%		
		f	Overall	f	f	Overall	f	f	Overall	f	Overall	f	
Klaus II	1966	1	16	6%							0	2	0%
Kreisky I	1970				1	13	8%				0	2	0%
Kreisky II	1971				2	13	15%				0	3	0%
Kreisky III	1975				2	15	13%				0	3	0%
Kreisky IV	1979				2	17	12%				0	1	0%
Sinowatz	1983				2	20	10%	0	4	0%			
Vranitzky I	1986				1	13	8%	0	3	0%			
Vranitzky II	1987	1	10	10%	1	9	11%				0	1	0%
Vranitzky III	1990	3	10	30%	2	11	18%				0	1	0%
Vranitzky IV	1994	3	10	30%	3	12	25%				0	1	0%
Vranitzky V	1996	1	7	14%	2	7	29%				0	1	0%
Klima	1997	1	6	17%	2	6	33%				0	1	0%
Schüssel I	2000	2	6	33%				3	9	33%	0	1	0%
Schüssel II	2003	5	10	50%				1	3	33%	1	3	33%
AVERAGE		17	75	23%	20	136	15%	4	19	21%	1	20	5%

Notes:

- (1) The cells are only attributed values, when the respective party was part of the respective cabinet.
- (2) Karl-Heinz Grasser was part of the cabinet Schüssel I as FPÖ-politician and served as partyless minister in the cabinet Schüssel II. The respective belonging is considered for the respective cabinet. Karin Gastinger, on the other hand, was only part of the cabinet Schüssel II, in which she changed her status from partyless to BZÖ-member and then partyless again. As she was partyless at the time of the entry into the cabinet, she is only counted as partyless here.

Sources: Own statistics on the basis of several sources (Österreichischer Amtskalender 2007/2008; Müller 2006e, 170; Bundeskanzleramt Österreich 2004-2009; Österreichisches Parlament 2008a; Österreich Journal 2002).

Figure 6: Party-Specific Shares of Female Ministers per Cabinet



For the ÖVP, the first dot in 1966 symbolizes the recruitment of Austria's first female minister, Grete Rehor (cabinet of Klaus II; ÖVP¹⁸). After the oppositional role for the almost next twenty years, the female proportion was at 10 % (1 of 10) in the cabinet Vranitzky II from 1987 to 1990 (SPÖ-ÖVP; ÖVP-party leaders Mock and Riegler). The

¹⁸ In the brackets, the respective governing parties at the time are indicated. When the respective cabinet name, which represents the Federal Chancellor at the same, was not already specified in the text, it is listed in the brackets as well. When the cabinet leader, i.e. the Federal Chancellor, was not staffed by the respective party, the according party leaders are also presented in the brackets.

development made a jump to 30 % (3 of 10) for the cabinets of Vranitzky III and IV from 1990 to 1996 (SPÖ-ÖVP; ÖVP-party leaders Riegler, Busek and Schüssel). After that, the female share dropped to 14 and 17 % (1 of 7 and 1 of 6) in the governments Vranitzky V and Klima (SPÖ-ÖVP; party leadership of Schüssel). It reached heights again with 33 % (2 of 6) in 2000 and lastly with 50 % (5 of 10) in 2003 in the ÖVP-FPÖ/BZÖ coalitions of Schüssel I and II.

The quantitative female representation of the ministers in the SPÖ started with 8 % (1 of 13) in 1970 (Kreisky I; SPÖ). In 1971¹⁹ (Kreisky II; SPÖ), it climbed to 15 % (2 of 13) for the first time. In the years from 1975 to 1990 (Kreisky III-IV, Sinowatz, Vranitzky I-II), the attained values range from 8 to 13 % by having one or two female ministers among the entity of 9 to 20 ministers overall. Beginning with Vranitzky III (SPÖ-ÖVP) in 1990, the female representation in the party has risen to values between 18 and 33 %, which included 2 or 3 females among 6 to 12 ministers overall.

The FPÖ-ministers were only composed of men during their governmental participation in the 1980s (Sinowatz and Vranitzky I (SPÖ-FPÖ); party leader Steger). In the 2000s, the portion of female ministers was at 33 % (1 of 3 and 3 of 9) (Schüssel I-II (ÖVP-FPÖ/BZÖ); party leaders Haider, Riess-Passer, Reichhold, Haupt and Haubner²⁰).

Interestingly, it was exactly during the “liberal” phase under the party leadership of Steger that the governmental members only comprised males, whereas females were part of the government during the right-wing populist phase.

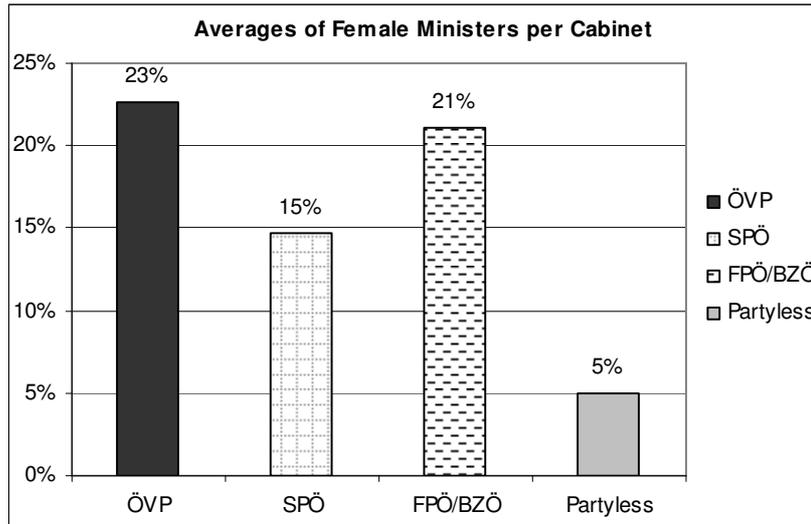
Partyless ministers, who were part of the governments from 1966 to 1983 and from 1987 to 2006, were largely male. Only in the cabinet of Schüssel II (2003-2006) was one of the three partyless ministers female.

In the following, the averages of female ministers per cabinet and party are depicted (and were already presented in Table 8):

¹⁹ The indicated years always represent the beginning of a governmental period.

²⁰ The BZÖ-leaders after Haubner are not indicated here, as recruitment decisions for governmental positions have not been met under their party leadership anymore. Overall, it has to be outlined that only Haider was responsible for the personnel decisions to government, also when he was no longer leader.

Figure 7: Averages of Female Ministers per Cabinet, 1966-2006



The ÖVP leads as concerns the average of females represented per cabinet (23 %), and is followed by the FPÖ/BZÖ (21 %) and then the SPÖ (15 %). The partyless only reach a minimal proportion (5 %).

I hypothesized that party ideology and the quantitative female representation are linked. Accordingly, I assumed that the SPÖ would lead as concerns this dimension and be followed by the ÖVP and then the FPÖ. This has to be clearly refuted, however: In the person-oriented counting approach, the FPÖ/BZÖ²¹ leads by far as concerns female participation in government (27 %), succeeded by the ÖVP (22 %) and then the SPÖ (19 %). In the cabinet-oriented counting approach, the ÖVP leads (23 %) as concerns the average of female representation, followed by the FPÖ/BZÖ (21 %) and the SPÖ (15 %). In the following section, we will see whether this finding corresponds to the results as concerns the hypothesized link between party ideology and the qualitative representation of women.

4.2. The Qualitative Representation of Females in the Political Parties

In the table below, all female ministers, their portfolios, their party belongings, the respective cabinets they were part of, and their years of incumbency are listed:

²¹ Only the FPÖ as party was part of the hypothesis as most of the governmental members were chosen by the FPÖ and later only entered the BZÖ. However, I referred to the governmental members of the FPÖ and the BZÖ in this section as “FPÖ/BZÖ” in order to include all governmental members.

Table 9: The Female Ministers and their Portfolios, 1966-2006

Portfolios	Name	Party	Specific Name of the Portfolios	Cabinets	Incumbency
Social Affairs	Grete Rehor	ÖVP	Social Administration	Klaus II	1966-1970
	Lore Hostasch	SPÖ	Work, Health and Social Affairs	Klima	1997-1999
	Elisabeth Sickl	FPÖ	Social Security and Generations	Schüssel I	2000
	Ursula Haubner	FPÖ/BZÖ	Social Security, Generations and Consumer Protection	Schüssel II	2003-2006
Education & Science & Culture/Arts	Hertha Firnberg	SPÖ	Science and Research	Kreisky I-IV	1970-1983
	Hilde Hawicek	SPÖ	Education, Arts and Sports	Vranitzky II	1987-1990
	Elisabeth Gehrler	ÖVP	Education and Cultural Affairs	Vranitzky IV-V, Klima	1995-1999
			Education, Science and Culture	Schüssel I-II	2000-2006
Health & Environment	Ingrid Leodolter	SPÖ	Health and Environment Protection	Kreisky II-IV	1971-1979
	Marilies Flemming	ÖVP	Environment, Youth and Family	Vranitzky II-III	1987-1990
	Ruth Feldgrill-Zankel	ÖVP		Vranitzky III	1991-1992
	Maria Rauch-Kallat	ÖVP		Vranitzky III	1992-1994
	Maria Rauch-Kallat	ÖVP		Environment	Vranitzky IV
	Christa Krammer	SPÖ	Health, Sports and Consumer Protection	Vranitzky III-IV	1994-1995
			Health and Consumer Protection	Vranitzky V	1996-1997
	Lore Hostasch	SPÖ	Work, Health and Social Affairs	Klima	1997-1999
Maria Rauch-Kallat	ÖVP	Health and Women	Schüssel II	2003-2006	
Family & Youth	Elfriede Karl	SPÖ	Family, Youth and Consumer Protection	Sinowatz	1983-1984
	Gertrude Fröhlich-Sandner	SPÖ		Sinowatz, Vranitzky I	1984-1986
	Marilies Flemming	ÖVP	Environment, Youth and Family	Vranitzky II-III	1987-1990
	Ruth Feldgrill-Zankel	ÖVP		Vranitzky III	1991-1992
	Maria Rauch-Kallat	ÖVP		Vranitzky III	1992-1994
	Sonja Moser	ÖVP		Youth and Family	Vranitzky IV
Women's Affairs	Johanna Dohnal	SPÖ	Women's Affairs, BKA ¹	Vranitzky III-IV	1991-1995
	Helga Konrad	SPÖ		Vranitzky IV-V	1995-1997
	Barbara Prammer	SPÖ	Women's Affairs and Consumer Protection, BKA	Klima	1997-1999
	Maria Rauch-Kallat	ÖVP	Health and Women	Schüssel II	2003-2006
Foreign Affairs	Benita Ferrero-Waldner	ÖVP	Foreign Affairs	Schüssel I-II	2000-2004
	Ursula Plassnik	ÖVP		Schüssel II	2004-2006
Vice-Chancellor	Susanne Riess-Passer	FPÖ	Vice Chancellery and Ministry for Public Accomplishments and Sports	Schüssel I	2000-2002
Infrastructure	Monika Forstinger	FPÖ	Transport, Innovation and Technology	Schüssel I	2000-2002
Internal Affairs	Liese Prokop	ÖVP	Internal Affairs	Schüssel II	2004-2006
Justice	Karin Gastinger	partyless	Justice	Schüssel II	2004-2006

Notes:

- (1) BKA is the abbreviation for "Bundeskanzleramt", i.e. the Federal Chancellery. It means that the ministry was not an autonomous portfolio, but was located in the Federal Chancellery.
- (2) The different portfolios were merged into different combinations. For the set-up of the categories here, only the dominating portfolios were taken and e.g. Sports and Consumer Protection were not regarded.
- (3) When a portfolio can be attributed to different categories, it is doubly represented.
- (4) The take-over of a ministry for only a short time in transition times was not considered.
- (5) When a portfolio was renamed or its responsibilities were redistributed only shortly after the beginning of the governmental period, the initial name and responsibilities were not regarded.

Sources: Own statistics on the basis of several sources (Österreichischer Amtskalender 2007/2008; Müller 2006e, 170; Bundeskanzleramt Österreich 2004-2009; Österreichisches Parlament 2008a; Österreich Journal 2002).

The ÖVP provided Austria with the first female minister and attributed her to the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1966: Grete Rehor. The other female Ministers of Social Affairs are distributed to the FPÖ/BZÖ (2) and the SPÖ (1). The ÖVP was also the first party to recruit a woman for Foreign Affairs in 2000 (Benita Ferrero-Waldner), for which another woman was staffed by the party after Ferrero-Waldner's end of incumbency (Ursula Plassnik). Liese Prokop was the first female Minister of Internal Affairs; she was designated in 2004 and is also from the ÖVP.

The FPÖ attributed women to hitherto male portfolios in the 2000s, remarkably: Susanne Riess-Passer was called into office as Vice Chancellor in 2000, Monika Forstinger became the Minister of Infrastructure in the same year, and Karin Gastinger was the first female Minister of Justice in 2004. The latter formally was a partyless, but was selected by the FPÖ. Hence, the ÖVP and the FPÖ/BZÖ clearly surpassed the SPÖ as concerns the breaking through of the glass ceiling of hitherto male dominated governmental positions and as regards the representation of females in powerful ministries. Therefore, the hypothesized link between party ideology and female representation also has to be negated as concerns its qualitative dimension.

(5) Conclusion

In the first section, the descriptive representation of female ministers and MPs was ascertained. The analysis showed that the average of females is slightly higher for the National Assembly in the years since 1945. This is due to the fact that females were represented in parliament until 1966, whereas the ministerial positions were not accessible for women in this time frame. When the comparison of the female shares sets in with 1966, the proportion of women in government is slightly higher than in the National Assembly. In the second section, it was shown that the quantitative representation in government clearly bears structures of inequality, putting women at a disadvantage. The according hypothesis was hence affirmed. Additionally, I hypothesized that the availability of governmental posts and the numerical presence of females in government will be linked. This was assessed by two means: Namely, by exploring, whether women are more likely to be recruited in minority and majority governments, and whether there is a direct proportional correlation between the number of governmental seats and the number of women. As concerns the former, the hypothesis could not be verified, as those governmental forms only existed until 1983. Hence, the different government

constellations could not be compared due to the very different historical contexts, they were embedded into. With respect to the size of the cabinet, though, the hypothesis could be affirmed: The enlargement or downsizing of the government is clearly directly proportionally correlated to the size of females in government.

The third section examined the sexed/gendered distribution of the portfolios, whereby two hypotheses were explored: (1) The hypothesis that females are discriminated against as concerns the qualitative representation could be affirmed: The key ministries – identified by the evaluations of the interviewees – are chiefly male dominated. Furthermore and related to that, I assumed that the staffing of the ministries with females and males corresponds to the traditional sex/gender definition of the concerned portfolios and a certain power status, which could be confirmed as well: Women are indeed pushed off to specific, traditionally “female/feminine” and rather weak areas in terms of power, whereas men are largely located in traditionally “male/masculine”, powerful fields. (2) The hypothesis that women are more likely to be selected for newly established portfolios was affirmed as well.

Finally, in the fourth section, the hypothesis that the party ideology bears a correlation to the representation of women was assessed in the sense that leftist parties are positively linked to female representation. More specifically, it was hypothesized that the SPÖ would exceed the ÖVP and the FPÖ as concerns the quantitative and the qualitative dimension of female representation. This has to be repudiated in this thesis for the quantitative as well as for the qualitative representation of women. As concerns the quantitative representation of females, the order was FPÖ/BZÖ-ÖVP-SPÖ in the person-oriented counting approach and ÖVP-FPÖ/BZÖ-SPÖ in the cabinet-oriented approach. Similarly, it was the ÖVP and the FPÖ, which staffed females first and the most for powerful, hitherto male portfolios, not the SPÖ. Indeed, the glass ceiling of political positions has often been broken through by conservative women first. However, Rosenberger assesses: *“From an empirical perspective, the phenomenon of the ‘front woman’ exists, but the presence of ÖVP-women in political bodies is altogether low²².”* (Rosenberger in Kaps 2006). Indeed, the SPÖ seems to be most open for females on diverse (party)political levels, followed by the ÖVP and then by the FPÖ (cf. Steininger 2006, 248-251). Overall, though, the theoretical link between party ideology and female representation has to be questioned.

²² In the original: *“Empirisch gesehen gibt es das Phänomen der ‘Frontfrau’, aber die Präsenz von ÖVP-Frauen in politischen Gremien ist insgesamt gering.”*

4. Sex/Gender Relations in Political Recruitment – The SPÖ

In this chapter, the sex/gender relations in the recruitment processes in the SPÖ will be analyzed. The recruitment processes in the parties are – following the analytical model developed in the theoretical chapter – divided into the perspective of the selectors and of the recruited, each either tackling the sub-research question of *Who selects?* or *How do political careers work?* and analyzed with respect to their sex/gender relations.

Three hypotheses will be explored here: From the perspective of the selectors (which is the focus of the first section of this chapter), (1) the hypothesis that it is mainly the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces within the party, which largely determine the selection processes, will be analyzed. From the perspective of the recruited (which will be treated in the second section of this chapter), the hypotheses (2) that typical career paths differ for women and men and (3) that networks bear a sex/gender-specific structure will be explored. Thereby, the first and the second hypothesis will be discussed more broadly in Chapter 7.

The SPÖ-ministers comprise 43 males and 10 females. If not indicated otherwise, the employed percentage values refer to the entity of males, of females, or to the entity of all ministers altogether. Because of the low entity of females, the comparative data of females and males has to be handled and interpreted cautiously. In some cases, for example, it is not useful to interpret the data. However, it can still be of interest as the data may indicate trends and will still be presented.

Before starting with the two analytical perspectives of the selectors and the recruited, information about the governmental times of the SPÖ, the formal organizational structure, and the general status of women within the party will be given, which is relevant for the side of the selectors as well as of the recruited:

The SPÖ was in government from 1970 until 2000: In the years 1970-1983, it governed in a minority and in majority governments under the party leader and Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky (Kreisky I-IV), was then part of a little coalition with the FPÖ between 1983 and 1986 (Sinowatz, Vranitzky I), and then formed a grand coalition with the ÖVP until 1999 (Vranitzky II-V, Klima).

The SPÖ disposes over a dense organizational structure (Pelinka 1970, 536). The party is territorially structured; organizational units exist on all levels, from the local to the national

level (Ucakar 2006, 328). Besides, there are many party-organizations for specific interests or groups and party-affiliated networks.

The SPÖ was the first party to introduce a quota for females of 25 % in 1985. It was enhanced to 40 % in 1993 (SPÖ 2004, 8; Steininger 2006, 248). Of all three parties, females are the most represented on all (party) political levels in the SPÖ (Steininger 2006, 250).

I. The Side of the Selectors

(1) Course of Recruitment

The course of recruitment is very similar in all political parties and is elaborated in detail in the general chapter on political recruitment in Austria (Chapter 7). In all parties, it is the party leader who occupies the central position in the relations of forces within the party and who is the central angle point in the course of recruitment. In the SPÖ, recruitment processes were a rather collective decision before the take-over of the party by Bruno Kreisky in 1967: The Party Executive Committee, a national party body²³, proposed and recruited ministers. Since Kreisky, however, the party leader has taken a pivotal role in the recruitment processes (IP 3; IP 4). Formally, all party leaders since Kreisky (1967) have demanded and became the authorisation of the party executive government to select the governmental team on their own (IP 3; IP 4; IP 14).

The party leader needs to regard the representational interests of those party groups which occupy crucial positions in the relations of forces, in order to establish a power balance and to have the most important power pillars behind him (sic!). These include the regional party organizations and the unions (IP 1; IP 3; IP 6), whereby the former have the greatest role (IP 11). As concerns the unions, it is basically the (leading representatives of the) Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG)²⁴ and the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions

²³ The Party Executive Committee ("Parteivorstand" in German) comprises 70 members today (SPÖ-Homepage 2009). It meets once a month and is responsible for leading the party and for the administration of the party's finances (Ucakar 2006, 329).

²⁴ The FSG (Fraktion Sozialdemokratischer GewerkschafterInnen) targets the party political work of the SPÖ in the unions (FSG 2009, § 3) and is the strongest faction in the ÖGB by far (Nick/Pelinka 1996/1993, 89).

(ÖGB)²⁵, which are involved in the processes of selection. The Women's Organization has also to be taken into account (IP 4; IP 11; cf. also: Nick/Pelinka 1996/1993, 78). If the positions of the named players are seen relationally, the party leader occupies the strongest position, followed by the crucial regional party organizations, the unions, and the Women's Organization consecutively (IP 14). Apart from these, the Chamber of Labour (IP 4), the party district organizations (IP 1), and the youth organizations (IP 3) are relevant actors. According to one interviewee, it is wise to consult the SPÖ's president of the National Assembly, too. Sometimes, the party leader also discusses the shortlist of preferred ministers with specific members of the Party Executive Committee he nourishes an especially tight relation with (IP 14). The interviewee concludes: "*That is in fact a very homogenous number of persons and approach*²⁶." (IP 14). The respective influence of a party group can vary (IP 11). However, the fundamental power distribution within the party has not changed during the last few decades (IP 1).

After the party leader set up a list of future governmental members and after asking the candidates, the party leader presents the selection to the "erweiterte Parteipräsidium", which is a national party body²⁷. The formal proposal to the Party Executive Committee and their vote is the last step in the recruitment processes (IP 3; IP 4; IP 14). Since Kreisky, there seems to be a growing concentration of the recruitment processes in the party leader. Formerly, the Party Executive Committee voted against one or the other proposed governmental member from time to time²⁸. Two interviewees who also dispose over expert knowledge during Kreisky's time (1970-1983) report that the Party Executive Committee votes. The former party leader Franz Vranitzky (1988-1997), however, relates that the Party Executive Committee only takes note of the selection (interview with Vranitzky). Also, another interviewee disposing over expert knowledge since the late 1980s states that there has not been any strong opposition against the decisions of the party leader; although

²⁵ The ÖGB represents the interest association for employees and is – meanwhile – divided into seven trade associations (ÖGB n.d.).

²⁶ In the original: "*Das ist eine eigentlich sehr homogene, in sich abgerundete Anzahl der Personen und Vorgangsweise.*"

²⁷ The *Parteipräsidium* or *Präsidium* and the *erweitertes Parteipräsidium* are smaller boards than the Party Executive Committee and meet more often. The *Parteipräsidium* constitutes the party leader and his/her deputies. Also, the national chairperson of the Women's Organization and a SPÖ-chancellor belong to the board in any case (SPÖ 2004, 19). The *erweitertes Parteipräsidium* is composed of the *Parteipräsidium* and additional members. These include the chairpersons of the regional parties, who are not part of the *Parteipräsidium*, two deputies of the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG), two deputies of the executive committee of the Women's Organization (Bundesfrauenvorstand), one deputy of the retirees' association and one joint deputy of the social-democratic youth organizations (AKS, FSG-Jugend, JG, SJ, VSSTÖ).

²⁸ This pertains for example to Erich Bielka (Personenmappe Haiden, No. 1).

sometimes someone does voice their reservations. But normally, the party leader is so farsighted as to select politicians accepted by the party and the Party Executive Committee (IP 11).

(2) The Pivotal Agents

2.1. The Party Leader

From 1970 to 2000, four male persons served as Federal Chancellors: Bruno Kreisky (1970-1983), Fred Sinowatz (1983-1986), Franz Vranitzky (1986-1997)²⁹, and Viktor Klima (1997-2000). According to one interviewee, the recruitment processes differed according to the different party leaders (IP 4). Another interviewee, on the other hand, professes that the recruitment practices under all four party leaders were quite alike (IP 14). Concluding, I think that differences are recognizable; however, they are quite minimal as all party leaders have to take into account the power relations in the party and have to be at peace with the decisive forces in the party, namely the regional parties and the unions (IP 3). The party leader Kreisky probably had – because of the strength of his position – the greatest leeway in selecting personnel, compared to the successive party leaders since him (IP 1). Kreisky considered party interests, on the one hand, and was a little “*cosmopolitan*” (in German “*weltläufig*”) (IP 4), on the other hand. The political array of selected persons was very broad as Kreisky tried to include representatives of other political forces as well (IP 7). This applies, for example, to the selection of the (officially “partyless”) Rudolf Kirchschräger (1970³⁰), who was part of a network affiliated to the ÖVP (the ÖAAB). Kreisky was also attired in the noble classes and the higher bourgeoisie, for which the selection of the partyless Lütgendorf (1971) serves as an example (IP 4).

Sinowatz was responsible for governmental choices only for three years, wherefore a specific style can hardly be established (IP 1). Also, the first governmental team in 1983 was still coined by Kreisky (IP 14). Vranitzky was rather “*individual*” in his personnel choices (IP 11). He was strongly influenced by his personal environment: “*Vranitzky*

²⁹ From 1986-1988, Sinowatz was party leader and Vranitzky Federal Chancellor. In these years, Vranitzky as Federal Chancellor took the lead in the personnel selection (IP 14).

³⁰ The indicated years in brackets represent the years of the first selection as minister.

*staffed personal acquaintances that were suggested by his wife, etc.*³¹” (IP 4). The interviewee further reports that the upper class society circles which Vranitzky had joined through his wife Christine had always been involved in making personnel proposals. “*And then there was that hockey club in the National Assembly, this old boys’ network.*”³² (IP 4). Overall, two interviewees believe that the significance of in-groups, networks, and personal relations has grown since his party leadership (IP 3; IP 4). The party leader Klima did not hold the position of Federal Chancellor for long, which is why a specific style is also not discernable (IP 4). However, the recruitment from the OMV – a company, which was formerly part of the state-owned industry sector and where Klima himself had been employed before his change into politics – was a recruitment pool only under Klima (IP 11). Overall, Klima had a very limited scope (IP 4) due to his rather weak party-internal position.

More generally, the party leaders differed in *how* they played the power game in the party and *how well* they did: The party leader Kreisky took care that the party was internally balanced, on the one hand, but was also the first one who requested to be authorized to select the governmental team on his own. Sinowatz also had a good sense for the party as organization and its balance (IP 4). As concerns Vranitzky and Klima, on the other hand, a keen sense for the inherent laws of the party organization was missing in both cases. It took years before Vranitzky really grasped the rules of the power game within the party and fulfilled its needs. Both were “*(...) not close enough to those instruments which are necessary to deploy the means to assert their policies.*”³³ (IP 3).

2.2. The Pivotal Regional Parties

In the relations of forces within the party, the respective positions of the regional parties are most importantly determined by the outcome of the external struggle for power, i.e. by the numbers of votes they can secure in the electorate (IP 4; IP 6; IP 11). As one interviewee stated: “*There won’t be a government for the SPÖ, in which Vienna has not got a minister. This corresponds to the strength of the Viennese regional party*”³⁴.” (IP 11).

³¹ In the original: “*Vranitzky hat persönliche Bekannte in Positionen gesetzt, die ihm empfohlen wurden von seiner Frau etc.*”

³² In the original: “*Und dann gab es natürlich den Hockeyclub im Nationalrat, dieser Männerverein.*”

³³ In the original: “*(...) sie waren im Einsetzen der Mittel zur Durchsetzung ihrer Politik zu wenig jenen Instrumenten nahe, die dafür notwendig sind.*”

³⁴ In the original: “*Es wird keine Regierung geben für die SPÖ, in der Wien keinen Minister hat. Das entspricht der Stärke der Wiener Landespartei.*”

The strong regional parties include Vienna, Upper and Lower Austria (IP 4; IP 11). Another interviewee added Styria to this enumeration (IP 4). Overall, the relations of forces as concerns the strong regional parties or the relevance of the regional parties in the recruitment processes has not changed over the last few decades (IP 4).

2.3. The Unions

In the SPÖ, it is an unwritten law that the social minister is rooted in the unions (IP 1; IP 4; IP 6). After the Second World War, the informal rule established that the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG) has the right to make the first proposal (IP 4; IP 14): *"(...) the unions get to choose whom they want by themselves anyways"*³⁵ (IP 4). The personnel decisions are conducted between the party leader and the president of the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG) and/or of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB) (IP 14). For example, the Minister of Social Affairs, Gerhard Weißenberg (1976), was proposed by the ÖGB (Sozialistische Korrespondenz 1976). Also, the Minister of Social Affairs Walter Geppert (1989) was suggested by the then President of the ÖGB, Fritz Verzetnitsch (APA Basisdienst 1989). The ministers Josef Hesoun (1990) and Franz Hums (1995), though, were rooted in the unions, but were not proposed by the FSG or the ÖGB: Vranitzky wanted to exchange Walter Geppert in 1990 and had a talk with the President of the ÖGB. However, the President of the ÖGB insisted on Geppert. That is why Vranitzky finally chose Hesoun by himself: *"And at the next change from Hesoun to Franz Hums it was already clear to me, so I did not ask for a proposal anymore, but said that I would nominate him and that's that. But he was also a unionist."*³⁶ (interview with Vranitzky). Since Vranitzky's change as party leader, the former tradition that the unions are responsible for the choice of their "deputy" re-installed.

2.4. The Women's Organization

The rule has established that (at least) the Minister for Women's Affairs has to be a representative of the Women's Organization (IP 8). Vranitzky states that – at least during

³⁵ In the original: *"(...) die Gewerkschaft darf sowieso selber aussuchen, wen sie will."*

³⁶ In the original: *"Und beim nächsten Wechsel von Hesoun zu Franz Hums war das dann schon für mich klar, also ich habe nicht mehr meinen Vorschlag gefragt, sondern habe gesagt, den nominier ich und aus. War aber wieder ein Gewerkschafter."*

his time as Federal Chancellor (1986-1997) – women were selected in tight cooperation with the chairperson of the Women’s Organization. This especially applies to the Minister for Women’s Affairs, but also general personnel ideas were accorded with the Women’s Organization (interview with Vranitzky). Another interviewee, however, states that the Women’s Organization did not always prevail with the personnel suggestions it made and thus had to accept the women who were served up more or less to the outward (IP 4). A respondent claims that the Women’s Organization has gained in political capital and hence strength, due to the advancing emancipation of women in society (IP 11). Also another interviewee thinks that the Women’s Organization under the chairpersonship of Barbara Prammer (1997-2009) was significant in the recruitment processes (IP 6). One interviewee, on the other hand, professes that the organization has lost influence and is not relevant in the recruitment processes at the moment compared to former times (IP 4). Overall, the position of the Women’s Organization depends on the leader of the organization and how well she – the Women’s Organization is always led by a female – performs her job (IP 1; IP 11). Furthermore, a critical factor in the determination of the position within the party is the personal attitude of the respective (male) party leader (IP 1).

(3) Conclusion

This section showed that it is indeed the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces which largely determine the processes of selection for the case of the SPÖ. In Chapter 7, which basically aims to unify the party-specific results and embed them into a more general framework of political recruitment, this hypothesis will be more broadly addressed.

II. The Side of the Recruited

In the following section, the career paths in the SPÖ and the relevant networks will be treated. The various party groups, organizations or institutions, which are part of a political career in the SPÖ (referred to as “career institutions” for pragmatic reasons) and in which what will be called “career positions” for pragmatic reasons as well can be held, were defined by evaluations in the literature and the empirical search for patterns in the biographical material. In this section, two methodical means will be used: Firstly, one

method quantitatively refers to all politicians who were represented in one of the career institutions and/or networks. Secondly, the main affiliations to or career centres in career institutions (and thus party groups) and/or networks of the politicians are qualitatively researched by necessitating a certain amount or a certain hierarchical level of the held positions or a full-time job executed during a certain time³⁷.

(1) The Career Paths in the SPÖ

The data analysis showed that a majority of the ministers, involving females (9 of 10 or 90 %) and males (91 %), executed so-called career functions. Women held 7.2 and men 6.3 positions on average. Females (9 of 10 or 90 %) and males (91 %) pertained over an affiliation to a party group or a network, whereas women held 1.8 affiliations on average and males 1.6³⁸. The research criteria ascertained here aim to analyze the hypothesis whether women and men differ in their disposal over capital and resources. Due to the low entity of females involved, however, the data comparison between females and males will only be made in Chapter 7, which unifies the data of all ministers.

The following table and figure (Table 10, Figure 8) give a first overview over the relevant “career institutions” and also cast a first glance at the sex/gender differences in these. The percentage values refer to the female or male sum of career positions executed prior to the take-over of the first governmental office respectively, and hence indicate where the most or the least functions have been held by women and men. The represented shares should only help the reader to picture recruitment processes, they have to be carefully handled as the entity of involved females is only small.

Table 10: Previous Career Positions in Relation to the Sum of Previous Career Positions

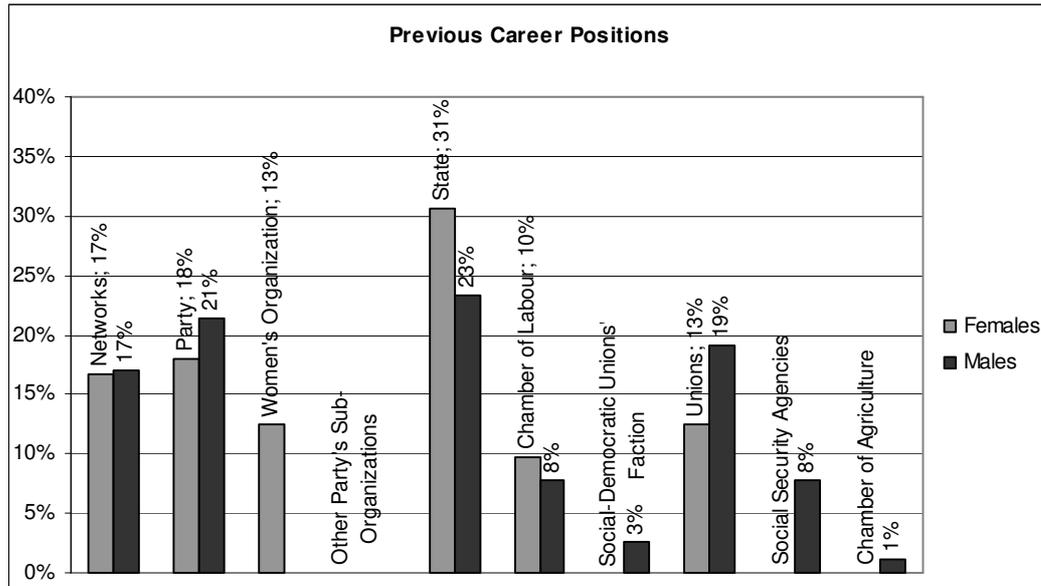
	Females		Males	
Networks	12	17%	46	17%
Party	13	18%	58	21%
Women's Organization	9	13%	0	0%
Other Party's Sub-Organizations	0	0%	0	0%
State	22	31%	63	23%
Chamber of Labour	7	10%	21	8%
Social-Democratic Unions' Faction	0	0%	7	3%
Unions & Workers' Council	9	13%	52	19%
Social Security Agencies	0	0%	21	8%
Chamber of Agriculture	0	0%	3	1%
SUM	72	100%	271	100%

Source: Own statistics

³⁷ For more detail, please see Appendix 1.

³⁸ The indicated averages of executed functions or of affiliations include network positions or affiliations to networks and refer to the respective entities of all female and male ministers of this party.

Figure 8: Previous Career Positions in Relation to the Sum of Previous Career Positions



The graph already shows differences as concerns the political career between the sexes: Females and males had most of their positions in the state and in the party, consecutively. The networks, the Women's Organizations, the unions, and the Chamber of Labour succeed that order in the case of women. As concerns men, the state and party positions are followed by the unions, the networks, the Chamber of Labour and the social security agencies, and – lastly – the Chamber of Agriculture. Party's sub-organizations other than the Women's Organization (SPÖ Frauen) like the economic organization *Sozialdemokratischer Wirtschaftsverband* (SWV), the farmers' organization *SPÖ-Bauern*, and the retirees' organization PVÖ (Pensionistenverband Österreich) are obviously not relevant as career paths; no ministers held positions there.

In the data analysis above, it becomes visible that the institutions, which constitute a political career in the SPÖ, include party-affiliated networks, the party (such as the party organization itself and the women's organization), the state, the influence sphere of the SPÖ in the social partnership (such as the Chamber of Labour (AK), the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG) and the unions), the Chamber of Agriculture (LWK) (which also belongs to the social partners, but can be traditionally attributed to the ÖVP), and the social security agencies. However, this enumeration does not say anything about the structural or patterned interrelatedness of career positions, i.e. how positions in different institutions or organizations form different *types* of political careers. The development of types was achieved by, firstly, a qualitative analysis by searching for recurring patterns in the biographical material. Secondly, two calculations of correlations and a factor analysis were

computed in SPSS³⁹. In the classification process, positions in networks were not regarded as a full political career cannot be passed there; only full-time jobs in networks were included in the classificatory process. In the following, the results of this empirical undertaking are presented. Hence, the developed career types are depicted with their typical career paths and positions. For example, party and state posts are treated in the section on the party career type (career type 1) as state and party posts typically go hand in hand. However, most politicians – also from the social partnership – had state functions, but *typically* not as many and not as high in the hierarchical level as politicians rooted in the party⁴⁰. The used numbers referred to in the following thereby represent the qualitatively identified affiliations or career centres of the politicians. Each of the career paths is illustrated by portraits of a female and a male example who were affiliated to the respective party group. However, this endeavour is of course only possible if there were any females or males among the ministers coming from the respective party group at all.

1.1. The First Career Type

The first career type involves positions in the party, the state, the women's organization, and the networks. Although network functions are typically part of the party career path⁴¹, they will be depicted further below (see “(2) The Relevance of Social Capital: Networks, In-Groups, and Political Friendships”) as they do not represent selecting party groups per se. None of the ministers held a position in the European Union, neither on the party level nor in the political apparatus. As already mentioned, not one of the politicians was represented in a party's sub-organization other than the Women's Organization. This

³⁹ For further detail on this empirical undertaking, please see Appendix 1.

⁴⁰ Indeed, party and union's functions show a significant, negative correlation in the calculation of the sum of prior career positions (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b). See Appendix 1 for more detail as concerns the calculation of correlations.

⁴¹ Positions in the party and the state are significantly positively correlated in the calculation of both correlations (sum of previous career positions using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b, numbers of ministers holding positions in the respective institutions at all using the correlation coefficient Phi and Cramér's V).

In the factor analysis, which had the explained variance of 68.1 %, positions in the Women's Organization and the state were part of one factor. Additionally, they bore a significant positive correlation in the calculation of the sum of previous career positions (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b). Positions in the party and in the Women's Organizations bear a positive correlation, which is almost significant (0,055) in the same calculation.

Positions in the party and in networks were part of one factor in the factor analysis (explained variance of 68.1 %). Also, party and networks functions bear a significant positive correlation in the calculation of the sum of previous career positions (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b), as well as do state and networks' positions in the calculation using the numbers of ministers holding positions in the respective institutions at all (using the correlation coefficient Phi and Cramér's V).

involves the Economic, Farmers’, and Retirees’ Organization, which are obviously not relevant at all.

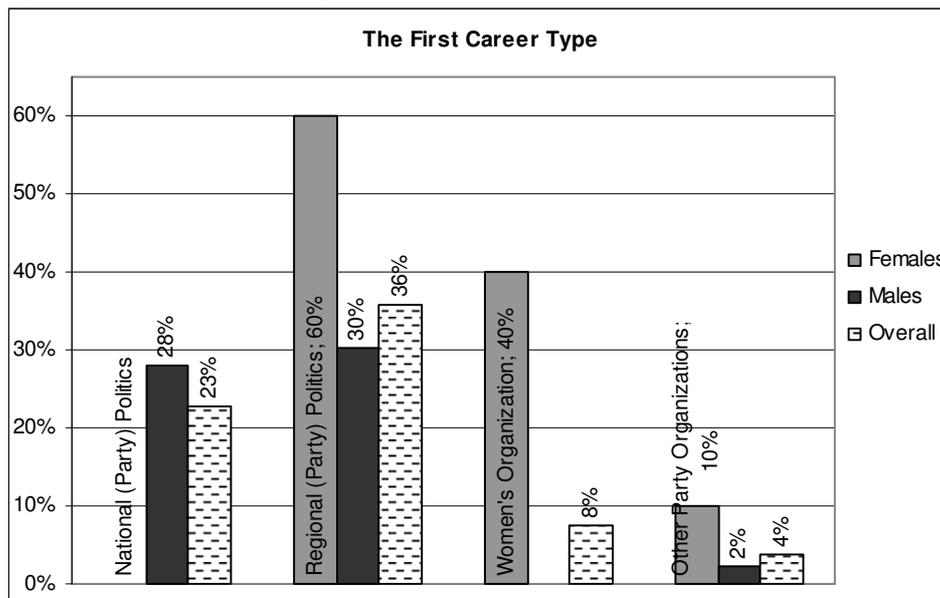
In the following table and the according graph, the main affiliation(s) or the main career centre(s) of the politicians to the different party players are depicted. The categories of party groups, to which the politicians could be affiliated, were chiefly built according to the selecting agents in the party. The depicted career paths hence mirror the strength of the respective selectors. This is why, the categories in the following are – for the first career type – constituted by national (party) politics, regional (party) politics, and the women’s organization. In the classification, the party and state positions on the same territorial level were taken together, as both are staffed by the party. All posts on the different local and district levels were attributed to the regional level. The category “other party organizations” was added to this selection and includes full-time jobs in specific networks of the party.

Table 11: The First Career Type

	Females		Males		Overall	
National (Party) Politics	0	0%	12	28%	12	23%
Regional (Party) Politics	6	60%	13	30%	19	36%
Women’s Organization	4	40%	0	0%	4	8%
Other Party Organizations	1	10%	1	2%	2	4%
n	10		43		53	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 9: The First Career Type



Notes: In the figures in this chapter, the percentage values are indicated in order to make the relations between females and males easier visible. However, it should be kept in mind that the involved entity of females (10) is low and can easily lead to a distorted picture as concerns the percentage values. That is why the nominal numbers are always indicated as well.

Overall, the politicians from regional (party) politics are most represented in government, which mirrors their pivotal role in the processes of selection. This share is followed by the national layer, the Women's Organization and – to an only very limited extent – other party organizations.

Interestingly, women did not represent the national level at all. In contrast to that, females are disproportionately affiliated to the regional layer, compared to the male proportions. The Women's Organization proves to be a female career booster, exclusively; however, its overall relevance is quite limited (8 %). The category "other party organizations" includes full-time-jobs in the Association of Tenants (Mietervereinigung) in the case of men (Josef Moser) and in the children's organization *Kinderfreunde* in the case of women (Gertrude Fröhlich-Sandner)⁴².

In the following, the different relevant party groups or career paths will be presented:

Regional and Local (Party) Politics

Most of the politicians affiliated to the local and regional level stem from the Viennese party (8 of 19). Four regions are represented with two persons each: Burgenland, Lower Austria, Salzburg, and Styria. One minister each was affiliated to Upper Austria, Carinthia, and Tyrol. Of the females, two were rooted in the Viennese party, whereas each one female can be affiliated to Burgenland, Upper Austria, Salzburg, and Styria.

However, the representation of a regional party may also be fulfilled by someone who *is personally rooted* in the respective region. The following data shows the attribution of all politicians to the different regions:

⁴² The two networks are handled as part of the party career path here – in contrast to the other networks – as the held positions can be defined as full-time jobs, which does not apply to the other functions executed in networks.

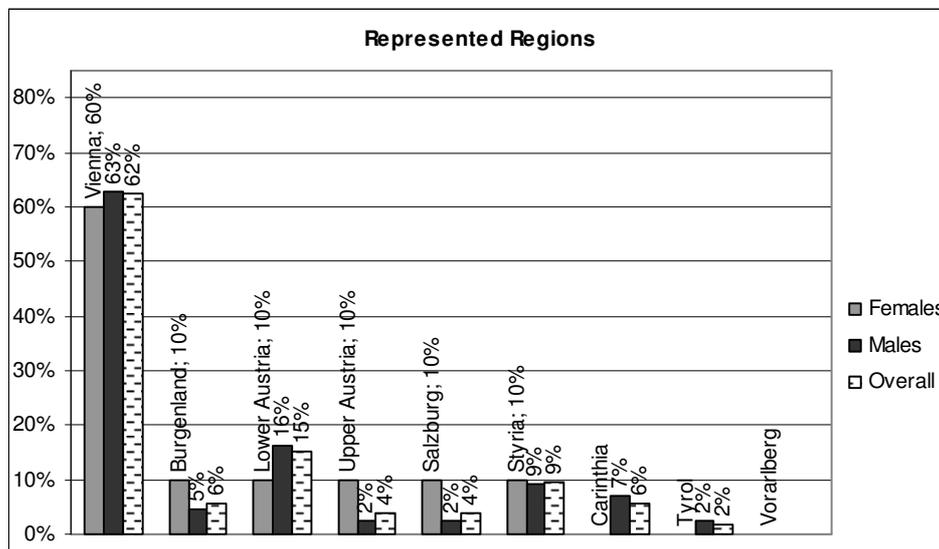
Table 12: Represented Regions by Ministers

	Females		Males		Overall	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Vienna	6	60%	27	63%	33	62%
Burgenland	1	10%	2	5%	3	6%
Lower Austria	1	10%	7	16%	8	15%
Upper Austria	1	10%	1	2%	2	4%
Salzburg	1	10%	1	2%	2	4%
Styria	1	10%	4	9%	5	9%
Carinthia	0	0%	3	7%	3	6%
Tyrol	0	0%	1	2%	1	2%
Vorarlberg	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
n	10		43		53	

Notes: In the classification, the regional parties that could be identified as affiliations were taken first. Double entries were thus possible (when a person had affiliations to more than one regional party). Only for the ministers who did not have any affiliations to regional parties, the region of the place of residence during the childhood and youth was then taken instead. For more details on the empirical endeavour, see Appendix 1.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 10: Represented Regions by Ministers



The highest values are reached by Vienna by far (62 %), Lower Austria (15 %), and Styria (9 %). Vorarlberg is not represented at all. The other regions dispose over values between 4 and 6 %. 6 of 10 females are from Vienna. One female can be each attributed to Burgenland, Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Salzburg, and Styria.

The interviewees indicated Vienna, Upper and Lower Austria (IP 4; IP 11), and Styria (IP 4) as strong regional parties. Hence, the evaluations of the interviewees and the biographical data analysis match each other except for Upper Austria, which is only marginally represented in both presentations.

In the following, two examples of politicians affiliated to a regional level will be presented in order to illustrate the career accession process in these.

The Case of the Woman: Gertrude Fröhlich-Sandner (1984⁴³)

Gertrude Fröhlich-Sandner grew up in a relatively lower middle class family in Vienna: Her father, a socialist, had a managerial position in the cooperative grocery store *Konsum* and her mother was a bookkeeper. Fröhlich-Sandner attended a Higher Technical and Vocational College and was educated to a teacher. She was married twice and did not have any children. After the end of the Second World War, she started working as a teacher in a primary school in Vienna and as child minder in an after-school care centre in the social-democratic children's organization *Kinderfreunde*. Fröhlich-Sandner experienced a lengthy political career. In the *Kinderfreunde*, she was appointed chairperson of the organization from the end of the 1960s onwards after having held several other positions. More importantly, though, Fröhlich-Sandner was rooted in the Viennese party: She was party chairperson of the Viennese district *Mariahilf* and served in the regional parliament, the regional government in Vienna, as well as as deputy mayor of Vienna. She was recruited in 1984 by the party leader Fred Sinowatz in order to take over the Ministry of Family, Youth and Consumer Protection. One interviewee reports: “*And Sandner satisfied the Viennese because she came from their midst. [...] But it was Sinowatz in fact who accorded that with the Viennese themselves because she did not actually want the office⁴⁴.*” (IP 4). Fröhlich-Sandner was qualified for the portfolio because of her experiences as teacher as well as in the children's organization *Kinderfreunde*. Also, she had been attributed with the portfolio Education, Youth and Family during her incumbency in the regional government of Vienna.

The Case of the Man: Erwin Lanc (1973)

Erwin Lanc stems from a lower-income background in Vienna. His father was a salesperson, his mother a dressmaker. He studied for two semesters, but dropped out. Both of his parents were politically active in organizations affiliated to the socialist party. Lanc himself was – among other networks – member of the Socialist Youth (SJ) and the *Club* 45. As young man, he was chairperson of the Socialist Youth in a Viennese district. He

⁴³ In the brackets, the year of the first selection into government as minister is indicated.

⁴⁴ In the original: “*Und die Sandner hat die Wiener befriedigt, weil die aus der Mitte der Wiener gekommen ist. [...] Das hat aber eigentlich der Sinowatz ganz oben mit den Wienern selber ausgemacht, weil sie wollte im Prinzip nicht.*”

married⁴⁵ and has two children. After the Second World War, he had several jobs, like for example as salesman of furniture, until he became employee of a bank, the *Zentralsparkasse der Gemeinde Wien*, at the end of the 1950s, where he advanced to a managerial position (1965-1973). Lanc accomplished a lengthy political career. He consecutively served as chairperson deputy and chairperson in the party organization of the Viennese district *Margareten*, which built his political basis. Later on, he became deputy of the regional parliament of Vienna and then of the National Assembly. In 1973, Lanc was staffed as the new Minister for Transport by the party leader Kreisky. In 1977, he took over the Ministry for Internal Affairs and in 1983 for Foreign Affairs. Lanc was known as exemplary student of Kreisky. Lanc reports that he and Kreisky had a certain political affinity: Before Kreisky became party leader in 1967, the issue of the future party leader was contentious within the party. Lanc was in favour of Kreisky and for the exchange of the then party leader Pittermann, which was certainly advantageous for his recruitment into government. The ministry of Transport is an economic task, for which Lanc – as professional banker – had the required qualifications (interview with Lanc).

National (Party) Politics

As only males were affiliated to the national level of (party) politics, only the example of a male can be given here.

The Case of the Man: Rudolf Scholten (1990)

Rudolf Scholten grew up in Vienna. His family can be characterized as bourgeois; his mother belonged to the noble class. The parents of Scholten possessed a forest estate. After graduating in the elite school *Schottengymnasium* in Vienna, Scholten completed the doctoral studies in law and applied economics. He married⁴⁶ and has two children. From the middle of the 1970s onwards, Scholten was employed in the bank sector for several years. Subsequently, he changed into politics for four years and was staff member of Franz

⁴⁵ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not if they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

⁴⁶ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not if they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

Vranitzky who was Minister of Finance first and then Federal Chancellor during that time. Scholten was occupied with economic and cultural policies there. In 1988, he surprisingly held the managerial position of the Federal Theatres for two years. Then – again unexpectedly – he was recruited as Minister of Education and Art by Vranitzky in 1990. The portfolio later changed into Science, Research and Art and then into Science, Transport and Art. Scholten accomplished a typical career through the national level and of a quickstarter, i.e. a short political career: He was not significantly rooted in a party group but had a personal relation of trust with the recruiting party leader, Franz Vranitzky, as whose “protégée” he was often characterized (Munzinger-Archiv Online 1997). With respect to contents, Scholten’s recruitment in a cultural portfolio is somehow surprising: He was involved in economic studies, was employed in the bank sector, and was responsible for economic (and cultural) policies as Vranitzky’s staff member. With respect to culture and education, he was only responsible – besides the economic policies – for cultural policies, when he cooperated with Vranitzky, and led the Federal Theatres for two years. Hence, the attribution of the portfolio of Transport later on seemed to make more sense with respect to his content-related experience.

The Women’s Organization

The Women’s Organization (SPÖ Frauen) is – like the party – territorially structured and hence disposes over positions on all territorial levels. Posts in the Women’s Organization are typically tied to state positions and – to a lesser extent – to party positions⁴⁷, which can also be attributed to the fact that several offices in the Women’s Organization go hand in hand with the occupation of specific party posts. For example, the leader of the Women’s Organization is deputy of the party leader – never mind on which territorial level. Interestingly, of the four females who occupied functions in the organization, all are affiliated to the organization: Hertha Firnberg, Johanna Dohnal, Helga Konrad, and Barbara Prammer.

⁴⁷ In the factor analysis (explained variance of 68.1 %), positions in the Women’s Organization and the state were part of one factor. Additionally, they bore a significant positive correlation in the calculation of the sum of previous career positions (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b). Positions in the party and in the Women’s Organizations bear a positive correlation, which is almost significant (0,055) in the same calculation.

The Case of the Woman: Johanna Dohnal (1991)

Johanna Dohnal grew up in lower middle-class circumstances in Vienna. She was an illegitimate child; her parents did not live together. Johanna Dohnal was raised by her grandmother who worked as a dress-maker. Dohnal married⁴⁸ and had two children. After she completed an apprenticeship as industrial clerk, she worked several years in this profession. After the birth of her second child, she worked as housewife and home worker for an insurance company, the *Sterbeversicherung Jupiter*. Among other networks, she was member in the children's organization *Kinderfreunde*, where she made her first political experiences. The beginning of her lengthy political career set in with the end of the 1960s. She held several positions in (party) politics at the local level in the Viennese district *Penzing* and then slowly climbed the career ladder within the Women's Organization: She was chairperson of a district, the region Vienna, and – since the end of the 1980s – chairperson of the national Women's Organization, consecutively. The respective positions are linked to leading functions in the party on the same level. For example, while serving as chairperson of the Women's Organization in a Viennese district, she was deputy of the party leader of the very same district. Besides, she was represented in the regional parliament of Vienna. In 1979, Dohnal was recruited as State Secretary for Women's Affairs by Bruno Kreisky. All pivotal party players were against the idea of a "calculated shock" by Kreisky who wanted to recruit four new female state secretaries at once⁴⁹, generally, and against the staffing of Johanna Dohnal as state secretary, specifically. She was already known as chairperson of the Viennese Women's Organization and from the contentious dispute over the abolishment of the § 144, i.e. the decriminalization of abortion. Only after Kreisky threatened to resign in a very long-during session of the *Parteipräsidium*⁵⁰, was the idea accepted. Dohnal was state secretary until 1991. In the course of the government formation in 1991, the Women's Organization requested Johanna Dohnal as new Minister for Women's Affairs. First the party leader Vranitzky refuted this idea. He only give in when Dohnal announced to resign otherwise (interview with Dohnal), fearing the outcry and the mobilization power of the Women's Organization and the women's movement, when one of her leading figures would step back from office. Dohnal

⁴⁸ She divorced later on.

⁴⁹ In 1979, the Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky recruited four new female state secretaries at a time, which caused quite a stir. Before that time, not as many women had been ministers or state secretaries at the same time.

⁵⁰ The *Parteipräsidium* is a national body, which was explained in more detail in Footnote 27 on page 93.

was qualified for the portfolio because of her long-during engagement for women and her involvement in the Women's Organization.

1.2. The Second Career Type

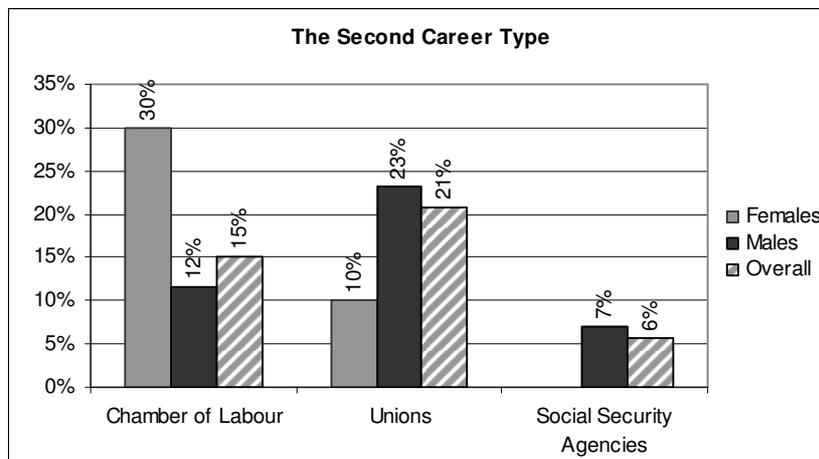
The second career type involves positions in the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG), the unions, the Chamber of Labour and the social security agencies. The unions and the Chamber of Labour constitute the SPÖ's influence sphere in the social partnership and are dominated by the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG) (Pelinka 2003a, 542). The representatives of the social security agencies are nominated by the social partners, whereas the distribution between representatives of the employers and of the employees differs according to the concerned social security carriers (Tálos 1997, 571; Schmid 2000). The common point of this career path can thus be located in the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG) or the social partnership more generally. The strength of this career type hence mirrors the central position of the unions and/or the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG) as selectors. In the table and the graph below, the main affiliations (or career centres) of the politicians of this type are presented.

Table 13: The Second Career Type

	Females		Males		Overall	
Chamber of Labour	3	30%	5	12%	8	15%
Unions	1	10%	10	23%	11	21%
Social Security Agencies	0	0%	3	7%	3	6%
n	10		43		53	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 11: The Second Career Type



Overall, most ministers stem from the unions, followed by the Chamber of Labour, and the social security agencies. Interestingly, none of the ministers had their career centre in the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG), which is why it is not presented in the table. As can be seen, the social security agencies are entirely set up by males. Furthermore, the data indicates that disproportionately many women stem from the Chamber of Labour compared to men, whereas the opposite is the case for the unions.

As concerns the (quantitatively researched) holding of career positions, about a third of the politicians executed posts in the ÖGB or one of its sub-divided trade associations or the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG) (34 %), which involves more men (37 %) than women (2 of 10; 20 %). The data proposes that the few women who came through the unions are supplied with more positions on average (4.5) than males (3.7). This can be traced back to the fact that one of the two represented women, Lore Hostasch, made her way to the highest posts and held very many positions. Hostasch was the first woman to take the lead in the Union of Private Sector Employees (GPA) and she was the only woman who managed to enter the male dominated system of the social partnership in its highest ranks until then (Feigl 2000, 74).

Another third of the politicians under investigation held posts in the Chamber of Labour (30 %), showing a greater share of women (4 of 10; 40 %) than of men (28 %). Men as well as women were attributed with 1.8 positions on average.

In the social security agencies, only a marginal proportion of the ministers (7 %) – only males, no females – held positions.

In conclusion, the social security agencies have to be described as a career path, which is only open for men: Only male ministers held posts in this organization at all. The unions present a career channel, which can be characterized as predominantly male. This is also due to the fact that blue-collar workers (who typically make their way up in the unions) are largely men (Statistik Austria 2009a, 27). The Chamber of Labour is the only institution of the social partnership, which obviously is quite accessible to women and is – proportionally seen – a rather female than male career path.

Although mostly one of the discussed career institutions could be identified as main career centre or affiliation of the politicians, these are very much interrelated in the course of a career. Typically, functionaries who climb the career ladder in one institution are supplied with leading functions in one of the other institutions as well. Union posts can be regarded as angle point, as positions in the other institutions are most commonly combined with

these. For example, the slow career advancement in the unions is often accompanied with leading posts in the Chamber of Labour (very often) and/or the social security agencies (not so often)⁵¹. These interrelations are also due to established informal rules. For example, one of them entails that representatives of the Union of Private Sector Employees (GPA) are employees of the Chamber of Labour. Also, the chairperson of the Viennese Health Insurance Agency (GKK) has to be a unionist of the Metalworkers and is represented in the Austrian Federation of Social Security Agencies (Profil 1974d, 25).

In the following, the relevant career paths will be separately addressed and each supplied with biographical examples of females and males, when possible.

The Unions

The Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB) is an umbrella organization, which contains seven single trade associations (ÖGB n.d.), largely following the classification of industry groups. In the ÖGB, the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG) is by far the strongest faction (Nick/Pelinka 1996/1993, 88-89).

Most ministers with a union's career had their first contact with the union while being occupied with a "private" job: Through a first engagement in the workers' council of the place of employment, the politicians begin to advance in the union's hierarchy. The next step often is to be the chairperson of the worker's council. After that, the slow but steady career advancement starts in the specific trade association (a so-called "Fachgewerkschaft") and moves upwards to top positions in the union, the party and the state. Hence, in the union's top positions mostly people can be found who worked as blue-collar workers once themselves (see also: Pelinka 1970, 537; Profil 1974d, 26). Lore Hostasch and Josef Hesoun will serve as biographical examples for this career path.

⁵¹ In the factor analysis (explained variance of 68.1 %), the Chamber of Labour and the unions were part of one factor. Also, functions in the Chamber of Labour, the unions, and the social security agencies are significantly positively correlated with each other (in both kinds of calculations that were carried out (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b and using the correlation coefficient Phi and Cramér's V), except the Chamber of Labour and the social security agencies.

The Case of the Woman: Lore Hostasch (1997)

Being the only child of a war widow who was employed as childcare worker first and then as a warden, Lore Hostasch grew up under very difficult conditions in the Viennese worker district *Ottakring*. Her mother was a socialist. After Hostasch had completed the A-levels in a Higher Technical and Vocational College, she began to work in a bank, the BAWAG, where she was employed for roughly seven years. Hostasch married⁵² and did not bear any children.

Hostasch – typical for a union's career – had her first points of contact with the unions' work during the time of her employment in the bank: She was part of the workers' council and climbed to the position of the chairperson of the workers' council and to the chairpersonship of the central workers' council (1975) of the bank. From the middle of the 1970s onwards, she began to occupy posts in the Union of Private Sector Employees (GPA), her political powerbase to be, and the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB): Starting with offices such as the chairpersonship of the women's section in the Union of Private Sector Employees (1974), she made her way to the chairpersonship of the union (1989) and to the Vice Presidency in the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB) (1991). From the end of the 1970s onwards, when she had already reached a certain point in her unions' career – and also that is typical – she was supplied with several leading positions in the Chamber of Labour in Vienna, where she finally made it to the President of the Federal Chamber of Labour (1994). Apart from the many accomplished posts in the social partnership, Hostasch was also represented in politics, as deputy in the Viennese regional parliament and as MP in the National Assembly. She was engaged in the Women's Organization of the SPÖ. In 1997, after a long political career, she was recruited as Minister for Work, Health and Social Affairs by the then party leader Klima, for which she was qualified contentswise because of her long involvement in the social partners. One interviewee ascertains that Hostasch became the new Minister of Social Affairs because they wanted to get rid of her in the Union of Private Sector Employees and when she became minister, the chairpersonship of the Union of Private Sector Employees was free again, for Hans Salmutter. (IP 4).

⁵² In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not if they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

The Case of the Man: Josef Hesoun (1990)

Josef Hesoun grew up in a working-class family in the countryside in Lower Austria. He served an apprenticeship as car mechanic and locksmith. Apart from his later engagement in the unions, Hesoun was active in the partyless youth organization *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring* during his youth. Hesoun married⁵³ and had one child. He started his union's career – again prototypical for union's careers – during his ten years of employment in the brickwork *Wienerberger* by holding several posts in the workers' council of the factory. From 1961 onwards, Hesoun was occupied in "his" union, the Union of Construction and Woodworkers ("Gewerkschaft Bau-Holz"), on a full-time-basis. It was not until 1986 – after holding several functions – that he became the chairperson of the union. A year later, he was supplied with the Vice Presidency of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB). He was also attributed with positions in other institutions of the social partnership, which is typical for this career path: In the Chamber of Labour, he made it to the President of the Chamber of Labour in Lower Austria (1974) and to the Vice President of the Federal Chamber of Labour (1983). Besides, Hesoun also had posts in politics and in the party: He was member of a local council ("Gemeinderat") in Lower Austria, of the Federal Assembly and of the National Assembly, and served as deputy of the regional party leader in Lower Austria. Hence, Hesoun's power bases are represented by the Union of Construction and Woodworkers (chiefly) and the party Lower Austria. After a long political career, he was recruited into the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1990 by the party leader Franz Vranitzky and had – overall – accomplished a SPÖ-career from the picture book in advancing from a car mechanic to a minister. Again prototypical for this career path, he was qualified for the portfolio with respect to contents because of his lengthy involvement in the social partnership. Vranitzky enforced Hesoun's recruitment against the will of the President of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB) Verzetnitsch and thereby broke with the tradition that the ÖGB takes a lead in the staffing of the Minister of Social Affairs (Munzinger-Archiv Online 1995). However, Vranitzky still followed the customs in staffing the Ministry of Social Affairs with a unionist.

⁵³ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not if they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

The Chamber of Labour

The Chamber of Labour represents the legally compulsory interest group for all salaried people with the exception of the public employees and the employees in the sector of agriculture and forestry. The Chamber of Labour and the ÖGB are strongly intertwined (Pelinka 2003a, 541). In the following, Hertha Firnberg and Ferdinand Lacina will serve as examples of individual biographies.

The Case of the Woman: Hertha Firnberg (1970)

Hertha Firnberg originated from a wealthy Viennese family. Her father was a physician and her mother had been employed as civil servant before her marriage and was housewife thereafter. Firnberg held a doctoral degree in economic and social history. She was married twice and did not have any children. Firnberg was part of several networks: the youth organization VSM, the student's association VSSTÖ, the Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists (BSA), and the Women's Organization. She had higher positions in the VSM and the BSA. After the Second World War, she worked as librarian at the University of Vienna for two years. Beginning from the end of the 1940s, she was employed in the Chamber of Labour in Lower Austria in a leading position for about twenty years, where she acquired the reputation of an expert for social policies (Lexikon der Wiener Sozialdemokratie 2005, Entry: Hertha Firnberg). She was discovered as political talent, when she was member of the Party Executive Committee of the Viennese district *Favoriten* by Otto Probst who pushed her entering into the national parliament (BiografiA, Entry: Hertha Firnberg). After serving in the Federal as well as the National Assembly, she became the chairperson of the Women's Organization in 1966 and – because of that – deputy of the national party leader. Besides, she was part of the expert group *1400 Experts*. Firnberg and the party leader Bruno Kreisky had a tight relation: Both knew each other since their time at university. She was recruited after a long political career into the newly found Ministry of Science in 1970 and was the first female minister of the SPÖ. Hertha Firnberg reported: *“I firmly intended – following my emancipatory self-understanding – not to take over a ‘women’s portfolio’ (...) My wish after the through and through ‘male’ Ministry of Science was understood by the Federal Chancellor and the*

*decision board and was fulfilled*⁵⁴.” (Steininger 1995b, 135). Firnberg had repeatedly campaigned for issues of science and research before (Munzinger-Archiv Online 1994). She was able to come through in two male dominated areas, politics and science. Firnberg pertained over several power bases: Most importantly, the Chamber of Labour of Lower Austria and the Women’s Organization, and – from the networks – the BSA and the youth organization VSM.

The Case of the Man: Ferdinand Lacina (1984)

Lacina’s parents were part of the Czech minority living in Vienna. Lacina stems from a relatively humble background. His father worked as self-employed dressmaker. Lacina completed diploma studies in economics. He married⁵⁵ and has two children. Lacina held leading positions in the students’ association VSSTÖ and the youth organization VSM and was – among other networks – member of the Socialist Youth (SJ). From the mid 1960s onwards until the end of the 1970s, he was employed in the Chamber of Labour in Vienna, in which he advanced to the head of the department of economic policy. Subsequently, he held a managerial position in the *Österreichische Industrieholding AG (ÖIAG)*, which administrates the public shares in partly and fully nationalised industries, for two years before he became head of the cabinet and councillor in the Federal Chancellery under Kreisky in 1980. In 1982, he was – after a long political career – chosen as state secretary under Kreisky and was then, in 1984, recruited as Minister for Public Economy and Transport by Sinowatz. In 1986, he became Minister of Finance under Vranitzky. Lacina’s major power bases were the Chamber of Labour and the national party. Lacina was qualified for the economic portfolio because of his studies, but also because of his work experience in the Chamber of Labour, in which he worked for the economic policy department, and in the ÖIAG. He was a known economic expert (Munzinger-Archiv Online 2006).

⁵⁴ In the original: “*Ich hatte den festen Vorsatz, meinem emanzipatorischen Selbstverständnis entsprechend kein ‘Frauenministerium’ zu übernehmen (...) Mein Wunsch nach dem durch und durch ‘männlichen’ Wissenschaftsministerium hat Verständnis beim Kanzler und dem Entscheidungsgremium gefunden und wurde erfüllt.*”

⁵⁵ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not if they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

The Social Security Agencies

The social security agencies are split organizationally to a considerable extent. At the moment, 28 social security carriers exist, of which 19 are health, five pension and four accident insurance carriers. The different carriers are united in the umbrella organization Austrian Federation of Social Security Agencies (Hauptverband der österreichischen Sozialversicherungsträger; HVB). The representatives in the social security agencies are nominated by the social partners, by which it is secured that those who sustain the system by contributions share an interest in their maintenance (Tálos 1997, 571; Schmid 2000). As only males came through the career path of the social security agencies, a female example cannot be given here.

The Case of the Man: Gerhard Weißenberg (1976)

Gerhard Weißenberg grew up in the countryside in Lower Austria. His father was a lawyer and was politically active in the then Social-Democratic Workers' Party. Weißenberg held a doctoral degree in law. He married⁵⁶ and had two children. Weißenberg was engaged in several networks like the Socialist Youth (SJ), the unions, or the *Club 45*, whereby he executed leading posts in the Socialist Youth. Weißenberg was first employed in the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB) after the Second World War, had various positions in the social security agencies, and served in the Chamber of Labour in Vienna – amongst other things – as Vice Director. The social security agencies represent the centre of his career: For example, he was member of the general assemblies in the General Accident Insurance Institution (AUVA), the Pension Insurance Agency (PVA), and the Viennese Health Insurance Agency (GKK). Among other things, he served as first chairperson deputy in the General Accident Insurance Institution (AUVA) and in the Austrian Federation of Social Security Agencies. In 1976, he was staffed for the position of the Social Minister by the party leader Kreisky, after a long political career. He had the specific knowledge for the ministry because of his career in the social security agencies.

⁵⁶ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not if they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

1.3. The Third Career Type

The third career type is represented by the Chamber of Agriculture and is of only minimal relevance. The chamber is an institution of the social partnership traditionally dominated by the ÖVP and will therefore be treated in more detail in the chapter on the recruitment processes in the ÖVP. None of the women and only three male persons (Johann Öllinger, Oskar Weihs, Günter Haiden) had functions in the Chamber of Agriculture, of which only two persons (Johann Öllinger and Günter Haiden; representing 4 % overall) bear an affiliation to the chamber. The Chamber of Agriculture is hence an entirely male career path, which is not accessible for women.

The Case of the Man: Johann Öllinger (1970)

Johann Öllinger is often referred to as partyless. However, he entered the party in 1954 according to media sources (AOMWeb 1970) and is therefore treated as SPÖ-member here. Öllinger was born in Salzburg, but moved to Carinthia when still a child. His father was employed as technical civil servant. Öllinger completed his doctoral studies in agriculture. He married⁵⁷ and had two children. After the Second World War, Öllinger was employed in the bureaucracy in Carinthia. As concerns his political career, he only had one position, namely in the Chamber of Agriculture in Carinthia, before being recruited as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry by Kreisky in 1970. Hence, Öllinger falls into the category of cross-over recruitment, i.e. no political career. Also, he cooperated in the elaboration of the agricultural programme of the SPÖ. It was the first majority government of the SPÖ formed without the ÖVP, which traditionally ensured to staff the ministry with agriculturally knowledgeable politicians. One interviewee relates about the search for governmental staff by Kreisky in 1970: “(...) *obviously no person able to govern came to his mind so that he had to call the Carinthians and ask them whether they could nominate a Minister of Agriculture*⁵⁸.” (IP 3). After several weeks, Öllinger was exposed as former SS-leader, which led to his replacement only after a short time. Öllinger was – typical for a

⁵⁷ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not if they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

⁵⁸ In the original: “(...) *keine besonders ministrable Figur war ihm offenbar gegenwärtig, sodass er die Kärntner angerufen hat, ob sie nicht einen Landwirtschaftsminister nominieren könnten.*”

former National-Socialist in the SPÖ – part of the Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists (BSA) (Neugebauer/Schwarz 2005, 165-166).

1.4. Conclusion: The Career Trajectories in the SPÖ and their Sex/Gender Relations

As we have seen, the career paths in the SPÖ can be bundled into three types: The first career type involves affiliations to national and regional (party) politics (i.e. positions in the party and the state), to the women's organization and to other party organizations. The second one includes career centres in the Chamber of Labour, the unions, and the social security agencies. Hence, whereas the first one has its focal point in the party, the second one has its common denominator mainly in the social partnership and has its nodal point in the Social Democratic Union's Faction FSG. The two career lines have points of contact. However, they differ in where these politicians have their focal point of activities. Apart from these two career types, the Chamber of Agriculture, which is an institution of the social partners dominated by the ÖVP, represents the third career type; however, only marginally.

In the table and the figure below, the sex/gender implications of the different career types are depicted:

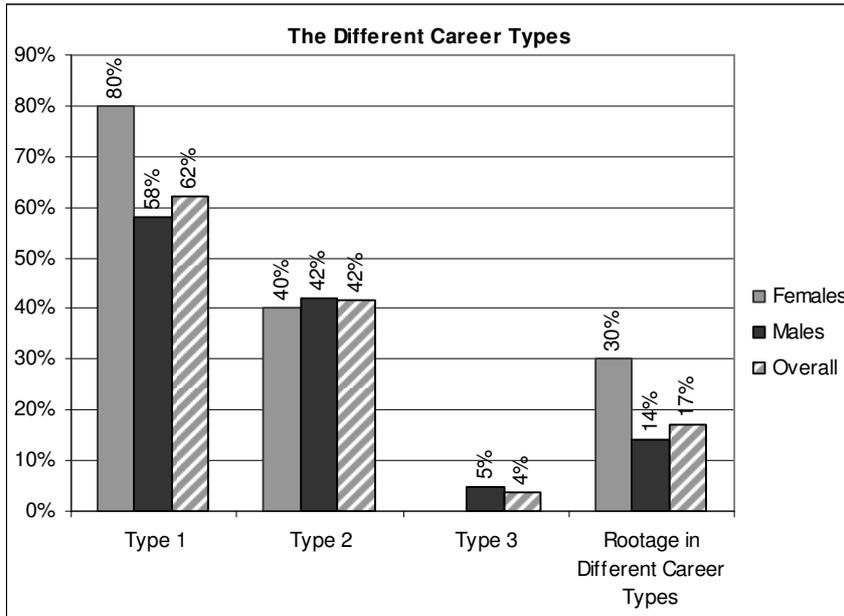
Table 14: The Different Career Types

	Females		Males		Overall	
Type 1	8	80%	25	58%	33	62%
Type 2	4	40%	18	42%	22	42%
Type 3	0	0%	2	5%	2	4%
Rootage in Different Career Types	3	30%	6	14%	9	17%
n	10		43		53	

Notes: The different career types were produced by summing up the different affiliations or career centres within each career type.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 12: The Different Career Types



Overall, the first career type with its nodal point in the party dominates, succeeded by the second type with its focus on the social partnership, and – with only minimal relevance – followed by the third career type located in the Chamber of Agriculture.

In the first type, women seem to be disproportionately represented compared to men. The second type appears to be sex/gender balanced and the third type is an exclusively male career path. What is striking is that a higher share of females than men is represented in different career types: The data shows that 30 % of the women (3 of 10) and only 14 % of the males were represented in several career types. That seems to indicate that women need *additional* backing by the party career type (Type 1) in order to come through the second career type, largely constituted by the institutions of the social partnership.

Overall, the hypothesis that the career paths for women and men differ can be affirmed in the case of the SPÖ. The party groups, which only brought forward male ministers (national (party) politics, the social security agencies, and the Chamber of Agriculture), bear in comparison to the entirely female career ladder (Women's Organization) greater relevance in general. The Chamber of Labour and local and regional (party) politics seem to bring forward proportionally more females than males, whereas the opposite applies to the unions.

(2) The Relevance of Social Capital: Networks, In-Groups, and Political Friendships

Social capital in the form of memberships in networks, in-groups or political friendships can be of advantage in a political career. In the SPÖ, there is a myriad of party-affiliated networks from the Social-Democratic Fisher Organization⁵⁹ to the organization Social-Democracy and Homosexuality⁶⁰, not to mention the numerous informal networks and circles of friendships. Empirically, the belonging to, the holding of positions in, and the affiliations to selected networks considered as relevant – identified as such in the literature or because of their recurring appearance in the biographies – was researched here. Even this data has to be handled with care – in spite of the thorough research – as information about memberships in networks is difficult to access⁶¹.

All of the SPÖ-ministers were part of at least one network. Females were represented in 2.6 networks and men in 2.8⁶². The data indicated here aims to peruse the hypothesis that women and men pertain over different forms and amounts of capital and resources.

Because of the low entity of females involved here, it is more useful to analyze this hypothesis for the female and male ministers of all parties in Chapter 7. In the following, the shares of belonging to the researched networks are shown:

⁵⁹ Verband Österreichischer Arbeiter-Fischereivereine

⁶⁰ SoHo, Sozialdemokratie und Homosexualität

⁶¹ See Appendix 1 for more detail on the methodical issues.

⁶² The average values refer to the entity of all female or male SPÖ-ministers.

Table 15: The Belonging to Networks

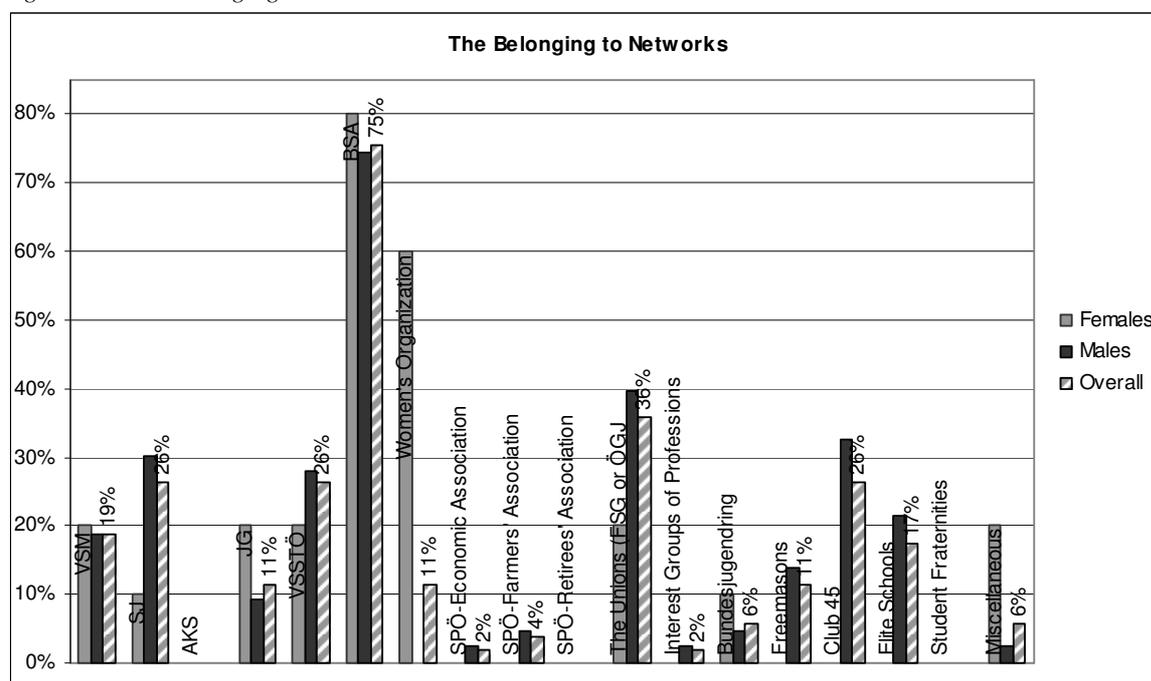
	Females		Males		Overall	
VSM	2	20%	8	19%	10	19%
SJ (Socialist Youth)	1	10%	13	30%	14	26%
AKS	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
JG (Young Generation)	2	20%	4	9%	6	11%
VSSTÖ	2	20%	12	28%	14	26%
BSA	8	80%	32	74%	40	75%
Women's Organization	6	60%	0	0%	6	11%
SPÖ-Economic Association	0	0%	1	2%	1	2%
SPÖ-Farmers' Association	0	0%	2	5%	2	4%
SPÖ-Retirees' Association	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
The Unions (FSG or ÖGJ)	2	20%	17	40%	19	36%
Interest Groups of Professions	0	0%	1	2%	1	2%
Bundesjugendring	1	10%	2	5%	3	6%
Freemasons	0	0%	6	14%	6	11%
Club 45	0	0%	14	33%	14	26%
Elite Schools	0	0%	9	21%	9	17%
Student Fraternities	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Miscellaneous	2	20%	1	2%	3	6%
n (Elite Schools)¹	10		42		52	
n (Other Criteria)¹	10		43		53	

Notes:

- (1) The percentage values in this table usually refer to the entities specified under “n (Other Criteria)”. Only, the information for one man as concerns the attendance of elite schools could not be accessed, which results in a diminished entity in the case of the elite schools and is specified under “n (Elite Schools)”.
- (2) The AKS and the VSM are both pupils' organizations. The VSSTÖ is a students' organization. BSA is the abbreviation for the Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 13: The Belonging to Networks



Notes: As specified in the notes in the table above (Table 15), the percentage values of the elite schools refer to other entities than the other research criteria.

The following networks lead as concerns the overall share of ministers: The Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists (BSA; 75 %), the unions (FSG/ÖGJ; 36 %), the Socialist Youth (SJ), the students' organization (VSSTÖ), and the *Club 45* to equal shares

(26 %). The youth organization VSM (19 %) and the attendance of an elite school during the upper-secondary level (which can work as network as well) (17 %) follow. Other relevant organizations are the Young Generation (JG), the Women's Organization, and the freemasons (all at 11 %). The Farmers' and the Economic Association, party-affiliated interest groups of the professions, the non-party organization *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring* as well as other miscellaneous organizations are only of minor relevance. The latter involves the Association of Tenants (*Mietervereinigung*) in the case of men and the children's organization *Kinderfreunde*⁶³ in the case of females. The youth organization AKS and the Retirees' Association are not significant at all. Besides, no minister of the SPÖ was member of a student fraternity, which points to their irrelevance within the party.

As concerns sex/gender relations, an interpretation of the data has to be handled carefully as the entity of females (10) is only low. However, the data seems to propose several interesting trends: Several networks are entirely set up by male ministers. This is especially relevant in the case of the freemasons, the *Club 45*, and the belonging to alumni associations of so-called "elite schools" because of their relatively high overall significance. Also, the party's sub-organizations other than the Women's Organization (Economic, Farmers', Retirees Associations) and the belonging to different professional associations only pertains to men. Some networks seem to be dominated by men, in others females and males appear to be represented to about the same proportion. The Women's Organization is the only network, which only has females as members. The fact that the data proposes that the Socialist Youth (SJ) is male dominated does not seem to be a coincidence, as Niederkofler (2004, 394) asserted the same for the organization.

The holding of posts in networks typically is part of the party career path. This may also be attributed to the fact that unionists are engaged in the unions early on and are not part of the many networks, targeting pupils in their upper-secondary level or students, for example. A majority of the ministers held network positions (53 %), concerning females and males quite equally. An affiliation to a network was usually an affiliation beside others. Networks represented an affiliation rather for men (17 of 43; 40 %) than for women (2 of 10; 20 %)⁶⁴. Below (Table 16, Figure 14), the shares of ministers who executed

⁶³ The belonging to the children's organization *Kinderfreunde* was only researched for adults.

⁶⁴ The networks, in which full-time positions over a certain number of years were held and which were thus already considered as career paths (i.e. the *Mietervereinigung* and the *Kinderfreunde*), were not considered in this calculation of affiliations to networks anymore, but were included in the counting of network positions.

functions in all the researched networks are presented. The data concerning held positions in networks has to be handled carefully, as many positions are probably not known. However, the gathered data can indicate trends. Posts in the party’s sub-organizations (such as the Women’s Organization) and the unions were already dealt with in the section on the different career paths, which is why they are not included here again. The union’s youth organization ÖGJ, however, is – this time separately, not in a category with the unions – addressed here. The holding of posts is not relevant in the case of the freemasons, the *Club 45* and the elite schools, wherefore they are also excluded from the presentation in the following. The children’s organization *Kinderfreunde* and the Association of Tenants (*Mietervereinigung*) are – this time – presented separately.

Table 16: The Proportion of Ministers Holding Positions in Networks

	Females		Males		Overall	
Kinderfreunde	2	20%	0	0%	2	4%
VSM	1	10%	6	14%	7	13%
SJ (Socialist Youth)	0	0%	9	21%	9	17%
AKS	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
JG (Young Generation)	1	10%	3	7%	4	8%
ÖGJ (Austria’s Unions’ Youth)	1	10%	1	2%	2	4%
VSSTÖ/ÖH	0	0%	8	19%	8	15%
BSA	2	20%	2	5%	4	8%
Professional Associations	0	0%	1	2%	1	2%
Bundesjugendring	1	10%	1	2%	2	4%
Mietervereinigung	0	0%	1	2%	1	2%
n	10		43		53	

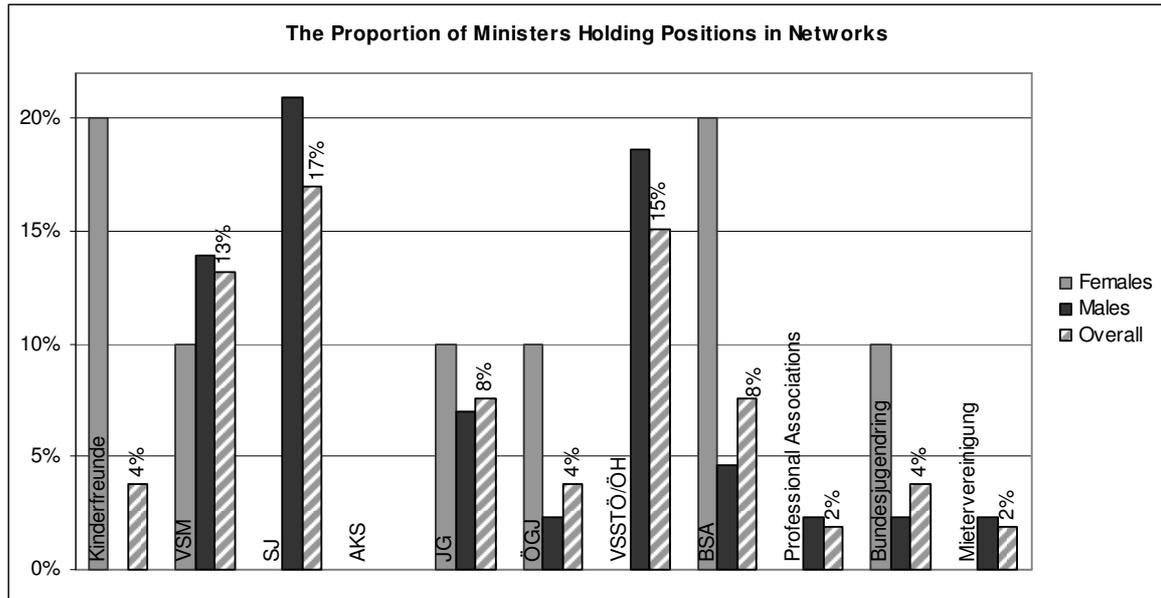
Notes:

- (1) The AKS and the VSM are both pupils’ organizations. The VSSTÖ is the students’ organization of the SPÖ and the ÖH represents the Austrian National Students Association. BSA is the abbreviation for the Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists.
- (2) The networks, in which full-time positions over a certain number of years were held and which were thus already considered as career paths (i.e. the *Mietervereinigung* and the *Kinderfreunde*), were not considered as affiliations to networks anymore, but were included in the counting of network positions and are thus included in this table.

Source: Own statistics

Furthermore, the data will be perused in the general chapter on sex/gender relations in political recruitment to government in Austria (Chapter 7) with respect to the hypothesis of differences in the capital and resources between females and males because the involved entities are too low here to make valuable comparisons.

Figure 14: The Proportion of Ministers Holding Positions in Networks



Overall, most ministers held positions in the Socialist Youth (SJ; 17 %), followed by the students' organization (VSSTÖ/ÖH; 15 %), the youth organization VSM (13 %), and the Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists (BSA; 8 %) and the Young Generation (JG; 8 %). Stimmer (1997, 1046) professes that the SPÖ also recruited from leading positions of the partyless *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring*. However, the empirical investigation showed that its relevance is only marginal. The other organizations, namely the Union's Youth Organization (ÖGJ) and other party-specific professional associations also only brought forward ministers to a limited extent.

As concerns sex/gender relations, most males had functions in the Socialist Youth (SJ; 21 %), the students' organizations (VSSTÖ/ÖH; 19 %) and the youth organization VSM (14 %). 2 of 10 females each operated in the children's organization *Kinderfreunde* and in the Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists (BSA). One woman each was active in the youth organizations VSM, the JG, the ÖGJ, and the *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring*. Of the most relevant organizations, the Socialist Youth (SJ) and the students' association ÖH/VSSTÖ only brought forward male functionaries and hence only gave access to capital to men. The children's organization *Kinderfreunde*, on the other hand, is only constituted of females but pertains over minimal relevance.

In the following, several relevant organizations are specifically treated:

Youth and Students' Organizations

The organizations Socialist Youth (SJ), the students' organization (VSSTÖ), and the youth organizations VSM and Young Generation (JG) are the relevant youth and students' organizations in the SPÖ. According to several interviewees, youth organizations served as recruitment pool once, but not anymore (IP 3; IP 4). The strength of the youth organization back then can be explained as follows: The generation which should have served as pool of functionaries between 1945 and 1960 was strongly depleted by the Second World War. Because of that, people, younger than usual until then, could climb the career ladder. Since then, the youth organization has lost its relevance, though, also because it does not have a mass basis anymore (IP 3).

Several authors point to the significance of an engagement in the social-democratic students' organization VSSTÖ for recruitment (Stimmer 1997, 1046; Pelinka 1970, 538; Dachs/Gerlich/Müller 1995a, 634). Because of the relative dearth of academics in the SPÖ, academics have a relatively good starting point (Pelinka 1970, 538). It is remarkable that of the six presidents of the VSSTÖ between 1952 and 1961 (Oberleitner 1981, 113), four were recruited as ministers later on (Günter Haiden, Karl Blecha, Peter Jankowitsch, Hannes Androsch).

Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists (BSA)

The overwhelming membership in the BSA corresponds to statements of the interviewees. Two interviewees professed that the BSA served as *the* recruitment pool formerly (IP 3; IP 4): “Everybody said, ‘Join the BSA because the posts are distributed there, the governmental posts are distributed there.’ and so on and so forth⁶⁵.” (IP 4). Neugebauer/Schwarz (2005, 165-166) conclude that an engagement in the BSA could be a decisive factor for the advancement of the professional and the political career and characterize the organization as “*job agency*” (in German “*Jobbörse*”). The BSA is not as coined by shared worldviews and personal relations as the Union of Catholic Austrian Student Fraternities (ÖCV) relevant in the ÖVP, for example. The organization foremost targeted to win the urgently needed experts, sometimes even for the price of a National-

⁶⁵ In the original: “Alle haben gesagt, ‘Geh zum BSA, weil dort werden die Posten vergeben, dort wird die Regierung vergeben’ usw. usf.”

Socialist incrimination (Dachs/Gerlich/Müller 1995a, 634; cf. Neugebauer/Schwarz 2005). Also other authors assert the significance of the BSA as recruitment pool within the SPÖ (Naßmacher 1968, 49). The organization completely lost its relevance in the recruitment processes, though (IP 3; IP 4). The decreasing significance of the organization set in with the end of the presidency of the founding father Karl Waldbrunner in 1973. After that several members of the BSA were selected, but not anymore because of the strength of the organization, but because of other factors (IP 3).

Club 45

The *Club 45* was called into existence by Udo Proksch at the beginning of the 1970s. The *Café Demel* in Vienna was its venue. Everybody who wanted to climb the career ladder in the second half of the 1970s, had to belong to the “*red lodge*” (in German “*Rote Loge*”) (Piringer 2009). Leading representatives of the SPÖ and from the economy belonged to the network in the 1970s. The club included about 300 people. The *Lucona-Affair*, a huge scandal, in which Proksch was chiefly involved, meant the beginning of the downturn of the Club in 1977⁶⁶ (Die Presse n.d.). Given the only short relevance of this network, the membership numbers are astonishing⁶⁷. The male domination of the *Club 45* can – at least partly – be traced back to the fact that it was only relevant in the 1970s.

Elite Schools / Alumni Associations

Several academic secondary schools and academies work as so-called “*elite schools*”⁶⁸. In the SPÖ, the ministers attended the (different locations of the) *Akademisches Gymnasium* (Christian Broda, Josef Moser, Caspar Einem), the *Schottengymnasium* (Rudolf Scholten, Franz Hums), the *Piaristen-Gymnasium* (Helmut Zilk), and the *Hietzinger Gymnasium* in

⁶⁶ The *Lucona* was a freighter, which was sunk by a blasting in the Indian Ocean in an attempted insurance fraud, which cost and endangered the lives of several persons.

⁶⁷ Additionally, two partyless ministers who were not included in the data because of their partyless status, but were selected by the SPÖ, Karl Lütgendorf (1971) and Willibald Pahr (1976), were also part of the *Club 45*.

⁶⁸ Those were identified by the literature (Stimmer 1997, 1011; Seifert 1998, 186-187; Gewinn 2006, 88) and the search for patterns in the upper-secondary school attendance of the ministers and include – in the case of all of the researched ministers – the academic secondary schools *Schottengymnasium*, the *Kollegium Kalksburg*, the *Akademisches Gymnasium* (with its different locations), the *Theresianum*, the *Stiftsgymnasium Seitenstetten*, the *Piaristengymnasium*, the *Hietzinger Gymnasium*, as well as the two academies, the *Theresianische Militärakademie* and the Diplomatic Academy.

the Fichtnergasse (Oskar Weihs, Heinz Fischer) during their upper-secondary level. Johann Freihslser attended the military academy *Theresianische Militärakademie*⁶⁹.

The Freemasons

The freemasons were a relevant factor and made a strong outward appearance in the SPÖ for a period of time: “*And if someone appeared, one thought, ‘I see. I have not seen him in the party yet. Hence, he belongs to the freemasons*⁷⁰.’” (IP 4). Another interviewee also professes that the freemasons were a relatively strong informal group in the SPÖ⁷¹ (IP 13). Following the opinion of an interviewee, the Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists (BSA) was an organization strongly populated by freemasons. Today, however, nobody knows, if someone belongs to the freemasons or not. This may be either due to the fact that the freemasons have lost significance or that they have become more secretive again (IP 4).

The freemasons are traditionally male because they emerged from the associations of stone masonry, which was a traditionally male occupation. There have been several attempts to incorporate women in so-called “mixed lodges” or to set up female lodges. However, the mainstream of the freemasons is against the inclusion of women. Nowadays, mixed and female lodges exist worldwide, but separate from the regular lodges (Giese 2005, 20-21). In Austria, mixed and female lodges exist as well, but are not recognized by the umbrella organization of the lodges, the *Großloge von Österreich* (Gewinn 2001).

Excursus: The Involvement as Experts

Several ministers worked as experts for the party before their governmental recruitment or were involved in expert groups. This dimensions is particular in so far as it unifies social capital – by being involved in an expert group or being an expert and (by that) being known by at least some of the politically relevant actors – and cultural capital – by the

⁶⁹ Apart from that, several partyless ministers that were selected by the SPÖ, but were not included in the classification of the SPÖ-data because of their partyless status, attended elite schools: Erich Bielka attended the *Theresianum* and the Diplomatic Academy, Karl Lütgendorf went to the *Theresianische Militärakademie*, and Egmont Foregger went to the *Akademisches Gymnasium* in Salzburg.

⁷⁰ In the original: “*Und wenn einer gekommen ist, hat man sich gedacht, ‘Aha, den hab ich in der Partei noch nicht gesehen, also gehört der zu den Freimaurern.’*”

⁷¹ Additionally, Rudolf Kirchschräger (1970) who was a partyless minister who was selected by the SPÖ, was also part of the freemasons, but not included in the data presentation because of his partyless status.

strength of expert knowledge of these ministers. Hence, this dimension was not included in the general presentation on networks in the SPÖ.

The *1400 Experts* was an expert group of the SPÖ, established during the party leadership of Kreisky (1967-1983) at the end of the 1960s in order to reform the party (Stimmer 1997, 1040-1041, 1044, 1046), which – according to Stimmer (1997, 1043) – became the preferred recruitment pool for top positions on the parliamentary and the governmental level. This does not correspond to the findings of my study, though: Also after intensive research, only one female, Hertha Firnberg, was part of the expert group *1400 Experts* to my knowledge. Overall 17 % had operated as experts for the SPÖ (2 of 10 females or 20 %, 7 of 43 males or 16 %).

The initial hypothesis that the networks bear sex/gender-specific traits can be affirmed for the SPÖ. Several organizations are clearly male dominated, such as the freemasons, the *Club 45*, the attendance of elite schools or the Socialist Youth (SJ), for example. Other networks seem to bear quite equal sex/gender relations, which applies, for example, to the youth organization VSM or the Association for Academics, Intellectuals, and Artists (BSA). Lastly, some of the networks – minimally, however – seem to bring forward rather females. This involves most importantly the Women's Organization.

III. Conclusion

In this chapter, three hypotheses were explored: As concerns the selectors, I hypothesized that it is the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces which largely determine the recruitment processes. This hypothesis can be affirmed in the case of the SPÖ: As concerns the relations of forces, it is the party leader who occupies the strongest position, followed by the pivotal regional party organizations, the unions, and – lastly – the Women's Organization.

As concerns the recruited, I explored two hypotheses:

(1) The hypothesis that the career paths for females and males differ can be affirmed for the SPÖ: Whereas affiliations to national (party) politics, the social security agencies, and the Chamber of Agriculture are entirely set up by male ministers, it is only the Women's

Organization which serves as an exclusively female career centre. It seems that women disproportionately stemmed from local and regional (party) politics and the Chamber of Labour compared to men, whereas the contrary is true for the unions. Overall, women provide over fewer career paths than men. Furthermore, the career ladders, which were entirely male, are generally more relevant in bringing forward ministers than the Women's Organization, which is the only entirely female career ladder.

(2) Similar to that, I hypothesized that also the networks, in which the ministers are represented, bear sex/gender differences. This can be affirmed for the SPÖ: Whereas some networks were dominated by men – some even exclusively (such as the *Club 45*, the freemasons, the elite schools, and the Socialist Youth, for example), others seemed to harbour females and males quite equally or were even slightly dominated by females (such as the BSA or the Young Generation (JG)). Finally, some of the networks seemed to advantage women, among them most prominently the Women's Organization. Overall, however, the male dominated networks bear a disproportionately greater relevance, compared to the female dominated ones.

5. Sex/Gender Relations in Political Recruitment – The ÖVP

In this chapter, the sex/gender relations in the recruitment processes in the ÖVP will be analyzed from the perspective of the selectors (tackling the sub-research question of who selects) and from the perspective of the recruited (targeting the sub-research question of how political careers work). As in the previous chapter, three hypotheses will be explored: (1) From the perspective of the selectors (which is covered in the first section of this chapter), the hypothesis that the selection processes are mainly determined by the relations of forces within the parties (which bear sex/gender relations), will be examined for the ÖVP. (2) From the perspective of the recruited (which is covered in the second section of this chapter), the hypothesis that typical career paths for women and men differ, will be assessed. (3) Similarly and again from the perspective of the recruited, the hypothesis will be explored that the structure of representation in relevant networks bears sex/gender differences as many networks have to be characterized as male/masculine organized or as “old boys’ networks”. In Chapter 7, the first and the second hypothesis will be addressed more broadly, unifying the party-specific results.

The ÖVP-ministers are composed of 31 men and 9 women. The employed percentage values refer to – if not otherwise indicated – to the entities of females, males, or both overall. Due to the small entity of females, the data has to be interpreted carefully and can often only indicate trends. As concerns several research criteria, for example, an interpretation of the comparative data is not possible. In those cases, the data will only be presented, but not interpreted.

Before we start with the two perspectives of the selectors and of the recruited, some basic information as concerns the governmental times, the formal organizational structure, and the general position of women in the ÖVP will be depicted:

In the timeframe from 1966 to 2006, the ÖVP was part of the government during the years 1966-1970 in a majority government (cabinet Klaus II), governed together with the SPÖ in a grand coalition in the years 1987-1999 (Vranitzky II-V, Klima), and as member of a little coalition with the FPÖ/BZÖ from 2000 to 2006 (Schüssel I-II).

The ÖVP is territorially and functionally organized: Territorially, the levels of the party structure follow the state structure and have organizational units on all levels. Functionally, the party is structured into three influential leagues and three party’s sub-organizations

(“Teilorganisationen”). The leagues are constituted by the employees’ league *Österreichischer Arbeitnehmerinnen- und Arbeitnehmerbund* (ÖAAB), the farmers’ league *Österreichischer Bauernbund* (ÖBB), and the economic league *Österreichischer Wirtschaftsbund* (ÖWB). The party’s sub-organizations include one for women (Österreichische Frauenbewegung; ÖFB), one for the young (Junge Volkspartei; JVP), and one for the retirees (Österreichischer Seniorenbund; ÖSB). Besides, there are many party-affiliated organizations (Müller 2006c, 342).

The ÖVP has a smaller share of women in the leading bodies of the party, compared to those in the SPÖ (Steininger 1992, 649). The party devised a female quota of a third for *public* offices only in the Policy Statements (“Grundsatzprogramm”), but not in the party statutes (ÖVP 1995, 16; 2007).

I. The Side of the Selectors

(1) Course of Recruitment

The course of the selection processes is similar in all parties, wherefore their details are elaborated in Chapter 7. The relations of forces in the ÖVP are such that the party leader represents the main player in the governmental personnel decisions (IP 8; IP 10); his position has generally to be considered as strong (IP 13). However, the party leader has to consider the pivotal party groups which occupy a strong position in the party relationally in order to establish a power balance in the party and to reach a majority in the final vote in the national party board of the Party Executive Committee (“Parteivorstand”) (IP 8; IP 10). The party groups which take influential positions in the recruitment processes only change when the political group that is in power in the party changes (IP 8). Essentially, the regional party organizations and the three leagues which are traditionally strong in the party (Müller 1997, 274; Wolf 2005, 202) have always had a major influence on the recruitment processes in the ÖVP (IP 13; IP 9; IP 8; IP 10). Following the opinion of one interviewee, the relevance of the regional parties has remained at about the same level (IP 13). Two other interviewees assess the relevance of the three leagues and the regional parties in the selection processes as decreasing (IP 8; IP 12). Both still play a part today; however, not as strong as under the party leadership of Klaus (1963-1970) (IP 12). Indeed,

there are some established recruitment practices such as the economic portfolio is staffed by the economic league ÖWB, but these practices declined under the party leadership of Wolfgang Schüssel (1995-2007). It seems, though, that these recruitment practices have gained in strength again since 2007 (IP 8).

The three party's sub-organizations, the association of the young JVP, the association for the retirees ÖSB, and the women's organization ÖFB, are not equipped with a considerable amount of political capital, compared to the other agents (IP 10). The women's organization ÖFB poses demands from time to time, but the organization is too weak (IP 12). Also another respondent corroborates that the role of the Women's Organization in the recruitment processes is humble (IP 8). The formal party structure in effect since 1975 with six organizations, three leagues and three party's sub-organizations, has never really transformed the real relations of forces within the party (IP 12).

The Party Executive Committee⁷² ("Parteivorstand") is constituted by the main party players and has to give its approval to the selection of ministers presented by the party leader. The course of the decision process in this board depends on the position, the party leader occupies in the relations of forces within the party: If a party leader disposes over a position endowed with an outstanding amount of political capital, the Party Executive Committee will follow him without objections. If the party leader has a rather weak position, many things can change in the Party Executive Committee (IP 13). For example, there were votes about the Minister of Environment in spe, as the ÖVP re-entered government under the party leader Mock in 1987, which can be attributed to the weak power position of Mock at the time (IP 8). Overall, however, the position of the party leader is strong. As a result, open discussions and votes are usually rare in the board (IP 8). Only sometimes did the board not approve one or the other minister.

⁷² The Party Executive Committee is responsible for the "overall coordination of the party, the long-term topics and the creation and realization of political strategies" (in German: "Gesamtkoordination der Partei, die langfristige Themenführerschaft und die Erarbeitung und Umsetzung politischer Strategien") (ÖVP 2007, 19). It is composed of the national party leader, his/her deputies, the party chairperson of honour, the general secretary or secretaries, the federal head of finances ("Bundesfinanzreferent"), the regional governors who belong to the ÖVP and the chairpersons of the regional party organizations, the chairpersons of the party's sub-organizations ("Teilorganisationen"), the chancellor or vice-chancellor (if they belong to the ÖVP), the ministers and state secretaries of the ÖVP, the Chairperson of the Parliamentary Group in the National Assembly ("Klubobmann" or "Klubobfrau"), the Chairperson of the ÖVP-Faction in the Federal Assembly, the presidents of the National Assembly (if they are members of the ÖVP), the ÖVP-Head of the Delegation ("Delegationsleiter") in the European Parliament, and each one representative of the coalition of municipalities and towns ("Gemeinde- und Städtebund") (ÖVP 2007, 18-19).

(2) The Pivotal Agents

2.1. The Party Leader

The party leaders often changed in the ÖVP – much more often than in the SPÖ. In the governmental years from 1966 to 1970 and from 1987 to 2006, the party leaders included: Josef Klaus (1963-1970), Alois Mock (1979-1989), Josef Riegler (1989-1991), Erhard Busek (1991-1995), and Wolfgang Schüssel (1995-2007). The recruitment processes are influenced by the different personalities of the party leaders (IP 9); every party leader has its own recruitment style (IP 10) and sets his own accents (IP 8). Overall, however, there are not any fundamental differences in the recruitments of the different party leaders (IP 8; IP 12; IP 13).

Josef Klaus (1963-1970)

Josef Klaus emphasized two features, the regional parties (IP 8; IP 13; IP 12) and the Union of Catholic Austrian Student Fraternities (ÖCV). The latter had a considerable impact because Klaus himself was member of the organization (IP 13). Typical examples of Klaus' recruitments are Alois Mock and Heinrich Neisser, who represented a kind of “*Klaus-group*”, were both members of the ÖCV and worked in his cabinet before their governmental participation (IP 8). The influence of the leagues and the regional parties was pronounced during the majority government of Klaus (cabinet Klaus II, 1966-1970) (IP 12). The cabinets of Klaus mirrored the spectrum of the regional parties and the leagues in the ÖVP – quite the contrary to his promoted new style of “*factualness*” (in German “*Sachlichkeit*”) (Pelinka 2001, 100). Apart from that, Klaus also took unconventional personnel decisions. This applies to the Minister of Justice Hans Klecatsky (1966⁷³), for example, who was a partyless and hitherto alien in politics. Grete Rehor is another example: She was the first woman to exercise the job of a minister in 1966 (IP 13).

⁷³ The indicated years in brackets represent the years of the first selection as minister.

Alois Mock (1979-1989)

Alois Mock was essentially backed by a group of the ÖCV, a combination of the employees' league ÖAAB and the eastern regional parties. Mock's accents in recruitment were Lower Austria and a party-internal group that backed him (IP 8). Under his party leadership, the belonging to the CV⁷⁴ was strongly relevant. And then there was a group from the Catholic students' organization KHJ/KHG around Styria's governor Josef Krainer jun. and the then leader of the Viennese party Erhard Busek that played a certain role (IP 13). However, Mock knew that he had to make adjustments and considered other party groups as well (IP 8).

Josef Riegler (1989-1991)

Josef Riegler was the rival candidate of Alois Mock in the election of the party leader in 1989. He was strongly supported by those who were opposed to Mock (IP 8). Josef Riegler was not long in office; hence, a specific recruitment style cannot be established.

Erhard Busek (1991-1995)

Erhard Busek was mainly backed by Styria and several other regional parties (IP 13). His party leadership was contentious from the beginning (Weissensteiner 2004a). There were inner-party tensions, which were chiefly fuelled by an ultra-conservative party faction, the so-called "Stahlhelmfraktion", which mainly had its centre in the employees' league ÖAAB and the regional party Lower Austria (Munzinger-Archiv Online 2002). Busek's leeway in the recruitment processes was limited as a governmental team was already in place, when he became party leader, and which was more generally due to his rather contentious position in the party. Furthermore, his position in the party was not exactly strengthened after the ÖVP had lost votes in the elections in 1994 (IP 8). Busek was known to foster unconventional political talents, such as Maria Rauch-Kallat (1992) (Munzinger-Archiv Online 2007c).

⁷⁴ The abbreviations ÖCV and CV are used interchangeably.

Wolfgang Schüssel (1995-2007)

Although Schüssel can be attributed – just as Busek before him – to the liberal wing in the party, he quickly gained the support of the conservative faction as well. He managed to unify the disparate party (Pelinka 2003b, 131-134), which strengthened his position in the ÖVP. Schüssel was able to enforce a noticeable centralisation against the interests of the leagues and the regional parties (Munzinger-Archiv Online 2007d). He coined a very sovereign party leadership for many years, virtually without personnel debates about a potential new party leader, until after the elections in 2006 (IP 13). The fact that the ÖVP was in the unique situation to staff the position of the Federal Chancellor in 2000 and won the elections in 2002, strengthened his position even more so that Schüssel probably had the greatest scope in the recruitment processes of all party leaders (IP 8; IP 9). Schüssel partly maintained a very personal recruitment style – as the selection of Ursula Plassnik (2004) illustrates (IP 8) – but was also considerate of party-internal interests (IP 9).

2.2. The Three Leagues (and the Three Chambers)

There are informal rules which have established as concerns the leagues (and the chambers): The economic portfolio is conventionally staffed by someone who climbed the career ladder in the economic league ÖWB and/or the Chamber of Economy (WK(Ö)). The Minister of Agriculture usually stems from the farmers' league ÖBB and/or the Chamber of Agriculture (LWK) (IP 12; IP 13). Hence, the two leagues and the respective chamber are tightly interwoven in the process of selection. The employees' league ÖAAB gets the Ministry of Defence (Steininger 1999, 98). These recruitment practices have lost in influence under the party leadership of Schüssel (IP 8).

The positions of the leagues and their disposal over political capital have changed over time. During the party leadership of Klaus (1963-1970), the leagues were stronger (IP 8). The economic league ÖWB and the farmers' league ÖBB have always been dominant, but also the employees' league ÖAAB was more relevant (IP 12). The extent to which the interests of the three leagues have to be considered has been decreasing (IP 8). Mock was able to stand up against the leagues and limit their power. But, as his position in the ÖVP became weaker and as he became an increasingly contentious figure, he stepped up for their support, which made them even more powerful than before. In his position as absolute ruler, Schüssel managed to cut down the influence of the leagues to a moderate

degree (Frank 2008, 18). The declining influence of the ÖBB and the ÖWB can also be attributed to the decreasing shares of the represented in society, i.e. peasants and entrepreneurs (IP 3; see also: Nick/Pelinka 1996/1993, 79). The relations between the three leagues have also changed in so far, as they could be described as more balanced under Klaus, which is not the case today. That the ÖBB has always been a relatively strong recruitment pool and that its position exceeds the share of the population it represents nowadays (IP 12; IP 3; IP 10; IP 13) can also be attributed to the organizational strength of the ÖBB in the electoral districts. Good organizations on-site are needed to win the direct mandates of the electoral districts. The ÖBB is locally well rooted and so well organized in this aspect that others barely have a chance (IP 10). One interviewee contends that the ÖWB and the ÖBB have always been dominant of the three leagues and that the ÖAAB has completely lost relevance (IP 12). Another interviewee, on the other hand, characterizes the power relations between the leagues as the ÖBB as the strongest, succeeded by the ÖAAB and then the ÖWB (IP 10). Nick/Pelinka (1996/1993, 79) state that the ÖAAB has – as concerns the positions to be staffed – gained terrain vis-à-vis the other two leagues since about the middle and the end of the 1970s.

2.3. The Pivotal Regional Parties

A very strong established practice is that Lower Austria – a political stronghold of the ÖVP (Bruckmüller 1995, 613) – has to be represented in government by a delegate (IP 8). Then representatives of the “west” should be included in government (IP 8; IP 10; IP 12). The regional parties of the “west” have to be conceived as somewhat entity, which includes Salzburg, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg (IP 8). Another interviewee also comprises Carinthia in the definition (IP 10).

The party leader has to consider the essential regional parties in the distribution of governmental seats (IP 10). In contrast to Nick/Pelinka (1996/1993, 79) who state that the regional parties could improve their power position in the party since the 1980s, several interviewees profess that the political capital of the regional parties has been declining (IP 8; IP 12): Several regional parties experienced electoral defeats and were only second in elections. Due to these defeats in the external struggles with other political parties, the agents were also considerably weakened in their position within the party. Formerly, the positions occupied by the different regional parties were about equal. Today, several regional parties have considerably lost in significance, whereas others are still relevant. A

certain oligarchic structure has thus evolved. As concerns the elective force of the ÖVP, Vienna, Burgenland and Carinthia are three hopeless states. Styria and Salzburg are former political strongholds of the ÖVP, but have lost in relevance. The most stable as concerns the securing of voters and hence also the most powerful regions are Lower and Upper Austria. Today, all the regional party leaders observe national politics from a distance and do not interfere any more – even those, who still dispose over electoral majorities like Tyrol or Vorarlberg. The national party leader has to take notice of that. No party leader can win a power game against the regional parties, even if they are not strong anymore (IP 12).

(3) Conclusion

The hypothesis that it is the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces, which mainly determine the selection processes in political recruitment, still need to be discussed for the recruitment processes in all parties in Chapter 7. However, the exploration of the hypothesis in this section has shown that the hypothesis is correct in the case of the ÖVP.

II. The Side of the Recruited

The following section focuses on the career paths in the ÖVP and the relevant networks. The different party groups, institutions and organizations which constitute a political career in the ÖVP will subsequently be referred to as “career institutions” for pragmatic reasons. The positions which are held in the course of a political career, i.e. in these “career institutions”, are termed “career positions” further on for pragmatic reasons as well. The career institutions and positions were identified by the literature and the ongoing search for patterned structures in the biographical material.

In this section, two methodical tools will be employed: The first one quantitatively refers to all politicians who held positions in one of the career institutions and/or the networks. The second method qualitatively identifies the main affiliations to or career centres in career institutions (and thus specific party groups) and/or networks of the politicians by

requiring a certain quantity or a certain hierarchical level of the held positions or a full-time job executed during a certain time⁷⁵.

(1) The Career Paths in the ÖVP

The data analysis showed that all of the ÖVP-ministers held so-called career positions. Females had 5.0 and men 6.5 career positions on average. Similarly, all of the politicians pertained over one or several affiliation(s), whereby the average affiliations was 1.6 for the females and 2.2 for the males⁷⁶. The research criteria indicated here generally aim to peruse whether women and men pertain over different capital and resources. Due to the low entity of females involved here, however, this remains to be seen in a more general analysis including all ministers and will be conducted in Chapter 7.

The following table and figure (Table 17, Figure 15) should give a rough overview over the relevant career institutions and provide a first glance at the possible sex/gender differences in these. The indicated shares of held positions in each career institution refer to the sum of career positions achieved by females and males respectively before their take-over of the first post in government as minister. The indicated percentage values have to be handled prudently, as – it was already mentioned – the entity of females is low.

Table 17: Previous Career Positions in Relation to the Sum of Previous Career Positions

	Females		Males	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Networks	0	0%	23	12%
Party	7	16%	42	21%
Women's Organization	10	22%	0	0%
Other Party's Sub-Organizations	0	0%	0	0%
State	16	36%	52	26%
ÖWB	0	0%	14	7%
ÖBB	0	0%	14	7%
ÖAAB	6	13%	15	8%
Chamber of Economy	0	0%	20	10%
Chamber of Agriculture	0	0%	8	4%
Christian Union's Faction	1	2%	1	1%
Unions & Workers' Councils	4	9%	8	4%
Association of Industrialists	0	0%	2	1%
Social Security Agencies	0	0%	1	1%
Chamber of Labour	1	2%	0	0%
OVERALL SUM	45	100%	200	100%

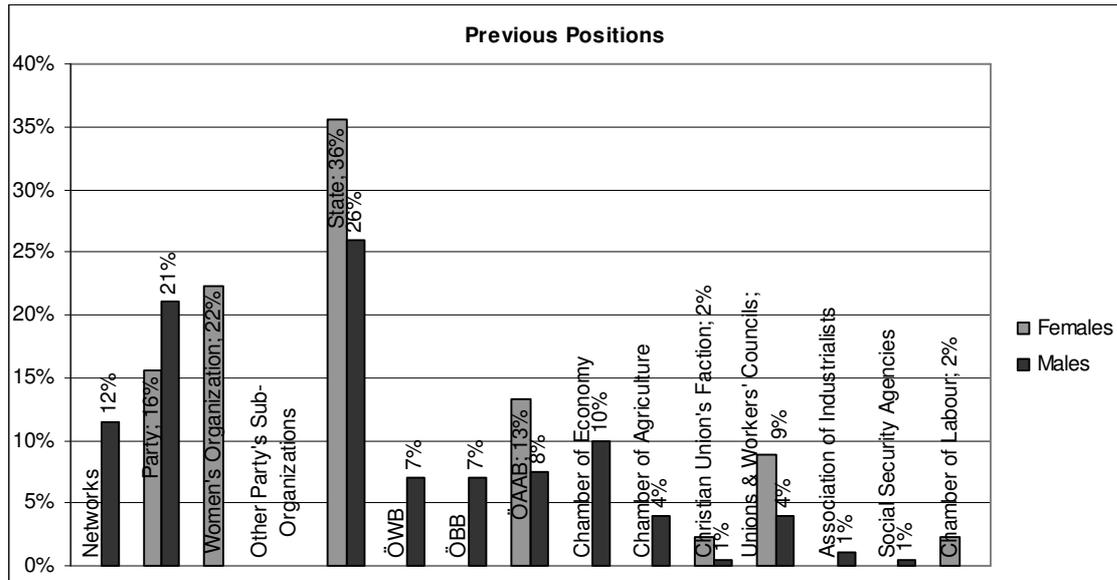
Notes: ÖWB = Economic League; ÖBB = Farmers' League; ÖAAB = Employees' League

Source: Own statistics

⁷⁵ For more detail on the empirical undertaking, please see Appendix 1.

⁷⁶ The indicated averages of executed functions or of affiliations include network positions or affiliations to networks and refer to the respective entities of all female and male ministers of this party.

Figure 15: Previous Career Positions in Relation to the Sum of Previous Career Positions



As can be seen in the graph above, females executed most posts in the order state, Women's Organization, party, employees' league ÖAAB, unions and workers' councils, Christian Union's Faction (FCG), and Chamber of Labour. Men, on the other hand, also fulfilled most of their previous achievements in the state. This rank is succeeded by the party, the networks, the Chamber of Economy, the employees' leagues ÖABB, the economic league ÖWB and the farmers' league ÖBB, the Chamber of Agriculture, the unions, the Christian Union's Faction (FCG), the social security agencies, and the Association of Industrialists (VÖI). Other party's sub-organizations other than the Women's Organization like the association of the young JVP or the association for the retirees ÖSB obviously do not play any role; none of the concerned politicians had a position in these.

The political career is hence composed of positions in networks, the party (such as the party itself and the women's organization), the state, the leagues (ÖAAB, ÖWB, ÖBB), the Chambers of Economy and of Agriculture. In the Conservative Union's Faction and the unions, the Association of Industrialists, the social security agencies and the Chamber of Labour, functions were held as well, but only minimally, however.

After identifying the relevant career institutions of a political career in the ÖVP, I aimed to identify how the positions in those are *typically* interrelated. The development of career types was empirically supported by two means: Firstly, the biographical data was scanned for recurring patterns in a qualitative analysis. Secondly, two correlations and a factor

analysis were carried out in SPSS⁷⁷. In the classification process, functions in networks were not regarded as a fully pronounced political career cannot be fulfilled there; only full-time jobs in those were considered. In the following, the career types are presented with their *typical* career paths and positions. Hence, for example, state functions are treated within the first career type through the party as party and state positions are typically combined in a political career. Politicians coming through the other career type, basically composed of the social partners, often had state posts as well, but typically not as many. The numbers that will be presented in the following represent the qualitatively identified affiliations or career centres of the politicians to the respective career institutions. In each of the career paths, the biography of a woman and a man who were affiliated to the respective party group will be given as examples, if possible.

1.1. The First Career Type

The first career type involves positions in the party, the state and the Women's Organization. No post was – as already mentioned – held in a party's sub-organization other than the Women's Organization, i.e. the association of the young JVP and the association for the retirees ÖSB, which points to their irrelevance. Similarly, no functions in the political apparatus were executed and only one (!) position overall was held in the party on the level of the European Union.

In the following table and the graph, the respective affiliations respectively the main career centres of the ÖVP-ministers of the first career type are shown. The categories were chiefly built according to the main selecting agents in the recruitment processes. The presentation of the career paths hence reflects the strength of the respective selectors in the recruitment processes. Accordingly, the categories include national (party) politics, regional (party) politics, and the women's organization. In the classification, state and party positions on the same territorial level were combined in a category, as the party is responsible for the staffing of both. The holding of all positions below the regional level were subsumed under regional (party) politics.

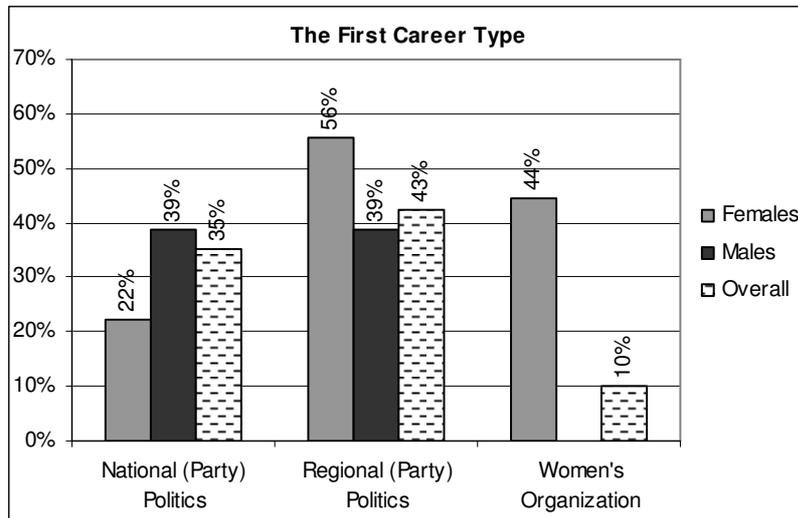
⁷⁷ For further detail on this empirical undertaking, please see Appendix 1.

Table 18: The First Career Type

	Females		Males		Overall	
National (Party) Politics	2	22%	12	39%	14	35%
Regional (Party) Politics	5	56%	12	39%	17	43%
Women's Organization	4	44%	0	0%	4	10%
n	9		31		40	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 16: The First Career Type



Notes: In the figures in this chapter, the percentage values are indicated in order to make the relations between females and males easier visible. However, it should be kept in mind that the involved entity of females (9) is low and can easily lead to a distorted picture as concerns the percentage values. That is why the nominal numbers are always indicated as well.

Overall, local and regional (party) politics is most represented, followed by national (party) politics and the Women's Organization. This finding mirrors the strength of the (pivotal) regional parties in the selection processes.

The data proposes that women are rather affiliated to the regional or the local levels than to national (party) politics, seen in comparison to men. The Women's Organization is – of course – a career path only for females; its overall significance (10 %) is low, though.

In the following, the typical career paths via the regional and the national level and via the Women's Organization will be presented:

Regional and Local (Party) Politics

Most of the politicians with an affiliation to local and regional (party) politics are rooted in Lower Austria (5 of 17), followed by Styria (4). Vienna, Vorarlberg, and Tyrol each have two representatives, Carinthia and Burgenland have one each. The five women are dispersed to Lower Austria, Styria, Vienna, Vorarlberg, and Tyrol. However, the

representational interests may also be fulfilled by a politician *who is personally rooted* in the federal state. The following numbers hence show the regional distribution of all politicians:

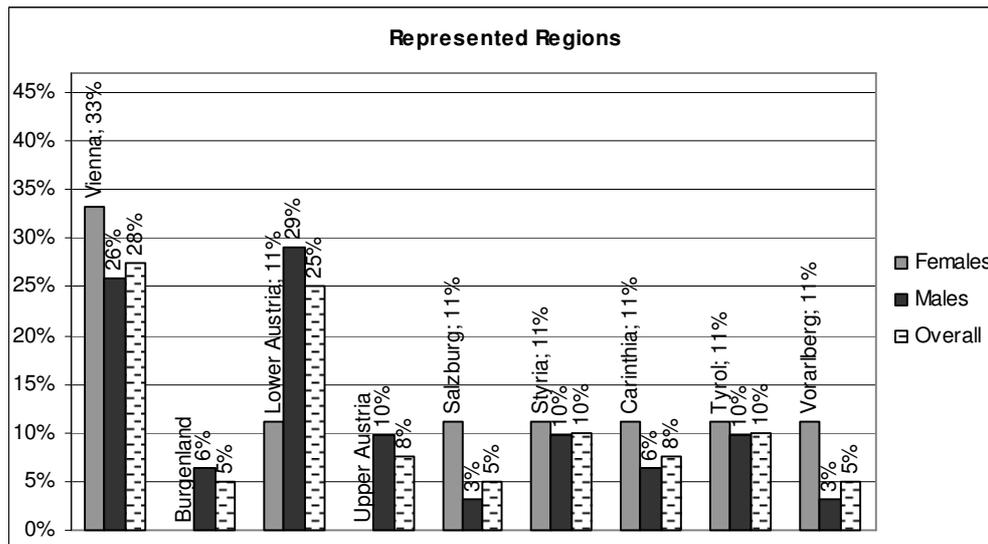
Table 19: Represented Regions by Ministers

	Females		Males		Overall	
Vienna	3	33%	8	26%	11	28%
Burgenland	0	0%	2	6%	2	5%
Lower Austria	1	11%	9	29%	10	25%
Upper Austria	0	0%	3	10%	3	8%
Salzburg	1	11%	1	3%	2	5%
Styria	1	11%	3	10%	4	10%
Carinthia	1	11%	2	6%	3	8%
Tyrol	1	11%	3	10%	4	10%
Vorarlberg	1	11%	1	3%	2	5%
n	9		31		40	

Notes: In the classification, the regional parties that could be identified as affiliations were taken first. Double entries were thus possible (when a person had affiliations to more than one regional party). Only for the ministers who did not have any affiliations to regional parties, the region of the place of residence during the childhood and youth was then taken instead. For more details on the empirical endeavour, see Appendix 1.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 17: Represented Regions by Ministers



Each about a quarter of the ministers either represents Vienna or Lower Austria. Tyrol, Styria, Upper Austria, and Carinthia follow with shares of 8 and 10 %. All others are only marginally represented; namely Burgenland, Salzburg, and Vorarlberg. Of the females, three can be attributed to Vienna. Apart from Burgenland and Upper Austria, all other regions are represented with one woman each. The distribution of the ministers to the regions corresponds only partly to the power structure of the regional parties: Vienna, a traditional political stronghold of the SPÖ, is only represented with about a quarter. Lower Austria also shows up – as a traditional stronghold of the ÖVP – with a quarter. Styria, a

former strong region of the ÖVP, shows a value of 10 %. One of the most stable regions, though, Upper Austria and the former political stronghold Salzburg are not represented by great proportions. In the following, Ruth Feldgrill-Zankel will present the example of the female and Erhard Busek the example of the male minister who were affiliated to the regional level.

The Case of the Woman: Ruth Feldgrill-Zankel (1991⁷⁸)

Ruth Feldgrill-Zankel grew up in Styria. Her father was occupied as industrial clerk, while her mother stayed at home. Feldgrill-Zankel pursued diploma studies in economics. She married twice and has one child. After working as referee in the *Wiener Institut für Standortberatung* and as journalist, Feldgrill-Zankel was occupied as press referee in the ÖVP in Styria. After that, she was employed as head of the public relations in the municipality in Graz in Styria for about 13 years. Only in 1987 did her political career really kickstart: She was member of the town government of Graz. In the employees' league ÖAAB, she was head of the women in the ÖAAB Styria, deputy leader of the ÖAAB Styria, and deputy leader of the ÖAAB Graz. In 1989, Feldgrill-Zankel was made deputy of the regional party leader in Styria. Hence, Feldgrill-Zankel's power bases are the regional party Styria and the ÖAAB. In 1991, she was recruited by Josef Riegler for the portfolio Environment, Youth and Family. Her career qualifies as a lengthy one ("seniority"). The former party leader Josef Riegler reports that the Minister for Environment, Marilies Flemming, resigned unexpectedly in 1991. Within a day, someone new had to be found. Riegler asked Feldgrill-Zankel, which was a very spontaneous decision. The reasons for her selection were, firstly, she was involved in the area of environment, family, women, and youth. Secondly, he knew her personally and respected her. And thirdly, Riegler wanted to staff this ministerial position with a woman again (interview with Riegler).

The Case of the Man: Erhard Busek (1989)

Erhard Busek originates from Vienna. His father was director of construction and engineer. Busek holds a doctoral level in law. He married⁷⁹ and does not have any children. Busek

⁷⁸ In the brackets, the year of the first selection into government as minister is indicated.

was never occupied in the private sector. Since his graduation, he was employed in the ÖVP, where he fulfilled a long political career. He was rooted in the Viennese regional party, the economic league ÖWB, and in national (party) politics. In the ÖWB, he was general secretary of the organization after he had held several positions. In Vienna, he was governmental member, parliamentary deputy, deputy of the mayor, and party leader of the ÖVP Vienna⁸⁰. In the national party, he served – among other things – as general secretary and deputy of the national party leader. Apart from that, he was involved in several networks: He was member of the Catholic Students' Youth (Katholische Studierend Jugend), the Catholic youth KJS, the students' organization KHJ/KHG, the Catholic academics' association KAV, the academics' association *Akademikerbund* and the partyless youth organization ÖBJR, in which he was first secretary and head in the 1960s. In 1989, he was selected by Josef Riegler for the portfolio "Science and Research". Education was one of the policy fields, with which Busek dealt (Munzinger-Archiv Online 2007a). It can be assumed that Busek's membership in the KHJ/KHG played a certain role for his recruitment as Riegler knew Busek from the organization and as other proponents of the KHJ/KHG, such as Fischler and Schüssel, were also recruited by Riegler as ministers in 1989. Later on, Busek advanced to be the Vice Chancellor and national party leader of the ÖVP in 1991.

National (Party) Politics

In the following, Ursula Plassnik and Heinrich Neisser will serve as the examples of the female and the male who made it via the national level.

The Case of the Woman: Ursula Plassnik (2004)

Ursula Plassnik grew up in a social-democratic family of teachers in Carinthia. She completed her doctoral degree in law. Plassnik married⁸¹ and does not have any children.

⁷⁹ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not whether they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

⁸⁰ The named positions have to be valued as "regional" ones because of Vienna's double status as town and as region.

⁸¹ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not whether they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

Before her governmental position, she was employed in the diplomatic service. She was recruited as Minister of Foreign Affairs by Schüssel in 2004. Prior to the ministerial function, she only executed one career position, namely as head of Schüssel's cabinet, whereby her recruitment can be classified as cross-over. Plassnik was not part of any networks either. Because of her occupation in diplomacy, she had content-related experiences for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, one interviewee assesses that her qualification was not decisive; crucial was that she had been Schüssel's head of cabinet "(...) and he then wanted to reward her with the post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs"⁸² (IP 12). Plassnik is the result of a very personal recruitment; she did not exist politically until then. That she did not pertain over any power bases and was chiefly recruited because of her relation to Schüssel is typical for an affiliation to the national party as well as for the cross-over recruitment pattern. She can serve as example for the great leeway Schüssel had in the recruitment processes (IP 8).

The Case of the Man: Heinrich Neisser (1987)

Heinrich Neisser was born in Vienna. He completed his doctoral studies in law. Neisser married⁸³ and had four children. He was part of several networks: He was member of the Union of Catholic Austrian Secondary School Student Fraternities (MKV), the student fraternity *K.Ö.St.V. Rudolfina* (organized in the ÖCV), the employees' league ÖAAB, and was involved in students' organizations during his time at university. Also, he graduated in an so-called elite school, the *Piaristengymnasium* in Vienna. Neisser was occupied in the Constitutional Court for several years, before working in Josef Klaus' office – who was national party leader and Federal Chancellor at the time – from 1966 onwards. In 1969, he was recruited as state secretary by Josef Klaus. He became the position because he had been Klaus' secretary before and both were tied by a personal relation of trust (interview with Neisser). The fact that Neisser was ÖCV-member was surely helpful for his recruitment: The ÖCV was one of the emphasized features in the personnel selections of Klaus who was part of the ÖCV himself. In fact, Klaus and Neisser were part of the very same student fraternity and knew each other from there (interview with Neisser). Neisser and Alois Mock, who had also been employed in Klaus' cabinet and was ÖCV-member as

⁸² In the original: "(...) und er sie dann belohnen wollte mit dem Außenministerposten."

⁸³ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not whether they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

well, represent a somewhat “*Klaus-group*” (IP 8). Neisser’s incumbency as state secretary ended only one year later in 1970, when the ÖVP went into opposition until 1987. It was then that Neisser was brought into government as Minister of Federalism and Administrative Reform by the then party leader Mock. In between, Neisser was occupied in the judicial area of the state bureaucracy (yet again), had a leading position in the Association of Industrialists (VÖI), was head of the *Österreichischer Management Club*, and was represented in the National Assembly. Neisser’s power bases were the national party and the Association of Industrialists, whereas the former was more decisive. Typical for an affiliation to the national level, Neisser was tied with the party leader Mock through a personal relation of trust; the two had worked with each other in Klaus’ office. Originally, Neisser was foreseen as Minister of Science because he had served as the ÖVP’s speaker for science before. In the decisive session of the Party Executive Committee, however, the regional party Styria represented by its regional governor Krainer jun. demanded Hans Tuppy for the position. Tuppy was a personal friend of Krainer and a well-respected university professor. Finally, Tuppy became Minister of Science, whereas Mock enforced Neisser as minister in the Federal Chancellery (interview with Neisser). Neisser was qualified for his portfolio “Federalism and Administrative Reform” because of his legal knowledge.

The Women’s Organization (ÖFB)

The women’s organization ÖFB is territorially structured like the party organization. It only served as career booster for females, for obvious reasons. This includes Grete Rehor, Marilies Flemming, Maria Rauch-Kallat, and Elisabeth Gehrler.

The Case of the Woman: Maria Rauch-Kallat (1992)

Maria Rauch-Kallat is the daughter of Viennese pub owners. After completing the A-levels, she underwent a vocational training to be a teacher in lower secondary schools. Rauch-Kallat married twice and has two children. She worked as a teacher in lower secondary schools for 15 years and then had a leading position in the relief organization *Hilfswerk*, which is politically related to the ÖVP, until her recruitment to government. Rauch-Kallat is part of several networks, like the female student fraternity *Walcueria*

Güssing (organized in the VfM), the economic league ÖWB, the employees' league ÖAAB, the women's organization ÖFB, and the interest group Christian Teachers (Christliche Lehrerschaft). The women's organization worked as career booster for Rauch-Kallat: After holding several positions, she finally became head of the ÖFB Vienna in 1988. During the 1980s she held a seat in the Federal Assembly for some years and was delegate in the regional parliament of Vienna. In 1992, she was appointed as deputy of the regional party leader in Vienna. In the same year, Rauch-Kallat was – after a long political career – selected for the Ministry of Environment, Youth and Family (later only Environment) by Busek. Rauch-Kallat is versed in the social area, in which the portfolios family and youth are located, through her work experience. Also, she was amongst the protesters against the power plant in the *Hainburger Au* and against the nuclear power plant in *Zwentendorf*, which represent the central events of the upcoming environmental movement in Austria. Busek and Rauch-Kallat were tied through a personal relation of trust; Busek was Rauch-Kallat's mentor. Busek supported unconventional political talents such as Rauch-Kallat (Munzinger-Archiv Online 2007c). She executed the ministerial function until 1995 and then left the government. Unusual is that she was recruited as minister again after several years passed: From 2003 to 2006 she served as Minister for Health and Women, for which she was selected by the then party leader Wolfgang Schüssel. She was general secretary and national leader of the Women's Organization at the time. The Women's Organization had exerted pressure to include Rauch-Kallat into government (IP 10).

1.2. The Second Career Type

The second career type involves positions in the Chambers of Agriculture (LWK), of Economy (WKÖ), and of Labour (AK), the leagues (ÖAAB, ÖWB, ÖBB), the Christian Union's Faction (FCG), the unions and workers' councils, the Association of Industrialists (VÖI), and the social security agencies. The Chambers of Agriculture and of Economy represent institutions of the social partnership, which are dominated by the ÖVP or the economic league ÖWB and the farmers' league ÖBB, respectively. The employees' league ÖAAB operates in the Chamber of Labour and the FCG in the ÖGB and was defeated by the factions of the SPÖ in the two institutions in terms of their strength (Pelinka 2003a, 542). The Association of Industrialists is an association without compulsory membership and has established as relevant player besides the four original agents in the social

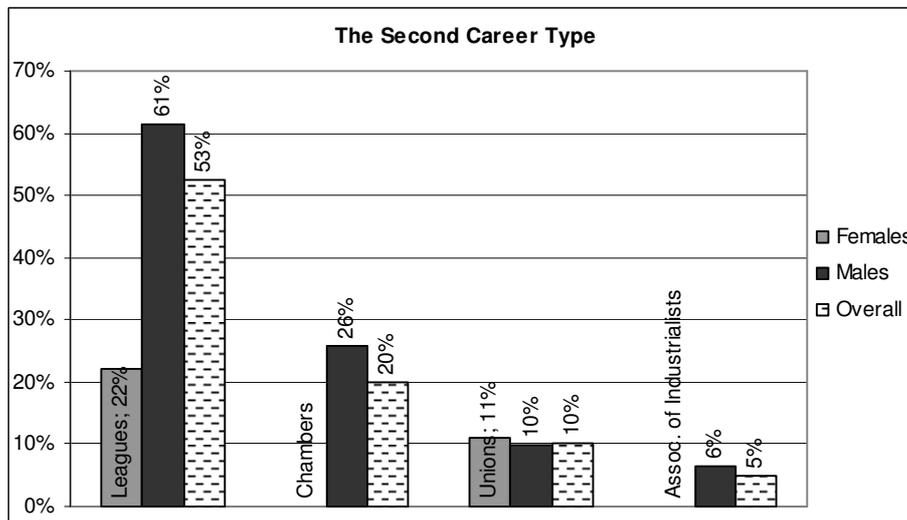
partnership (Karlhofer 2001, 14; Pelinka 2003a, 541). The representatives of the social security agencies are nominated by the social partners (Tálos 1997, 571; Schmid 2000). The common denominator of this career type is thus the social partnership. Below, the major affiliations (or career centres) of the politicians of this type are depicted:

Table 20: The Second Career Type

	Females		Males		Overall	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Leagues	2	22%	19	61%	21	53%
Chambers	0	0%	8	26%	8	20%
Unions	1	11%	3	10%	4	10%
Association of Industrialists	0	0%	2	6%	2	5%
n	9		31		40	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 18: The Second Career Type



Overall, about half of the ministers can be affiliated to the leagues, followed by a fifth rooted in the chambers. Only a tenth is affiliated to the unions, and a minor share belongs to the Association of Industrialists. The chambers in this graph only represent the Chamber of Economy and the Chamber of Agriculture. Although several ministers – only a marginal proportion, however – was present in the Chamber of Labour and the social security agencies, institutions dominated by the SPÖ – both did not figure as power centres for any of the ministers. This is why, the social security agencies do not appear in the graph. Similarly, none of the ministers had an affiliation to the Christian Union's Faction (FCG), wherefore it is excluded from the data presentation as well. The career paths mirror the strong position of the leagues (and of the chambers) as selectors.

The few women who managed to come through the second career type were affiliated to the leagues and the unions, whereas the data suggests that disproportionately more men

ascended via the leagues. The chambers and the Association of Industrialists are completely dominated by male ministers.

The Leagues, the Chambers, and the Unions

Three main career paths which are each tied to one of the leagues can be further identified: Firstly, positions in the economic league ÖWB and the Chamber of Economy and, secondly, functions in the farmers' league ÖBB and the Chamber of Agriculture are tied to each other⁸⁴ as the respective league and chamber are tightly interwoven. The following can serve as an example for the close cooperation of the two institutions: The statute of the ÖBB, which is a party-internal organization, grants the delegates of the Chamber of Agriculture, a public interest group, participation in the national executive committee of the farmers' league. Similarly, the top officials of the Chamber of Economy can be found on high levels of the economic league at the same time. The president of the Federal Chamber of Economy often is chairperson of the economic league and as such deputy of the party leader of the ÖVP and holder of a secure place on the party list for the National Assembly (Pelinka 1970, 538-539).

The third career path via the employees' league (ÖAAB) is tied to positions in the unions, the Christian Union's Faction (FCG), and the Chamber of Labour (AK)⁸⁵. Ministers held positions in the FCG and the Chamber of Labour only to a minimal extent and none of the politicians had an affiliation to one of them, as already mentioned before. In the case of the Chamber of Labour this is due to the fact that the chamber is dominated by the SPÖ – similarly to the unions, to which only few ministers were affiliated. Indeed, most ministers climbing the career ladder via this career path accomplished a career in the league itself. The social security agencies do not really fit into one of the career paths as only one function overall (!) was held there: This applies to Otto Mitterer (whose biography will shortly be presented on the pages ahead) and who came through the career path via the ÖWB & the Chamber of Economy.

⁸⁴ Positions in the Chamber of Agriculture and the farmers' league ÖBB are significantly positively correlated in both calculations of correlations (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b and using the correlation coefficient Phi and Cramér's V).

⁸⁵ Positions in the named institutions were all significantly positively correlated to each other, except for the ÖAAB and the Chamber of Labour, in both calculations of correlations (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b and using the correlation coefficient Phi and Cramér's V). Also, positions in the Christian Union's Faction (FCG), the unions, the Chamber of Labour – and to a lesser extent – the ÖAAB resulted in one factor in the factor analysis, which had the explained variance of 78.1 %.

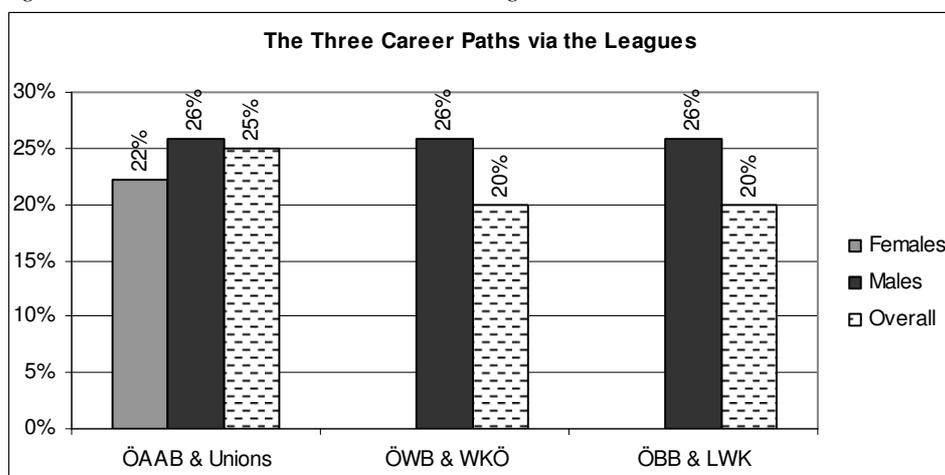
In the following, the belonging of the politicians to the three bundled career paths with their respective affiliations is presented:

Table 21: The Three Career Paths via the Leagues

	Females		Males		Overall	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
ÖAAB & Unions	2	22%	8	26%	10	25%
ÖWB & WKÖ	0	0%	8	26%	8	20%
ÖBB & LWK	0	0%	8	26%	8	20%
n	9		31		40	

Notes: ÖAAB = Employees' League; ÖWB = Economic League; WKÖ = Chamber of Economy; ÖBB = Farmers' League; LWK = Chamber of Agriculture
Source: Own statistics

Figure 19: The Three Career Paths via the Leagues



As the graph above shows, the path through the ÖAAB and the unions slightly dominates with a quarter. The ÖWB and the ÖBB and the respective chamber are each represented with a fifth. This finding does not reflect the view of a respondent (IP 12) that the ÖAAB has lost its relevance as pivotal party group in the processes of selection. The strong position of the ÖAAB as recruitment pool may also be due to the fact that it has been dominated by public sector employees until now who dominated politics in general due to their comparative advantage in politics because of their public position (IP 13).

Interestingly, women only originate from the ÖAAB (2 of 9 females): Grete Rehor and Ruth Feldgrill-Zankel. Apart from not being affiliated to one of these organizations, not even one of the females was staffed with only one position in the economic league ÖWB, the farmers' league ÖBB, the Chamber of Economy, or the Chamber of Agriculture. Apart from one woman in the ÖAAB, all of the ministers who held positions in the different leagues can be affiliated to the respective organization.

It seems that representatives of the leagues are strongly represented in the party and the state – maybe more strongly than in the SPÖ. For example, positions in the party and the

farmers' league ÖBB resulted in one factor in the factor analysis and are significantly positively correlated⁸⁶. State positions and functions in the ÖAAB were also part of one factor in the factor analysis. Furthermore, it is interesting that positions in the party and the unions bear a significant negative correlation to each other – just as in the SPÖ⁸⁷.

In the following, examples of life courses will be given for all three career paths via the leagues. As a female only came through the career path of the ÖAAB & the unions at all, it will be the only organization represented with a female and a male biography.

The Career Path via the ÖAAB & the Unions – The Case of the Woman: Grete Rehor (1966)

Grete Rehor was born in Vienna. After the death of her father, she grew up in a rather poor background. Rehor was widowed and had one child. Her highest educational status was a graduation in an Intermediate Technical and Vocational School. Rehor was involved in the Catholic Girls' Movement (Katholische Mädchenbewegung). In the 1920s, she worked as employee of the textile industry, before changing into the Association of the Christian Textile Workers (Zentralverband der christlichen Textilarbeiter) on a full-time basis. After the Second World War, she began to work in the Union of Textile, Clothing and Leather Workers, where she held several positions. Among the highest functions was the deputy leadership of the union (since 1956). Typically, she was also attributed with higher posts in the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB). Her career in the unions was – classic for this career path – tied to leading functions in the ÖAAB. From 1948 to 1971, for example, she was deputy of the national leader of the ÖAAB. Not only the Union of Textile, Clothing and Leather Workers and the ÖAAB represented power bases, but also the Women's Organization, in which she became deputy of the national leader in 1960. Besides, Rehor held positions in the party, the state and – very unusual for the ÖVP – also the Chamber of Labour; however marginally. Clearly, she experienced a lengthy political career. In 1966, Josef Klaus recruited her into the Ministry of Social Administration. She was the first woman in Austria to be a minister. The ÖWB successfully fought the original candidate foreseen for the portfolio, Karl Kummer (Kaps 2006). According to an

⁸⁶ This result was achieved in the calculation of the sum of previous career positions (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b).

⁸⁷ This result was achieved in both calculations of correlations (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b and using the correlation coefficient Phi and Cramér's V).

interviewee, the reason for Rehor's recruitment lies therein that the ÖAAB logically claimed the portfolio for itself and that she was a very engaged woman: "*She matched the profile of a Minister of Social Affairs somehow. She was a blue-collar worker, she was war widow, she worked her way up by herself and was so to say a political climber*⁸⁸." (IP 12). Mainly the representational interests of the ÖAAB as well as of the unions were satisfied by her recruitment. Decisive for Rehor's recruitment is certainly not only the fact that she was a woman, but that she represented the ÖAAB (Steininger 1995a, 480). Further reasons for her selection were her long parliamentary experience and her good relations with Klaus as well as her rooting in the Women's Organization. Maybe some hoped that the SPÖ – which had had a monopoly over the portfolio of Social Affairs until then – would behave more gentleman-like in the face of a woman (Steininger 1995a, 480-481).

The Career Path via the ÖAAB & the Unions – The Case of the Man: Georg Prader (1964)

Georg Prader's father was a director of a school. Prader held a doctoral degree in law. He married⁸⁹ and had four children. He was involved in the Union of Catholic Austrian Secondary School Student Fraternities (MKV), the famous student fraternity *K.A.V. Norica Wien* (organized in the ÖCV), the Catholic Youth (KJ), the economic league ÖAAB, the unions, and the academics association *Akademikerbund*. Also, he graduated in a so-called "elite school", the *Stiftsgymnasium Seitenstetten*. After the Second World War, he worked as civil servant in the bureaucratic apparatus of Lower Austria for about twenty years. He was active in the workers' council of his workplace, whose head he soon became. After that, he was delegate in the Federal and in the National Assembly, was head of a local party organization in Lower Austria and began to climb the career ladder within the ÖAAB. As leader of the ÖAAB's section of the civil servants of Lower Austria, he respectively the electoral list of the ÖAAB-FCG was extremely successful in the elections for the staff committee in 1962. Under his leadership, the group of the civil servants became the dominating power within the ÖAAB Lower Austria and evolved into a critical recruitment pool of top politicians of the ÖVP (Mertens 1995, 455). In 1967, he finally

⁸⁸ In the original: "*Also irgendwie passte sie in das Profil eines Sozialministers. Sie war Arbeiterin, sie war Kriegerwitwerin, hat sich selbst in die Höhe gearbeitet und war sozusagen ein politischer Aufsteigertyp.*"

⁸⁹ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not whether they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

became regional leader of the ÖAAB Lower Austria. He had fulfilled seniority, when he was recruited for the Ministry of Defence by Klaus in 1964. Prader had the necessary qualification for the job, as he had been officer during the Second World War. For his recruitment, the interests of the regional party Lower Austria (Munzinger-Archiv Online 1985) as well as of the ÖAAB played a part (IP 12).

*The Career Path via the ÖWB & the Chamber of Economy – The Case of the Man:
Otto Mitterer (1968)*

Otto Mitterer came from an old Viennese merchant's family. He completed his A-levels and was educated as a merchant. Mitterer took over the family business, a wholesale clock trade. He was married⁹⁰ and had a child. Mitterer's power bases were the economic league ÖWB and the Chamber of Economy: After holding several positions, he was appointed head of the trade section in the Chamber of Economy in Vienna. In the ÖWB, he was – among other things – deputy leader of the ÖWB Vienna and then Vice President of the national organization. Besides, he was member in the general assembly in the Health Insurance Agency of the Merchants (Krankenkasse der Kaufmannschaft), an institution of the social security agencies. Also, he served as delegate in the Federal as well as in the National Assembly. Mitterer fulfilled seniority in his political career. In 1968, he was staffed as Minister of Trade, Business and Industry by Josef Klaus. He had pleaded for himself to be a minister in a conversation in 1966, but Klaus had refuted him first. In 1968, Klaus had to take him due to pressure of the Chamber of Economy: "*Sallinger [the then President of the Chamber of Economy and the head of the ÖWB; note V.S.] then came and said: 'Mitterer will become minister. And that's that!'*"⁹¹ (IP 12).

⁹⁰ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not whether they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

⁹¹ In the original: "*Der Sallinger ist dann gekommen und hat gesagt, 'Der Mitterer wird es. Basta.'*"

*The Career Path via the ÖBB & the Chamber of Agriculture – The Case of the Man:
Josef Riegler (1987)*

Josef Riegler came from a hill farming family in Styria. He holds a diploma degree in Agriculture. Riegler married⁹² and has two children. Before his change into fulltime politics, he was occupied as a teacher and then as a director in an agricultural school, a so-called “Fachschule”. Riegler was part of several networks: the Union of Catholic Austrian Secondary School Student Fraternities (MKV), the Catholic Youth (KJÖ), and the Catholic students’ organization KHJ/KHG. Riegler’s power bases were the *Katholische Aktion* (KA), the farmers’ league ÖBB and the regional party Styria: Within the ÖBB, he was head of the Styrian and the national organization, consecutively. He served as general secretary in the *Katholische Aktion* Styria and was member of government in Styria. Besides, he was member of the National Assembly. After fulfilling seniority in his career, he was recruited as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry by Mock in 1987. In 1989, he advanced to the position of the Vice Chancellor and the national party leader. Riegler was not only qualified for the agricultural portfolio because of his education and vocation, he had also served as speaker for agriculture for the ÖVP and had been governmental member for agriculture and forestry in Styria. His belonging to the students’ organization KHJ/KHG might have played a role as under Mock a group of this organization became relevant (IP 13).

The Association of Industrialists (VÖI)

The Association of Industrialists is an interest association of the Austrian industry. The membership is – in contrast to the chambers – not compulsory. Its position is not characterized by a huge number of members, but by its financial strength. The most important industrial enterprises are members, with the exception of the state-owned industry sector, whose significance is in demise since the middle of the 1980s anyways. It is regularly financing the parties; often the ÖVP, but since 1993 also the FPÖ, which was redirected to the LIF (Liberales Forum) afterwards (Pelinka 2003a, 541), which does not exist anymore, though. Since the middle of the 1980s, the significance of the Association

⁹² In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not whether they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

of Industrialists rose significantly (Fink 2006, 454). As concerns issues of salaried employees, for example, the Chamber of Agriculture does not play a role anymore; its place in the social partnership has been taken by the Association of Industrialists (Karlhofer 2001, 14). An affiliation to the Association of Industrialists represents a somewhat exceptional case⁹³. Only two men held posts in the Association of Industrialists; both of them can be affiliated to the organization (which represents 5 % overall): Heinrich Neisser and Johannes Ditz. For both, other criteria were probably more helpful in the career advancement than the leading position in the Association of Industrialists.

The Case of the Man: Johannes Ditz (1995)

Johannes Ditz' parents were storeowners. Ditz married⁹⁴ and has three children. After he had completed his doctoral studies in economics, he began to work in the Association of Industrialists for a year, as referee of the department of finance. After that, he was employed in the national party, first as economic referee, then as head of the economic department. He became a member of the ÖVP directly – he established the ÖWB as his power base only later. The former ÖVP-politician Kurt Bergmann told him: “*You idiot, you will surely never become anything, if you do not belong to any league.*”⁹⁵ (Die ganze Woche 1995). Robert Graf, Minister of Economy from 1987 to 1989, was his mentor. From 1987 to 1988, he was State Secretary of Finance, as such recruited by the then party leader Alois Mock. After that he held the position of the deputy of the general secretary and of the general secretary in the ÖWB, was represented in the National Assembly, and was state secretary again from 1991 to 1995, yet under the party leader Erhard Busek. In 1995, he became – after a long political career – Minister of Economy under the party leader Schüssel. Ditz was qualified for the portfolio by his studies and his occupation in the economic field and had long parliamentary as well as governmental experience. The Association of Industrialists, the national party, and the ÖWB represented his power bases, whereas the latter two were most probably most decisive for his recruitment. Typical for a Minister of Economy, he was rooted in the ÖWB.

⁹³ The career via the Association of Industrialists resulted in one factor in the factor analysis (explained variance of 78.1 %).

⁹⁴ Because of the double status of Vienna as town and as region, the position of the mayor corresponds to the function of a regional governor.

⁹⁵ In the original: “*Du Trottel, du wirst sicher nie was werden, wenn du bei keinem Bund bist.*”

1.3. Conclusion: The Career Trajectories in the ÖVP and their Sex/Gender Relations

There are two career types in the ÖVP: The first category of careers has its nodal point in the party and involves affiliations to regional and national (party) politics (and hence positions in the party and the state) and to the Women’s Organization. The second career type is composed of career centres in the three leagues (ÖAAB, ÖWB, ÖBB), the Chambers of Economy and of Agriculture (LWK, WKÖ), the unions and workers’ councils, and the Association of Industrialists (VÖI). Hence, the second career type is mainly⁹⁶ located in the ÖVP’s sphere of influence within the social partnership, whereby the leagues chiefly represent the nodal points. The two types were presented as strictly delimited. However, it has to be kept in mind that, for example, state and party posts are also held by many politicians emanating from the social partners. The following data presents the sex/gender implications of the two career types:

Table 22: The Different Career Types

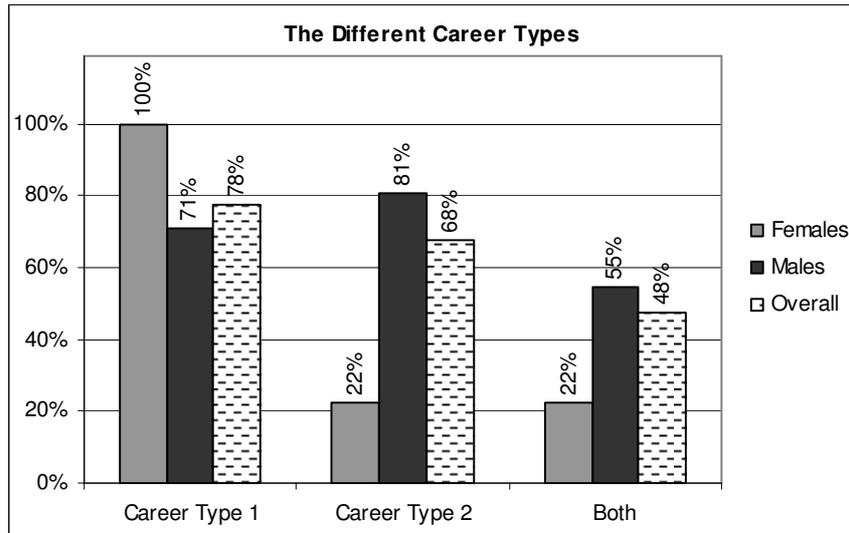
	Females		Males		Overall	
Career Type 1	9	100%	22	71%	31	78%
Career Type 2	2	22%	25	81%	27	68%
Both	2	22%	17	55%	19	48%
n	9		31		40	

Notes: The different career types were produced by summing up the different affiliations or career centres within each career type.

Source: Own statistics

⁹⁶ I employ the adverb “mainly” because this career type also involved – apart from the affiliations named here – functions to the social security agencies, for example. However, the social security agencies can be involved into the corporatist classification because their delegates are nominated by the social partners.

Figure 20: The Different Career Types



The data shows that the first career type with its nodal point in the party slightly prevails over the second career type with its junctions in the leagues or the social partnership, more generally. Pelinka (1970, 538) and Stimmer (1997, 1030), both scrutinizing political careers until the 1970s, contend that careers via the national or regional party are rather scarce in comparison to careers via the leagues and the Christian Union's Faction (FCG) in the ÖVP. This is contested by the results of my study.

The shares propose that more women than men are rooted in the party and that fewer women than men belong to the second career type, i.e. the institutions of the social partnership. What is striking is that the two women rooted in an institution of the social partners were rooted in the party as well. This might mean that (as was already the case in the SPÖ) women need *additional* backing from the party in order to be able to advance in the social partnership.

As we have seen in this chapter, the hypothesis that the typical career paths between females and males differ can be affirmed. The data suggests that the career paths via the economic league ÖWB & the Chamber of Economy as well as via the farmers' league ÖBB & the Chamber of Agriculture were entirely set up by male ministers. Females were only able to ascend via the employees' league ÖAAB & the unions within the second career type. Within the first career type, the national level was also proportionally dominated by men, whereas the contrary applies for local and regional (party) politics. The Women's Organization ÖFB is – for obvious reasons – an exclusively female career ladder.

(2) The Relevance of Social Capital: Networks, In-Groups, and Political Friendships

Social capital by belonging to networks, in-groups or by friendships can be of significance in a political career. It is impossible to scrutinize the belonging to all the formal organizations, affiliated to the ÖVP, let alone the informal ties existent in Austrian politics. Thus, the belonging to, the holding of positions in and the affiliations to only those networks were researched, which were considered as relevant. Those were identified by the literature and by the search for the structured occurrence of specific networks in the biographical material. Despite the thorough research, the data has still to be carefully evaluated, as the concerned information is very difficult to access⁹⁷.

All of the networks affiliated to the ÖVP bring forward a Catholic self-understanding; they only differ in the priority given to the pillars of party and church (Stimmer 1997, 1026). The ÖVP traditionally maintained a close relation to the Church and its religion. When the ÖVP was (re)founded in 1945, it tried to breach with its Christian heritage and its close relation to the Church (John/Weissensteiner 2003b), which resulted in major controversies within the party. However, the dissociation was not successful. John/Weissensteiner (2003b) even detect a stronger tendency of the party towards the Christian elements in the last few years.

All of the men and 8 of 9 females were part of at least one network, whereas females were represented in 2.6 and men in 3.8 networks on average⁹⁸. To make conclusions about sex/gender differences will – because of the low entity of females – only be valuable when all female and male ministers are involved. This will be achieved in Chapter 7. In the subsequent table and figure, the shares of belonging to the researched networks are shown:

Table 23: The Belonging to Networks

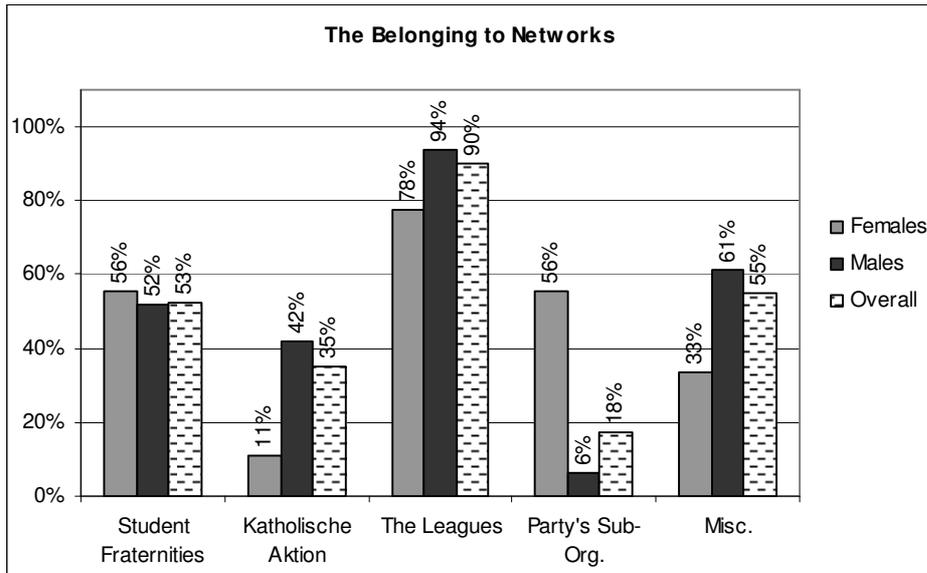
	Females		Males		Overall	
Student Fraternities	5	56%	16	52%	21	53%
Katholische Aktion	1	11%	13	42%	14	35%
The Leagues	7	78%	29	94%	36	90%
Party's Sub-Organizations	5	56%	2	6%	7	18%
Miscellaneous	3	33%	19	61%	22	55%
n	9		31		40	

Source: Own statistics

⁹⁷ See Appendix 1 for more detail.

⁹⁸ The average values refer to the entity of all female or male ÖVP-ministers.

Figure 21: The Belonging to Networks



As can be seen in the graph above, the overwhelming majority was part of one of the leagues (90 %). This number is followed by an affiliation in miscellaneous organizations (55 %), in a student fraternity (53 %), and the organizations of the umbrella organization *Katholische Aktion* (35 %). The last one in the range represents an engagement in a party's sub-organization (18 %), including memberships in the women's organization ÖFB and the party's sub-organization of the young JVP, but not the organization for the retirees ÖSB. As concerns sex/gender relations, the data has to be carefully interpreted due to the low entities of females (9). However, the analysis seems to propose several interesting trends: It indicates that women and men are about equally involved in student fraternities. Also the leagues do not show huge differences as concerns the belonging of women and men. The organizations of the *Katholische Aktion* and "miscellaneous" organizations seem to be disproportionally set up by men. The party's sub-organizations are dominated by women because of their involvement in the women's organization ÖFB. The different named criteria unify different organizations; hence, their sex/gender relations will be specifically treated on the pages ahead.

In the following, the belonging to the different networks, summarized as "miscellaneous" until now, is depicted:

Table 24: The Belonging to “Miscellaneous” Organizations

	Females		Males		Overall	
Schülerunion	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Elite Schools	0	0%	11	35%	11	29%
FCG & Union's Youth	1	11%	4	13%	5	13%
Österreichischer Bundesjugendring	0	0%	1	3%	1	3%
Student Parties	0	0%	5	16%	5	13%
Akademikerbund	1	11%	7	23%	8	20%
Reichsbund	0	0%	2	6%	2	5%
Interest Groups of Professions	1	11%	1	3%	2	5%
n (Elite Schools) ¹	7		31		38	
n (Other Criteria) ¹	9		31		40	

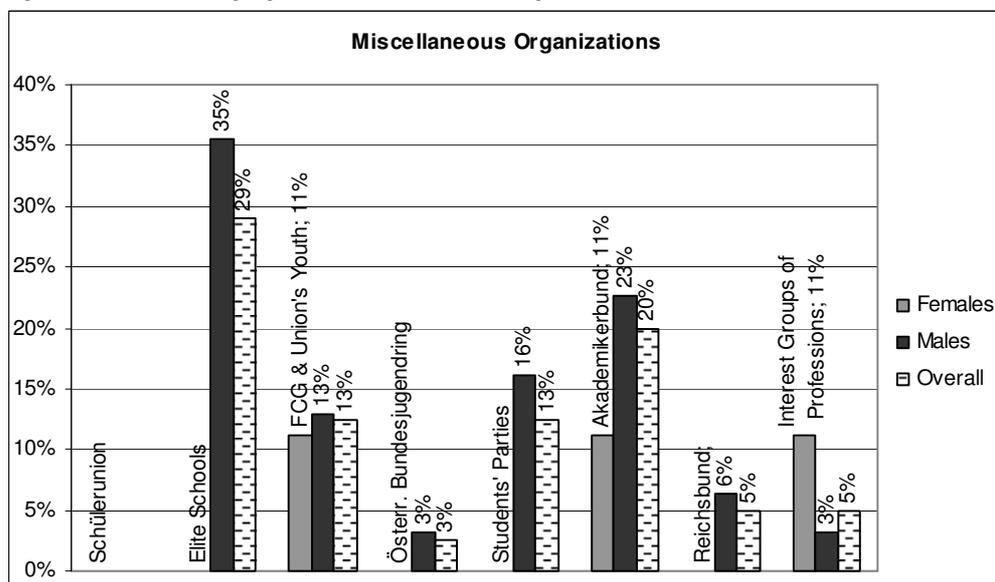
Notes:

(1) The percentage values in this table usually refer to the entities specified under “n (Other Criteria)”. Only, the information as concerns the elite schools was not accessible for several ministers, which results in a diminished entity in the case of the elite schools and is specified under “n (Elite Schools)”.

(2) FCG = Christian Union’s Faction

Source: Own statistics

Figure 22: The Belonging to “Miscellaneous” Organizations



Notes: As specified in the notes in the table above (Table 20), the percentage values of the elite schools refer to other entities than the other research criteria.

The memberships in other networks include – in that order – a graduation in an elite school (29 %), an involvement in the academics’ association *Akademikerbund* (20 %), students’ parties (13 %), the Christian Union’s Faction (FCG) or the Union’s Youth (13 %), the *Reichsbund* (5 %), other party-specific interest groups of the professions (5 %), and the partyless youth organization *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring* (ÖBJR; 3 %). Although one interviewee identifies the *Schülerunion* as a recruitment pool from which political careers start (IP 10), this does not apply for the ministers under scrutiny as none of the ministers belonged to the organization. As concerns sex/gender relations, it is interesting that the attendance of elite schools during the upper-secondary level, an involvement in the students’ parties, the *Reichsbund*, and the partyless youth organization *Österreichischer*

Bundesjugendring are completely set up with males. Only, the Christian Union's Faction or the Union's Youth, the *Akademikerbund* and other party-affiliated interest groups of professions contain female ministers.

One interviewee ascertains that certain well arranged party-internal groups figure as in-groups, such as for example a certain group from Lower Austria which was named the *Kuenringer*. The *Kuenringer* were a dynasty in the region of today's Lower Austria in the Middle Ages. The name implies the furthering of power and has become a term for the rather conservative faction within the ÖVP. The *Kuenringer* were a Catholic-conservative group from Lower Austria, endowed with a position of power in the party (IP 8).

According to another respondent, the bank *Raiffeisenbank* and one of its central figures, Christian Konrad, are the centre of an in-group: "*Konrad, whom he likes, who finds grace in this circle, okay, she or he then belongs to this in-group*"⁹⁹." (IP 6).

Having a powerful network behind one's back can be of advantage in pursuing a political career. 28 % of the ministers had an affiliation to a network. Interestingly, this includes eleven males and none of the women. Even worse, women did not even hold *one* position in *one* network. Contrary to men, though: Twelve men (39 %) had at least one position in a network, of which the majority, namely eleven, can be affiliated to the respective organization. Hence, it seems that if men took over positions in a network, they usually climbed to its highest posts¹⁰⁰. In the following table and the graph, only those networks in which the ministers actually had positions are depicted, due to the huge number of researched networks. The different student fraternities and the organizations of the *Katholische Aktion* are each again summarized. The party's sub-organizations, the leagues, and the unions present typical career paths and have as such already been treated in the sections above, wherefore they are not subject here again. The Young Industry (Junge Industrie) is the only network in the category "interest groups of professions", in which positions were held, wherefore it is autonomously indicated here:

⁹⁹ In the original: "*Der Konrad, wen der goutiert, wer in diesem Kreis Gnade findet, also gut, der gehört dann zu der Seilschaft.*"

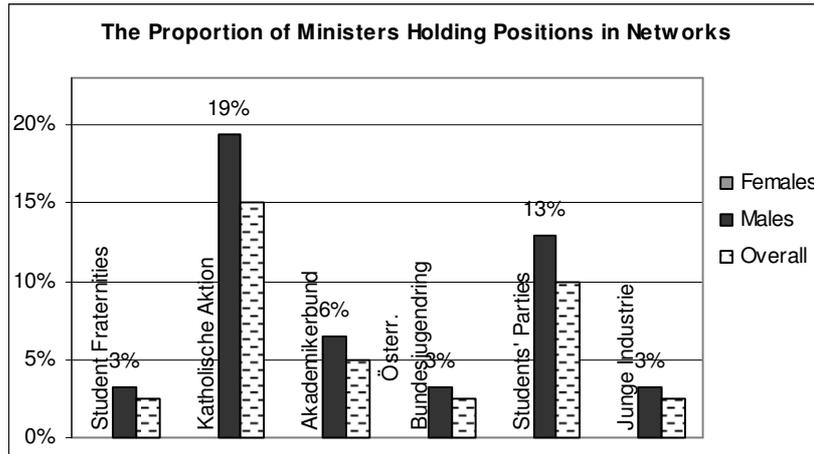
¹⁰⁰ Despite the low entity of females, this result is valuable as it cannot be simply understood as a coincidence. The general discussion of the hypothesis, though, that females and males differ in their provision over capital and resources has to be conducted in the chapter on the recruitment processes in general (Chapter 7), when higher entities are involved.

Table 25: The Proportion of Ministers Holding Positions in Networks

	Females		Males		Overall	
Student Fraternities	0	0%	1	3%	1	3%
Katholische Aktion	0	0%	6	19%	6	15%
Miscellaneous	0	0%	8	26%	8	20%
Akademikerbund	0	0%	2	6%	2	5%
Österreichischer Bundesjugendring	0	0%	1	3%	1	3%
Students' Parties	0	0%	4	13%	4	10%
Junge Industrie	0	0%	1	3%	1	3%
n	9		31		40	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 23 The Proportion of Ministers Holding Positions in Networks



Only one male person held a position in a student fraternity, namely the ÖCV. Formal positions are rare in these organizations, memberships are much more common. Six men executed functions in one of the organizations of the Catholic umbrella organization *Katholische Aktion*. Four men were involved in the students' parties, two males held posts in the *Akademikerbund*, and each one man was active in the Young Industry (*Junge Industrie*) and the partyless youth organization *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring* (ÖBJR).

In the following, selected networks are – sorted along their relevance – treated in more detail:

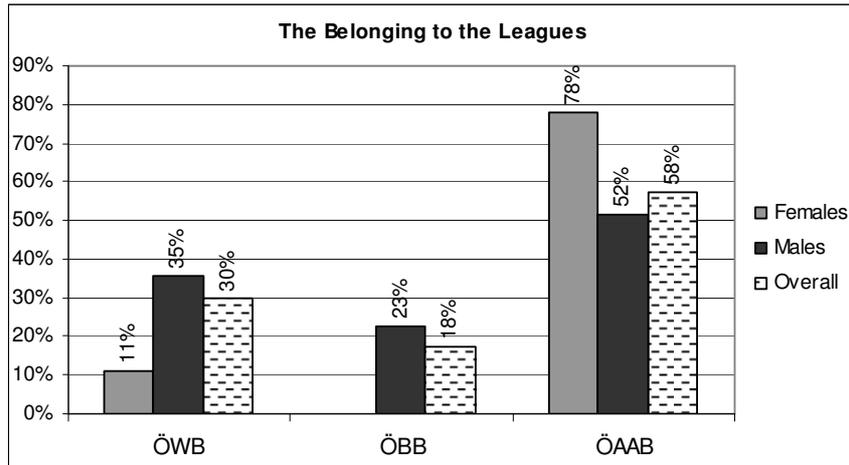
The Leagues

Table 26: The Belonging to the Leagues

	Females		Males		Overall	
ÖWB	1	11%	11	35%	12	30%
ÖBB	0	0%	7	23%	7	18%
ÖAAB	7	78%	16	52%	23	58%
n	9		31		40	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 24: The Belonging to the Leagues



As the figure above shows, the employees' league ÖAAB has the most members, followed by the economic league ÖWB and the farmers' league ÖBB¹⁰¹. The data indicates that proportionally more women than men are involved in the ÖAAB, whereas the opposite applies to the ÖWB, and the ÖBB is completely composed of men. These results correspond to the sexed/gendered structure of the career paths involving the leagues.

Catholic Student Fraternities

Student fraternities (in German “Studentenverbindungen” or “Korporationen”) can be roughly divided into Catholic and national ones. The Catholic student fraternities bear a relation to the ÖVP (Stimmer 1997, 977) and will be subject here. The student fraternities can be split into school and academic student fraternities (Krause 2007, 290-303). Among the former, the umbrella organization MKV¹⁰² is the most prominent, whereas the latter is composed of the umbrella organizations ÖCV, ÖKV, KÖL, *Unitas* (UVÖ/UV), VCS, *Katholisch-Deutsche Burschenschaften*, *Schweizerischer Studentenverein*, *Ring Katholisch-Akademischer Burschenschaften*, *Wingolfsbund*, and *Schwarzburgbund* (Stimmer 1997, 998; Krause 2007, 284-303). Each cabinet had members of student fraternities, foremost from the MKV and the ÖCV, but also from the ÖKV (Krause 1997, 199). Most of the student fraternities are old boys' networks by their formal definition and do not allow women as members; only a few have begun to include females. Besides, there

¹⁰¹ Additionally, three partyless ministers were part of the ÖAAB, but not included in the graph because of their partyless position: Hans Klecatsky (1966), Rudolf Kirchschräger (1970), and Willibald Pahr (1976). Whereas Klecatsky was selected by the ÖVP, the latter two were recruited by the SPÖ.

¹⁰² The abbreviations of the organizational forms will not be indicated separately here; their full name is indicated in the List of Abbreviations and Translations.

are several exclusively female student fraternities (Krause 2007, 278). The belonging to any Catholic student fraternity was researched and those umbrella organizations, which had members among the ministers at all, are depicted in the following table and graph:

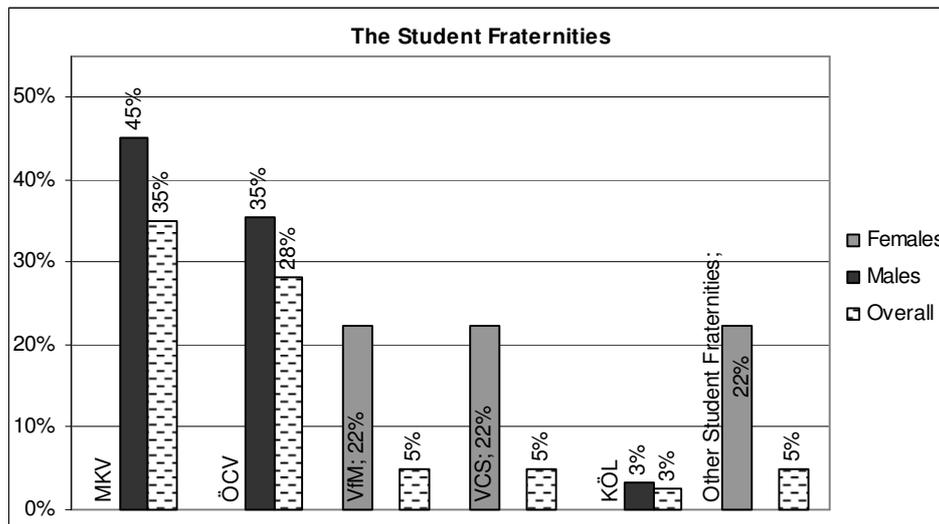
Table 27: The Belonging to Catholic Student Fraternities

	Females		Males		Overall	
MKV	0	0%	14	45%	14	35%
ÖCV	0	0%	11	35%	11	28%
VfM	2	22%	0	0%	2	5%
VCS	2	22%	0	0%	2	5%
KÖL	0	0%	1	3%	1	3%
Other Student Fraternities	2	22%	0		2	5%
n	9		31		40	

Notes: The MKV unifies Catholic Austrian secondary school fraternities. The ÖCV is the umbrella organization for academic student fraternities. The VfM (school student) and the VCS (academic student) represent the according umbrella organizations for females. The KÖL unifies the *Landsmannschaften*.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 25: The Belonging to Catholic Student Fraternities



As can be seen in the graph above, the MKV (35 %) and the ÖCV (28 %) are by far most strongly represented in government¹⁰³. The VfM, the VCS, the KÖL and other student fraternities brought forward members to a minimal extent.

The MKV unifies 162 Catholic Austrian secondary school student fraternities (Krause 2007, 284; MKV n.d.). It developed into a recruitment field of the ÖCV (Stimmer 1997, 961). The ÖCV is the umbrella organization for academic student fraternities and unifies 44 organizations (Gewinn 2001). The VfM and the VCS are the analogue organizations for women and are relatively new. In 1986, nine female student fraternities existed, compared

¹⁰³ Two partyless ministers were also part of Catholic student fraternities, but – because of their partyless status – not represented in the data: Kurt Waldheim (1968) was selected by the ÖVP and was part of the MKV and the ÖCV. Rudolf Kirchschräger (1970) was recruited by the SPÖ and member of the MKV.

to 14 in 1990. The pupils' fraternities merged into the umbrella organization VfM in 1988 (Stimmer 1997, 962), whereas the academic fraternities are organized in the VCS. The KÖL unifies the *Landsmannschaften* (Stimmer 1997, 998; Krause 2007, 284-303). The category "other student fraternities" is set up by female members of the student fraternity *K.a.V. Norica Nova*, entirely; namely Marilies Flemming and Benita Ferrero-Waldner. Maria Rauch-Kallat (fraternity *Walcueria Güssing*) and Liese Prokop (fraternity *Austria Mistelbach*) are involved in the VfM. Prokop was also part of the VCS as member of honorary in the *Elisabethina Wien*. Sonja Moser is the second woman who is organized there (*Koinonia Wien*). Hence, females were only part of the student fraternities for females, which is caused by the *formal* exclusion of females in the traditional student fraternities.

The case of the women in the traditional student fraternities can be exemplified by the strife within the ÖCV: The liberal wing in the ÖCV has been trying to enforce the possibility to include women in the student fraternities organized in the ÖCV. This has met enduring resistance, though, and all attempts for the participation of women in the ÖCV have been turned down. For example, the student fraternity *Norica*, which has been among the proponents fostering the inclusion of women, was not allowed to admit the members of the female student fraternity *Norica Nova*. This is why, the latter is not part of the ÖCV and both fraternities only stand in tight cooperation with each other, but are legally two separate associations (Acta Studentica 1997, 6).

The ÖCV and its Role in the Recruitment Processes

The ÖCV was a recruitment pool very strongly, but has increasingly lost influence (IP 12; IP 8; IP 10). The organization is characterized by common worldviews and strong personal ties, often in the form of life-long friendships (Dachs/Gerlich/Müller 1995a, 634). The older members of the CV¹⁰⁴ make an effort to recruit the young emanating from the organization (Pelinka 1970, 540). That the organization posed an important recruitment pool for the ÖVP, although the ÖCV is actually defined as a non-political organization, was subject of several strives within the organization (Stimmer 1997, 972-974).

From 1945 until 1970, all ÖVP-party leaders, all general secretaries and the majority of the national government members were members of the ÖCV (Pelinka 1970, 539). The

¹⁰⁴ The abbreviations CV and ÖCV are used interchangeably.

fraternities reached a quasi-monopoly in particular cabinets (Stimmer 1997, 1031). Stimmer (1997, 970) states that the last cabinet that was dominated by the CV were the cabinets Klaus I and II (1964-1970). The significance of the student fraternities declined under the party leader Schleiner (1971-1975) compared to other career channels and only under Taus (1975-1979) and Mock (1979-1989), a balanced power relation between politicians from the student fraternities and from other career ladders evolved (Stimmer 1997, 1031): In the national government and the two chambers of parliament, about half of the representatives were part of the CV during the years 1920-1970; the proportion fell to about 17 % in the period of time 1987-2003 (Hartmann 2003, 6). According to the interviewees, the ÖCV was a strong recruitment pool under the party leaders Josef Klaus (1963-1970) (IP 12; IP 8; IP 10) and Mock (1979-1989) (IP 13) in the selected time frame. The CV lost significance because it has not got any “great” exponents anymore (IP 12). Quite the contrary, beginning from the middle of the 1980s, the ÖCV was replaced as traditional recruitment pool by the *Katholische Aktion* and especially its students’ organizations KHJ/KHG (Lehner 1992, 188-189). The party leaders Josef Riegler (1989-1991), Erhard Busek (1991-1995), and Wolfgang Schüssel (1995-2007) were the first party leaders of the ÖVP – apart from Schleiner (1971-1975) who was rooted in a national milieu – who did not experience their political socialisation in the CV, but in the Catholic students’ organization (Pelinka 2001, 236). Busek and Schüssel were even opposed to the CV. The governmental members now are all honorary members and only entered the CV after they had been recruited to the government. For those governmental members who are part of the CV, their belonging to the organization was not relevant in the process of their recruitment; other factors were stronger (IP 12). The fact that the influence of the organization has decreased significantly, Hartmann (2003, 6) also attributes to the increasing representation of women. However, this does not apply, from my point of view; the shrinking relevance of the ÖCV seems rather due to the fact that the structure of relations of forces changed and that other organizations began to take the place of the CV as recruitment pool.

The belonging to the CV facilitated the career advancement in all three leagues (Pelinka 1970, 540; Baumgartner 1983, 185). The fact that the CV was strong in the leagues and hence also in the respective chambers, can be illustrated by a story of the former minister Hannes Farnleitner, who reports about the time of his university graduation: “(...) *and I thought that I would also go to the Chamber of Agriculture. There I was told, however, that my grades would be fabulous, but that I was not member of the CV. If I had someone*

*who could 'push' me?*¹⁰⁵” (Mahlich/Schediwy 2008, 14-15). And he remembers that “(...) *at each career step in the chamber there were interventions from the CV against me, even when I already was President of the Catholic Men's Movement in Austria and also worldwide*¹⁰⁶.” (Mahlich/Schediwy 2008, 15). Also Erhard Busek, later minister and party leader and also not part of the student fraternities, relates about a job search in younger years that he was declined by the employees' league ÖAAB due to the dominance of the CV in the league (Busek 2004, 23).

The literature points to the special relevance of three fraternities for political recruitment. Namely, the *K.a.V. Norica Wien*, the *K.Ö.St.V. Rudolfina*, and the *Bajuvaria* (Stimmer 1997, 972; Bruckmüller 1995, 613). Their significance can be traced back to the fact that major party proponents were involved in those organizations. For example, two Federal Chancellors (Leopold Figl, Julius Raab) and two Vice Chancellors (Hermann Withalm, Alois Mock) – all four were also ÖVP-party leaders – as well as several ministers (like Georg Prader or Wolfgang Schmitz) were members of the *Norica* (Bruckmüller 1995, 613). The data analysis showed that indeed, a considerable part of the ÖVP-ministers (10 %; Hermann Withalm, Georg Prader, Wolfgang Schmitz, Alois Mock) were involved in the *Norica*; another respectable share (8 %) was involved in the *Rudolfina* (Hermann Withalm, Ludwig Weiß, Heinrich Neisser). The *Bajuvaria*, though, did not have any members among the ministers.

The Katholische Aktion (KA)

The *Katholische Aktion* (KA) was founded in 1933. It is part of the church hierarchy and considers itself as a Christian laity movement. It is an umbrella organization of Catholic organizations which are sex- and occupation-specifically ordered and range from the Catholic Men's Movement to the Catholic Academics' Association (Stimmer 1997, 963). Traditionally, the relations between the *Katholische Aktion* (KA) and the ÖVP were tight (Lehner 1992, 111). The KA aimed to strengthen the Catholic element in the ÖVP by a personnel strategy. At the end of the 1940s, so-called “contact committees” for regular

¹⁰⁵ In the original: “(...) *und ich dachte, ich gehe dann halt dann auch zur Bauernkammer. Dort wurde allerdings mir gesagt, meine Zeugnisse wären zwar super, aber ich wäre nicht beim CV. Ob ich jemand hätte, der mich 'anschieben' könne?*”

¹⁰⁶ In the original: “(...) *bei jedem meiner Kammer-Karrieresprünge es CV-Interventionen gegen mich gegeben hat, auch als ich schon Präsident der Katholischen Männerbewegung Österreichs und auch weltweit war.*”

contacts with politicians of the ÖVP were founded, which targeted the staffing of positions in the ÖVP with their “own” Catholic candidates: “(...) *it was common that the ÖVP ‘reserved’ certain places in the set up of the candidate lists for the elections to the National Assembly for exponents of the Katholische Aktion; the later Minister of Transport Ludwig Weiß (from Carinthia) came among others into politics through such a ‘KA-mandate’* (...)”¹⁰⁷ (Schneider 1995, 93). First, this endeavour worked very well. During the 1950s, however, it became increasingly difficult to place KA-candidates, as the ÖVP extended and consolidated its party apparatus and incrementally favoured party functionaries instead of others (Lehner 1992, 115). In 1966, the KA officially declared to be in dialogue with all political forces further on (Kneuer 2008, 82). Until the first contacts with other parties were made, years passed, however. During the 1970s and the 1980s, the KA had first, loose contact with the SPÖ, whereas the relations with the FPÖ remained rather cool (Lehner 1992, 183-184, 186). Overall, the activities of the KA can be characterized as ambiguous after the Second World War: On the one hand, the organization declared in a paper – the *Mariazeller Manifest* – already in 1952 not to have tight relations with any party. On the other hand, though, it set up contact committees to place their candidates in the ÖVP (Liebmann 2000, 11-12). Lehner (1992, 118-119, 187) concludes that the relations of the KA and the ÖVP were still strong in the first few decades of the Second Republic, but that the two organizations began to disassociate, which is part of the erosion process of the camp mentality (“Lagermentalität”). However, the ÖVP has remained the closest party to the KA (Lehner 1992, 183). This can be exemplified by the fact that politicians of the KA-organizations were only politically successful in the ÖVP until now. In contrast to this evaluation, the KA and especially the students’ organization KHJÖ/KHG developed into a pivotal recruitment pool for politics from the 1980s onwards, as the author admits himself (Lehner 1992, 188-189). In the following, the belonging to the organizations, unified in the *Katholische Aktion* will be presented:

¹⁰⁷ In the original: “(...) *es war üblich, dass die ÖVP bei der Aufstellung der Kandidatenlisten für Nationalratswahlen bestimmte Listenplätze für Exponenten der Katholischen Aktion ‘reservierte’; über ein solches ‘KA-Mandat’ kamen u. a. der spätere Verkehrsminister Ludwig Weiß (aus Kärnten) (...) in die Politik.*”

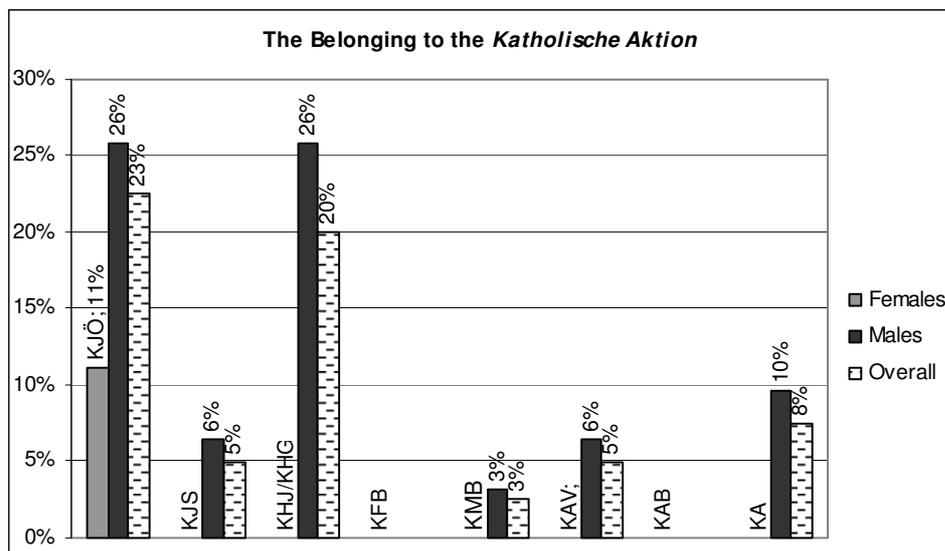
Table 28: The Belonging to the Katholische Aktion

	Females		Males		Overall	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
KJÖ	1	11%	8	26%	9	23%
KJS	0	0%	2	6%	2	5%
KHJ/KHG	0	0%	8	26%	8	20%
KFB	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
KMB	0	0%	1	3%	1	3%
KAV	0	0%	2	6%	2	5%
KAB	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
KA	0	0%	3	10%	3	8%
n	9		31		40	

Notes: The KJÖ and the KJS are youth organizations. The KHJ/KHG represents the Catholic students' organization. The KFB is the Catholic women's organization and the KMB is the Catholic men's organization. The KAV is the Catholic organization unifying academics and the KAB represents the Catholic employees' movement. Finally, KA is the abbreviation for the *Katholische Aktion* itself.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 26: The Belonging to the Katholische Aktion



Overall the Catholic youth organization KJÖ is most represented in government, followed by the Catholic students' organization KHJ/KHG. The other membership shares are below the 10 %-mark: The *Katholische Aktion* (KA) itself, the Catholic youth organization KJS (Katholische Jungchar), the Catholic academics' association KAV, and the Catholic men's organization KMB. The Catholic women's organization KFB and the Catholic employees' movement KAB obviously do not bear any relevance for recruitment as none of the ministers were part of these organizations. Only one woman was part of the organizations of the *Katholische Aktion*: Grete Rehor; she was involved in a female organization, though, the Catholic Girls' Movement (Katholische Mädchenbewegung).

The Catholic Students' Organization(s) KHJ/KHG

The *Katholische Aktion*, especially its students' organization(s) KHJÖ/KHG, evolved as new recruitment pool (IP 12; IP 13; see also: Stimmer 1997, 964) and replaced the ÖCV as traditional recruitment pool for top politicians beginning from the middle of the 1980s¹⁰⁸ (Lehner 1992, 188-189). Pelinka (2001, 236) asserts that – apart from Schleinzler – Riegler, Busek and Schüssel were the first party leaders who belonged to the Catholic students' organization KHJ/KHG and not to the CV. Proponents of the then relevant group coming from this organization – other than the already named party leaders – were, for example, the former governor of Styria, Josef Krainer jun., and the ministers Franz Fischler and Hans Tuppy. The KHJ/KHG represented the rather liberal side within the ÖVP's student body and vis-à-vis the rather traditional orientation of the CV (IP 13). The two organizations KHJ and KHG were tied to each other until the end of the 1980s. Whereas the KHG represented the parish, the KHJ(Ö) was the association within this church (telephone interview with Mr. Ebner). According to an interviewee, the belonging to KHG/KHJ is accidental in the recruitment to government today (IP 13).

Elite Schools / Alumni Associations

Several academic secondary schools and academies work as so-called “elite schools”¹⁰⁹. These include – in the case of the ÖVP-ministers here – the attendance of the *Schottengymnasium* (Hans Tuppy, Wolfgang Schüssel), the *Kollegium Kalksburg* (Hermann Withalm, Theodor Piffel-Perčević), the *Akademisches Gymnasium* (Lujó Tončić-Sorinj, Martin Bartenstein) and the *Stiftsgymnasium Seitenstetten* in St. Pölten in Lower Austria (Georg Prader, Alois Mock), as well as the *Theresianum* (Werner Fasslabend), the *Piaristen-Gymnasium* (Heinrich Neisser), and the *Hietzinger Gymnasium* (Fritz Bock) during the upper-secondary level¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁸ Willibald Pahr (1976), a partyless minister who was selected by the SPÖ, was also part of the organization (and not included in the data presentation before because of his partyless status).

¹⁰⁹ Those were identified by the literature (Stimmer 1997, 1011; Seifert 1998, 186-187; Gewinn 2006, 88) and include – in the case of all of the researched ministers – the academic secondary schools *Schottengymnasium*, the *Kollegium Kalksburg*, the *Akademisches Gymnasium* (with its different locations), the *Theresianum*, the *Stiftsgymnasium Seitenstetten*, the *Piaristengymnasium*, the *Hietzinger Gymnasium*, as well as the two academies, the *Theresianische Militärakademie* and the Diplomatic Academy. Empirically, the school attendance during the upper-secondary level or the attendance of an elite academy was researched.

¹¹⁰ Additionally, two partyless ministers who were not included in the data presentation because of their partyless status, attended elite schools: Kurt Waldheim went to the Diplomatic Academy and Egmont

Students' Parties

The FÖST (Freie Österreichische Studentenschaft) represented the ÖVP at the university after 1945 (Wiener Zeitung Online 2005). In 1946, the *Union Österreichischer Akademiker*, an umbrella organization for all Christian organizations on the university level, was founded (Stimmer 1997, 980). It was renamed into *Wahlblock österreichischer Akademiker* in 1951. The ÖSU (Österreichische Studentunion), founded in 1968, took the lead within the students' body ÖH from the *Wahlblock*. After the poor election results of the ÖSU in 1979, the organization split several times. In 1982, a new organization, the *AktionsGemeinschaft* (AG) was built, which exists until today (Wiener Zeitung Online 2005). Under the party leadership of Alois Mock (1979-1989) and perhaps also sometimes today, the belonging to student organizations played a role (IP 13). Also another interviewee assesses that there was a time when many young politicians came from the *Aktionsgemeinschaft* of the universities (IP 10).

Party's Sub-Organizations

Of the three party's sub-organizations, the Women's Organization (ÖFB) and the association of the young JVP are relevant and have a share of members among the ministers of about a tenth (ÖFB: 10 %; JVP: 8 %). The latter is composed of females and males, whereas the Women's Organization only has female members for obvious reasons. The retiree's association ÖSB is not significant as it did not bear any ministers as members.

Reichsbund

The *Reichsbund der katholischen deutschen Jugend Österreichs* was an umbrella organization for Catholic male youth organizations and was founded in 1918. It is the only significant organization of the time before the Second World War, which was limited in its activities after 1945. For the benefit of the building of the Catholic youth organization KJ,

Foregger to the *Akademisches Gymnasium*. Kurt Waldheim (1968) was a partyless minister who was selected by the ÖVP. Foregger (1987) represents a peculiar case, as he was the product of a personnel compromise between the SPÖ and the ÖVP (IP 13; IP 14) and can thus be attributed to both parties.

it had to renounce the founding of own youth groups and was restricted to collect its former members in the *Alt-Reichsbund* (Lehner 1992, 25, 123). According to Stimmer (1997, 1024-1026), the organization was a recruitment pool for the ÖVP after the Second World War, but completely lost its relevance after 1970.

Excursus: The Involvement as Experts

Some of the ministers worked as experts for the ÖVP before their governmental recruitment, either individually or by their involvement in an expert group. This dimension was not incorporated into the general research on the belonging to selected networks presented ahead, as it not only includes social capital, but also cultural capital: Social capital comes into effect as the ministers were – through their work as experts for the party – known to at least some of the politically relevant actors. Cultural capital plays a role here because the concerned ministers pertained over pronounced expert knowledge.

Stimmer (1997, 1041) professed that the *Aktion 20* represented a recruitment pool in the ÖVP. The *Aktion 20* was an expert group, which was set up before the elections to the National Assembly in 1966 as cooperational form between politics and science after the American model by integrating known intellectuals (Pelinka 2001, 99). The data shows that two of the ministers (5 %) were part of that group; both were male.

Overall, three ministers were occupied as councillors or experts for party matters before their recruitment (8 %); all of them were male.

The initial hypothesis that networks bear sex/gender differences can be affirmed for the ÖVP as this section showed and is much more strongly pronounced than in the SPÖ, for example: Many networks are entirely male dominated. For example, the attendance of elite schools, the belonging to students' parties, and to the *Reichsbund* is completely male. The membership in the leagues seems *rather* sex/gender balanced. This, however, is only due to the involvement of women in the ÖAAB and – a little – in the ÖWB, as the ÖBB only has male ministers among its members, too. Similarly, the students' fraternities seem sex/gender balanced. At a closer look, though, it is the female involvement in the student fraternities for the *females*, which enhance the share of females in the student fraternities; the traditional (male) student fraternities are only composed of men. Furthermore, only one woman was involved in one of the organizations of the *Katholische Aktion*. Significantly, it

was a girls' network, to which she belonged. The Women's Organization is – for obvious reasons – also only set up by women. Lastly, the holding of positions in networks and the disposal over an affiliation in a network only (!) applies to men and not to any women.

III. Conclusion

In this chapter, three hypotheses were explored: Firstly, the hypothesis that it is chiefly the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces within the party, which largely determine the processes of selection was ascertained in the first section of this chapter (perspective of the selectors) and can be affirmed for the ÖVP: The party leader has the strongest role in the recruitment processes due to his (sic!) strong position in the party. Apart from him, the regional parties and the leagues are pivotal in the relations of forces, wherefore their representational interests have to be incorporated in the process of personnel selection for government.

Secondly, the hypothesis that the typical career paths differ for females and males was subject of discussion in the second section of the chapter (perspective of the recruited) and can be affirmed for the ÖVP: The career paths (i.e. the affiliations or the career centres) via the economic league ÖWB & the Chamber of Economy, the farmers' league ÖBB & the Chamber of Agriculture, and the Association of Industrialists only brought forward male ministers, whereas the Women's Organization is the only career path for females exclusively. In the remaining career paths, local and regional (party) politics, national (party) politics, and the career path via the employees' league ÖAAB & the unions, females were represented as well. Thereby, the data proposes that women are disproportionally affiliated to local and regional (party) politics compared to men, whereas the opposite applies for national (party) politics. Hence, women dispose over fewer career paths, overall. Additionally, the entirely male career paths have more relevance than the only completely female career path via the Women's Organization.

Thirdly and similar to the second hypothesis, the hypothesis was evaluated that the representation in networks bears sex/gender differences, as many networks can be characterized as male organized. This hypothesis can be affirmed for the ÖVP: Many networks can – this is much stronger than in the SPÖ, for example – be characterized as male dominated and male organized. The attendance of so-called “elite schools” and the

belonging to students' parties and the *Reichsbund* is entirely set up by male ministers. The traditional (male) Catholic student fraternities also do not have females among their members due to their formal exclusion. Within the Catholic student fraternities, females are only organized in the *female* student fraternities. Similarly, only one woman belongs to one of the many organizations of the *Katholische Aktion*, which is significantly also an exclusively *female* organization. The women's organization of the party is also only set up by women. From this follows that the females are – with respect to the belonging to networks – often pushed aside to specifically female networks, which often do not have the same relevance as the male networks. Overall, the structure of belonging to networks bears sex/gender differences very strongly (for, clearly, the disadvantage to women). The male character of the networks relevant in the ÖVP is further underlined by the fact that positions in those were *only* held by male ministers, wherefore only males had affiliations to and thus power bases in networks.

6. Sex/Gender Relations in Political Recruitment – The FPÖ

As in the previous chapters treating recruitment processes in the specific parties, the sex/gender relations in recruitment will be elucidated from the side of the selectors (targeting the sub-research question *Who selects?*) and from the side of the recruited (targeting the sub-research question *How do political careers work?*). Thereby, three hypotheses will be explored: (1) The hypothesis that the selection processes are chiefly determined by the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces within the party will be discussed in the first section, from the perspective of the selectors. The remaining hypotheses pertain to the perspective of the recruited and will be subject in the second section of this chapter: Namely, the hypotheses (2) that typical career paths bear distinctions with respect to sex/gender relations, as many party groups, organizations or institutions, which are part of a political career, are male/masculine organized. (3) Similarly, I hypothesize that the belonging to and the holding of positions in networks harbour sex/gender differences as many networks can be characterized as male/masculine organized as well. The first and the second hypothesis named here will be assessed in Chapter 7 for all parties more broadly. For the side of the recruited, it has to be outlined that the researched ministers only include 13 persons, of which three are female and ten are male. In this chapter, the proportions refer to the entity of females and males or both overall, if not otherwise indicated. Because of the low entities, the data can only indicate trends as concerns sex/gender differences. Conclusions can only be drawn by embedding the results into the literature or by contextualizing them into the results reached of the other two parties. With respect to several research criteria, the data will be presented – as it can be of interest and indicate trends – but not interpreted.

Before we start with the analysis, several basic facts as concerns the FPÖ are given here. These involve information as concerns the times of governmental participation, a rough overview over the development of the party, the structure of the organization, and the general position of women in the party, which is relevant for the perspective of the selectors as well as of the recruited:

The “third camp” (“drittes Lager”) or German-nationalist camp was re-established in 1956 by the formation of the party VdU or WdU¹¹¹, which is the predecessor of the FPÖ (Luther 2006, 364). The FPÖ twice was part of a coalition as little coalition partner: with the SPÖ from 1983 to 1986 (cabinets Sinowatz and Vranitzky I) and with the ÖVP from 2000 to 2006 (Schüssel I and II). In the first governmental participation, the party leader was Norbert Steger (1980-1986). Jörg Haider took over the party leadership in 1986 in a coup (1986-2000). The change of leadership in the FPÖ in 1986 signalled a marked shift to the right and resulted in the termination of the SPÖ-FPÖ-coalition in the same year. The liberally-inclined faction of the party around Steger was forced out of the party; the remaining liberals left the party in 1993, when – under the leadership of Heide Schmidt and Friedhelm Frischenschlager – a new party, the *Liberales Forum* (LIF), split away. Since then, the relations of forces within the party evolved into an authoritarian structure revolving around Jörg Haider, which was accepted by the other party players because Haider led the party to unprecedented electoral successes (Bailer/Neugebauer 1998). From 2000 until the split of the party in 2005, the party leaders often changed¹¹². For all the governmental personnel decisions, Haider remained the central angle point, though. After major party strives, the new party BZÖ broke away from the FPÖ under the chairmanship of Jörg Haider in 2005; all governmental members entered the new party. As concerns the empirical selection of ministers, the last relevant personnel decision took place in 2004 with the recruitment of the then partyless Karin Miklautsch (later: Karin Gastinger)¹¹³. Hence, only the FPÖ will be dealt with here.

The number and the size of the party-internal groups in the FPÖ are rather small compared to the ones in the SPÖ and the ÖVP. Also, the organizational density of the party is – measured by the volume of members and party employees – modest in comparison to the two other parties (Luther 2006, 373-374). Like the other parties, the FPÖ is territorially structured.

Conflicts for higher shares of females seem to be the lowest in the FPÖ of all three parties (Steininger 1992, 654). A female quota does not exist in the party; it is only devised that one female has to be member of the party executive at minimum in the party statutes

¹¹¹ Short for: “Verband der Unabhängigen” and “Wahlpartei der Unabhängigen”

¹¹² Jörg Haider (until end of February 2000), Susanne Riess-Passer (2000-2002), Mathias Reichhold (Sept.-Nov. 2002), Herbert Haupt (2002-2004), and Ursula Haubner (2004-2005).

¹¹³ Ursula Haubner was selected to lead a ministry in 2005. However, she had been party leader before. The party leaders who had not been ministers before are excluded from the research, as they are only recruited to government because of their leading party position and as different recruitment mechanisms are in order for the selection of party leaders.

(Steininger 2001, 93). Until 1983, the party functionaries were overwhelmingly male. A steady rise of the proportion of women set in with the take-over of the party by Steger in the same year (Rösslhumer 1999, 58). The fact that the FPÖ was the only party dominated by male voters (since 1986), forced the party to rethink in order to gain ground in the female electorate (Geden 2004, 28; Hauch 2000, 69; Rösslhumer 1999, 59): In 1994, the party decided for the first time, to broach the issue of women separated from family issues (Rösslhumer 1999, 59). This strategy was strengthened in 1999, when the FPÖ posited a political renewal and tried to fetch female votes by specific policies and by the enforced integration of women in (party) political positions (Hauch 2000, 60, 69-71, 73; Niederkofler 2004, 400). With the governmental participation in the 2000s, the FPÖ cast off its hitherto dominant characterization as “group picture with lady” (Hauch 2000, 59, 71). The FPÖ has often been classified as male/masculine party: Not only the sex belonging of their voters is largely male, but also the party-internal structure, such as the forms of networks in the student fraternities, the *Buberlpartie* or the regulars’ table are male organized (Hauch 2000, 62-66).

I. The Side of the Selectors

(1) Course of Recruitment

The general course of the selection processes is quite alike in all parties, and is depicted in Chapter 7.

During the two governmental participations in the 1980s and the 2000s, the party and its traits differed considerably. Hence, the selection processes will be presented in its general course, followed by split accounts in the 1980s and the 2000s. The party leader has relationally the strongest position in the relations of forces within the party, which is why he represents the central angle point in the recruitment processes¹¹⁴. Apart from him (sic!), it is mainly the strong regional parties – due to their strong position in the structure of relations of forces –, whose representational interests in government have to be taken into

¹¹⁴ In the following, I will refer to the “party leader” as central angle point because it is usually the occupants of this position who are the pivotal players in the selection processes. However, it has to be kept in mind that it concerns Steger and *Haider* for the selection processes in the selected time frame, also when the position was formally occupied by someone else.

account in the recruitment processes by the party leader (IP 5; IP 7; IP 15) in order to establish a balance of power within the party. Besides, there are also recruitment pools, which “(...) *one has to consider a little.*”¹¹⁵ (IP 7). These involve the economy or the economic association RFW (IP 2; IP 7), the employees’ organization FA – as long as Haider was head – and the student fraternities, in that order (IP 2). The influence of the latter was significantly less in the 2000s than during the governmental participation in the 1980s (IP 2)¹¹⁶. Also, the farmers’ association FBO always had a say in the party (IP 2; IP 7). One interviewee ascertains that the old FPÖ was a very economic-dominated party of dignitaries. Hence, economic circles had a lot of say in the party, which includes representatives like Otteliese Feininger, Helmut Peter or people of the industry sector like Mautner-Markhof, Prinzhorn, or Krünes (IP 2). Also, the political academy of the party or the *Liberale Klub* serve as recruitment pools: Both organize events, which attract people like for example lecturers who can be observed there (IP 7).

After the party leader finished a list of future governmental members, the party leader presents it to the national party boards of the *Präsidium*¹¹⁷ and the Party Executive Committee¹¹⁸ (“Parteivorstand”) (IP 2; IP 7). Those two boards are decisive, other party boards were sometimes consulted as well, but the decision had always been met before (IP 2). Under Haider, votes in the Party Executive Committee about the personnel decisions in general were only a formality (Personenmappe Grasser): The party bodies lost political influence under Haider from the beginning (Luther 1997, 289); under his party leadership a tendency of centralization set in (Niederkofler 2004, 399).

¹¹⁵ In the original: “(...) *man nimmt ein bisschen darauf Rücksicht.*”

¹¹⁶ However, the evaluation of the influence of the student fraternities in the 2000s is a little controversial, as we will see further on.

¹¹⁷ The *Präsidium* is responsible for the current party affairs. Originally, the board, introduced in 1976, only consisted of the party leader, his (sic!) – at the time – eight deputies and the chairperson of the national parliamentary group (“Klubobmann”). In 1992, the general secretary and the party chairpersons of the regional party organizations were added. In 1998, the board was enlarged by the president of the National Assembly, the just introduced executive party leader, the national head of finances (“Bundesfinanzreferent”) and the executive office (“Bundesgeschäftsführung”). The FPÖ-governors of the regions were amended in 2000 (Luther 2006, 367).

¹¹⁸ The Party Executive Committee has formally gained in power over time. In everyday life, though, the smaller board of the *Präsidium* is more important. Until 2005, the committee was composed of the members of the national *Präsidium*, four party members elected by the national party conference, as well as (since 1992) the chairpersons of the regional parliamentary groups (“Landtagsklubs”). After the separation of the BZÖ from the FPÖ in 2005, this board was greatly enlarged (Luther 2006, 366).

1.1. The Recruitment to Government under Steger, 1983-1986

After Friedrich Peter resigned as party leader in 1978, a party strife between the German nationalist and the liberal faction set in. The liberal wing centred on Walter Grabher-Meyer and Norbert Steger. The latter prevailed and Steger was elected party leader in 1980 (Österreichisches Parlament 2008d).

In 1983, the FPÖ staffed the portfolios Economy, Justice and Defence with ministers. Steger took over the Ministry of Economy and staffed the Ministry of Justice with Harald Ofner and Defence with Friedhelm Frischenschlager. In 1986, Helmut Krünes took over the Ministry of Defence from Frischenschlager.

Steger tried to renew the party, to bring in people who were different from what was common in politics back then. Hence, a certain young age was relevant at the time because – as Steger put it: If you are a revolutionary, you have to dismiss the former party; thereby you have to bring in the young who did not serve in the Second World War. For example, he made Friedhelm Frischenschlager Minister of Defence, knowing that he was an anti-militarist (interview with Steger). According to an interviewee, Steger met the decisions together with his close friend, the general secretary Walter Grabher-Meyer, and with a strong participation of the former party leader Friedrich Peter who still controlled many things from the sidelines and was Steger's mentor (IP 5).

The participation in the *Atterseekreis* played a major part under his party leadership (IP 2). Steger relates that he was involved in the *Atterseekreis* and concludes: “*And so it was logical that we or I myself leaned on this group also in the selection criteria.*”¹¹⁹ (interview with Steger). Those in the central positions in the party and the majority of the ministers and state secretaries were all rooted in the *Atterseekreis*. The government members, who were not involved in this circle, were rooted in a regional party (IP 2).

The recruitment of Frischenschlager and Ofner was a surprise in the party. Both originated in regional parties without major significance in the FPÖ: Lower Austria and Salzburg (IP 7). By recruiting Ofner, Steger endeavoured to integrate the parts of the party, which had a critical approach towards him (IP 2): Ofner had been his unofficial rival candidate in the election of the party leader on the national party conference in 1980 (IP 5). In the selection of the state secretaries, Steger considered the interests of the strong regional parties much more strongly. Steger wanted to satisfy the two biggest regional parties,

¹¹⁹ In the original: “*Und da war es durchaus logisch, dass wir oder ich selber auch bei den Auswahlkriterien mich auf diese Gruppe gestützt habe.*”

Carinthia and Upper Austria. Hence, Steger asked Jörg Haider to be a state secretary, which the latter declined, stating he would only serve as minister, and Steger chose another representative of Carinthia. The day before the session of the *Präsidium*, in which Steger presented the list of personnel, Haider organized a coup in the regional party Carinthia and took over the position as a regional government member, until then fulfilled by the regional party leader Mario Ferrari-Brunnenfeld. The members of the *Präsidium* demanded from Steger that Ferrari-Brunnenfeld should be integrated into government in order to help him out. Steger gave in. However, by changing one name on the personnel list, the balance of the whole power concept behind it changes, which is why the entire list had to be revised. In retrospective, Steger thinks that this course of action was a mistake: Firstly, because he gave in as regards an essential issue at an early stage, which encourages the different party groups to always question the decisions of the party leader and make demands to change them. Secondly, by conceding the conceptual ideas Steger wanted to introduce, namely – for example – representing “green” ideas by a specific minister he had in mind for the job, were not feasible anymore. Although Steger wanted to open the party and its policies, he ended up on quite traditional terrain (interview with Steger). Thirdly, the change of the personnel list resulted in a negligence of pivotal party players and thereby prepared the field, which finally led to the overthrow of Steger.

Overall, a major part of the party leadership and of the government was set up with people from Vienna and Lower Austria, which were – back then – traditionally weak organizations within the party. Steger himself further underlined the Viennese style, which the other regions rejected so much, with features like his beard or the coffee house (IP 5). The regional parties which did not feel represented opposed the government from the beginning (IP 2). Carinthia and Upper Austria were the strongest regional parties; if one was backed by them and was able to secure their support as party leader, one usually had the party in one’s power (IP 7). It was exactly those two regional parties which did not feel represented, though: The Carinthian party had a very critical approach towards the coalition SPÖ-FPÖ and was dissatisfied that, although it was the strongest regional party in the FPÖ, it was only represented in government with a relatively irrelevant position as state secretary for Health instead of seeing its representative Jörg Haider in a ministerial position (IP 2). Upper Austria did not have a minister in government either. Originally, Norbert Gugerbauer from Upper Austria should have been represented in government, but was not because of the change of the personnel list. Gugerbauer wanted a leading position. When he saw that this could not be achieved with Steger, he searched the alliance with

Haider (IP 7): It was not Haider who had the initial idea to want to become the party leader in 1986; it was Gugerbauer who was looking for someone to replace Steger and supported Haider (IP 5).

According to one interviewee, the national party conference in Innsbruck in 1986, where Steger was overthrown by Haider, was not – as so many believe – the victory of the nationals over the liberals, but the victory of the regions over Vienna: “*The Western and Southern regions expelled the Viennese again from their leading positions. In that sense, it does play a role, from where the leading groups stem*¹²⁰.” (IP 5). Steger concedes that he considered the rules of the game of the power play in the recruitment processes too little “*(...) and thereby a stable basis did not exist in fact.*¹²¹” (interview with Steger). He concludes: “*You lose the majority, if you do not serve certain groups of a party*¹²².” (interview with Steger). The recruitment processes in the FPÖ in the 1980s hence illustrate nicely the mechanisms of the power play in the course of political recruitment and which consequences the neglect of the relations of forces within a party can bring about.

1.2. The Recruitment to Government under Haider, 2000-2006

Since the takeover of the party by Jörg Haider and the party’s shift to the right (Bailer/Neugebauer 1998), the FPÖ had been excluded and tabooed as potential governmental partner. The government formation between the ÖVP and the FPÖ in 2000 hence yielded widespread political resistance. The inclusion of the FPÖ did not only result in a political stir in Austria, but also brought about sanctions by the EU-14 against Austria. Although the European Union commonly does not affect political recruitment in Austria, the sanctions and the political agitation in the EU had an influence on the recruitment processes in the FPÖ. Most importantly, the entry of Jörg Haider into national government was hampered (also if the sanctions could not prevent the governmental participation of the FPÖ) (Perger 2010). Furthermore, it is possible that Haider withdrew from the position of the national party leader as a reaction to that (Luther 2006, 370). Besides, it is probable that – because of that – representatives of the extreme right (from the party) were *not recruited*.

¹²⁰ In the original: “*Die westlichen und die südlichen Bundesländer haben die Wiener aus den Führungspositionen wieder rausgehaut. Und so gesehen, spielt das schon eine Rolle, wo die Führungsgruppen her sind.*”

¹²¹ In the original: “*(...) und damit war eigentlich die tragfähige Basis nicht vorhanden.*”

¹²² In the original: “*Man verliert die Mehrheit, wenn man ganz bestimmte Gruppierungen einer Partei nicht bedient.*”

At the building of the government in February 2000, Thomas Prinzhorn, and Hilmar Kabas were originally foreseen as ministers, but refuted by the then President Thomas Klestil, which was one of the rare interferences of a President into the ministers' list (Müller 2006a, 195). Finally, Susanne Riess-Passer was recruited as Vice Chancellor, Karl-Heinz Grasser for the Ministry of Finance, Herbert Scheibner for Defence, Michael Krüger for Justice, Michael Schmid for Infrastructure, and Elisabeth Sickl for Social Affairs. In autumn and winter of the same year, Monika Forstinger replaced Schmid in the portfolio of Infrastructure, Herbert Haupt was staffed as Minister of Social Affairs instead of Sickl, and Krüger was exchanged by the partyless Dieter Böhmendorfer. In 2002, Mathias Reichhold became the – yet again – new Minister of Infrastructure, and was only replaced by Hubert Gorbach one year later, in 2003. The (at the time of her recruitment) partyless Karin Gastinger served as Minister of Justice from 2004 until 2006. Ursula Haubner, the sister of Jörg Haider, was party leader since July 2004 and was staffed as Minister of Social Affairs in 2005¹²³. As the enumeration of ministers already alludes, the performance of the party in government was unstable and characterized by poor personnel decisions. The party did not master the personnel, organizational and strategic challenges of a governmental participation in the 2000s (Luther 2006, 365). The fact that – especially seen against the background of the hitherto male (and masculine) dominance of the party – relatively many females were selected during the governmental participation in the 2000s must also be attributed to the fact that the FPÖ lacked apt personnel and that the pool of candidates was small.

Haider and Riess-Passer led the recruitment processes in 2000 together. However, whom to select was actually Haider's decision. Haider was incredibly spontaneous and made personnel decisions according to his instincts, very strongly. The recruitment processes can be characterized as very improvised as it was a completely new situation for the party; all of the people included in the process had not been part of a government before and hence did not have any experience (IP 15). According to the interviewees, there were two major selectors under Haider: Haider and the regional parties. In comparison, Haider was the decisive factor, though. Apart from Haider and the regional parties, there were not any groups of power, which had to be considered (IP 7; IP 15). The recruitment pools in the FPÖ changed in so far compared to the 1980s that the FPÖ under the party leader Haider turned into an authoritarian structured party and Haider represented the only power centre

¹²³ Haubner is excluded from the empirical investigation of ministers, as she was recruited as party leader first and as different recruitment mechanisms are in order for the selection of party leaders.

since a certain point (IP 7): Until the 1980s, the regional parties were the major recruitment pools. After the change in leadership to Jörg Haider in 1986, though, the pattern of personal recruitment by Haider has dominated the career paths. All leading posts in the FPÖ were filled according to his whims (Bailer/Neugebauer 1998). The personal contacts of Haider and his personality were major factors in the staffing of governmental jobs (IP 2): Getting along with the party leader Haider became the only criterion in the staffing of governmental jobs in the 2000s and was more relevant than specific achievements or abilities. Through the acquisition of cross-over candidates, Haider secured that the recruited were tied to him in personal loyalty. Haider filled positions with creatures, which had not got their own sphere of influence and which were only oriented towards him (IP 7; see also: Niederkofler 2004, 399-400; Luther 2006, 369; Hauch 2000, 64). That is why the term “Boys’ Club” (“Buberlpartie”) came up. Haider recruited young people whom he brought in himself and who were only delegated power or political capital by him and who were replaced when he did not need them anymore (IP 7).

Apart from Haider, the regional parties Vienna, Carinthia, and Upper Austria occupied strong positions in the relations of forces during the government participation in the 2000s (IP 7; IP 15). One interviewee also adds Styria (IP 2). Additionally, Gilbert Trattner as general secretary and Thomas Prinzhorn from the economic area also had a say in the recruitment procedures in the 2000s (IP 2). One respondent thinks that the relevance of the student fraternities has not been decreasing (IP 7) – a view, which is not shared by most of the interviewees and scholars: According to another interviewee, the student fraternities were significantly less influential in the 2000s compared to the 1980s (IP 2); also other researchers assert that the party leadership under Haider dissociated from the student fraternities since 1986 (Hauch 2000, 59) or since 1993 (Schiedel/Tröger n.d). The fact that Haider dissociated from representatives of German-nationalist and right-extremist representatives and adherents Luther (1997, 298) interprets as a power-politically motivated camouflage. Generally, candidates rooted in the national spectrum of the party had better chances under Haider to be selected than proponents of the liberal wing (Niederkofler 2004, 399).

In 2002, the national party conference in Knittelfeld, in Styria, brought a changeover of power within the party, the withdrawal of several ministers and thereby the breach of the first ÖVP-FPÖ-coalition and early elections. A party strife between the national party leadership of the party including the governmental members and other parts of the party led by Jörg Haider was the background. Against the will of the national party leadership, a

national party conference was called in by Haider. At the conference, Haider tore the compromise paper reached by him and Susanne Riess-Passer in a symbolic act. The following day, Riess-Passer, Grasser and the chairperson of the parliamentary club, Peter Westenthaler, resigned from their offices. At the early elections in 2002, the FPÖ lost nearly two thirds of their votes reached in 1999. Mathias Reichhold became the new party leader, who was replaced by Herbert Haupt only after 40 days. The protagonists of Knittelfeld were all against a governmental participation in 2003. However, they clearly lost the vote at the national party conference against 80 % of the delegates (IP 2). The coalition with the ÖVP was hence continued, but the FPÖ had to give up several portfolios: The Ministry of Finance – which was staffed with the now partyless Karl-Heinz Grasser upon the proposal of the ÖVP –, the Ministry of Defence, as well as the responsibilities Public Accomplishments and Sports, which were reallocated to another portfolio. Although the leading characters of Knittelfeld had lost their case at the national party conference, the party-internal discrepancies continued internally and hampered the governmental work to an extent, so that the compromise was made that Haupt would resign as party leader and the dispute would be brought to an end with the new party leadership, comprised of Hubert Gorbach – nominated by the economic wing by Prinzhorn and others – and of Ursula Haubner, who as Haider's sister enjoyed the trust of a third of the delegates who had supported Knittelfeld. However, the strifes began at that point really. The following events finally amounted to the split of the party (IP 2). In April 2005, the party *Bündnis Zukunft Österreich* (BZÖ) was founded; the entire governmental team, a majority of the MPs and several regional parties of the FPÖ joined the new party (Luther 2006, 364-365).

(2) The Pivotal Agents

As we have seen, it is mainly the party leader and the strong regional parties which occupy the pivotal positions in the relations of forces in the FPÖ, whereby the party leader has – especially since the take over of the party by Haider in 1986 – the disproportionately strongest role¹²⁴. As the two central figures in this respect, Norbert Steger and Jörg Haider, have already thoroughly been treated on the pages ahead, it only remains to deal with the pivotal regional parties here.

¹²⁴ As already mentioned, the formal party leaders in the 2000s were often exchanged, but the – yet informal – centre of the party remained Jörg Haider.

2.1. The Pivotal Regional Parties

Traditionally, the FPÖ was a party of the regions Upper Austria, Carinthia, Salzburg, and a bit Styria. On no account Vienna, Lower Austria, or Burgenland, which were never FPÖ-areas due to historical circumstances: They were occupied by the Russians until 1955 and it was perilous to be politically involved in the national political camp. And in 1955, when the occupation was ended, everybody who was politically interested had already entered another party (IP 5). Carinthia and Upper Austria have always been the two strongest regions of the FPÖ; only nowadays Vienna is the third one (IP 7; IP 15). An interviewee adds Styria (IP 2). Salzburg obviously had been a strong regional party in former times (IP 5), but lost its status: Since Gustav Zeillinger resigned as Salzburg's party leader (1956-1965), the regional organization has lost more and more votes, which has resulted in a weak position of the organization within the party (IP 2).

(3) Conclusion

This section illustrated how the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces mainly determine the processes of selection. The according hypothesis can hence be affirmed for the case of the FPÖ and will still be more broadly discussed in Chapter 7, unifying the results of the recruitment processes of the different parties.

II. The Side of the Recruited

In the following section, the career paths in the FPÖ and the relevant networks will be treated. The party groups, organizations or institutions constituting the array of a political career in the FPÖ (further on referred to as “career institutions” for pragmatic reasons) were identified by the literature and the search for the patterned occurrence of so-called “career positions” (i.e. positions in “career institutions”, which will be thus named for pragmatic reasons as well) in the biographical material.

Two methodical means will be employed in the following: The first method quantitatively refers to all ministers represented in the so-called career institutions and/or in the networks. (2) The second method qualitatively identifies the main affiliation(s) to or career centre(s)

in career institutions (and thus party groups) and/or networks of the politicians by requiring a certain quantity or a certain hierarchical level of the held positions or a full-time job executed during a certain time¹²⁵.

(1) The Career Paths in the FPÖ

All of the FPÖ-ministers held so-called career positions and bear an affiliation to a party group or network. Women held 5.0 positions on average and men 7.3, whereas women were affiliated to 1.7 party groups and men to 2.1¹²⁶. The data targets the hypothesis that women and men differ in their provision over capital and resources. However, due to the low entities, this remains to be seen in the general chapter on political recruitment in Austria (Chapter 7), in which the results of all parties are unified.

Under Haider, the rapid change of positions during a career was characteristic. Haider set in and dismissed persons into positions just to his liking. Prototypical examples are Michael Schmid's or Mathias Reichhold's career¹²⁷.

In the following table and the according graph, we will cast a first glance at the career institutions of significance for a political career in the party and the sex/gender relations in these. The indicated female or male shares refer to the quantity of all career positions, which were held before the first recruitment to government by females or males respectively. They hence give a clue as to how the holding of positions was distributed for females and males. However, it has to be outlined that the indicated data and the presentation in the graph should only help the reader to map the potential career paths much more easily as the involved entities of females and males are low and the percentage values have to be handled carefully.

¹²⁵ For more detail on the empirical endeavour, please see Appendix 1.

¹²⁶ The indicated averages of executed functions or of affiliations include network positions or affiliations to networks and refer to the respective entities of all female and male ministers of this party.

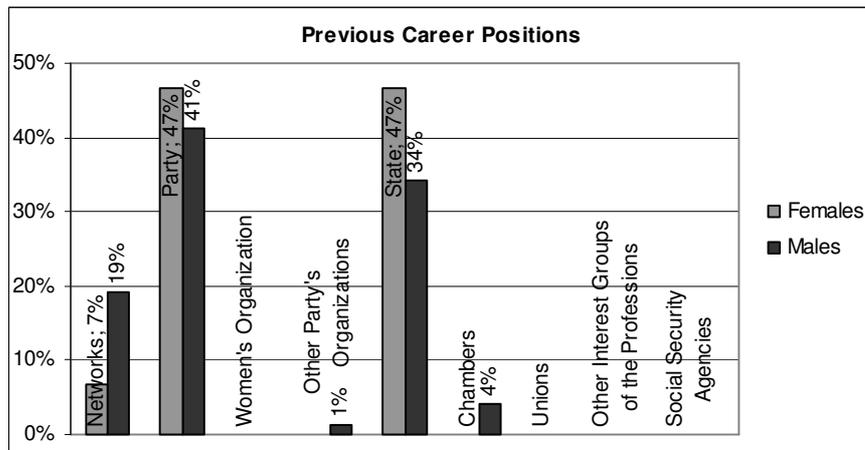
¹²⁷ Please see the short account on Reichhold's biography on page 195 as example.

Table 29: Previous Career Positions in Relation to the Sum of Previous Career Positions

	Females		Males	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Networks	1	7%	14	19%
Party	7	47%	30	41%
Women's Organization	0	0%	0	0%
Other Party's Organizations	0	0%	1	1%
State	7	47%	25	34%
Chambers	0	0%	3	4%
Unions	0	0%	0	0%
Other Interest Groups of the Professions	0	0%	0	0%
Social Security Agencies	0	0%	0	0%
OVERALL SUM	15	100%	73	100%

Source: Own statistics

Figure 27: Previous Career Positions in Relation to the Sum of Previous Career Positions



Females held the great majority of the positions in the party and the state; only a minor share was executed in networks. Men, on the other hand, also had the majority of their positions in the party and – following that – the state, in networks, in the chambers, and in other party's organizations. The latter category included various organizations of the party such as the different employees' organizations (FA, RFA, AUF), the economic association RFW, the farmers' association FBO, the different party-affiliated unions' factions (such as the FGÖ and the FEG), the association of the family FFVÖ, the women's organization IFF, and the retirees' association ÖSR¹²⁸. However, only one position was filled in this category, namely in the farmers' association FBO. The other organizations are obviously not relevant as career ladders. The fact that the women's organization IFF is entirely irrelevant – none of the politicians held a post there – can be attributed to the fact that the party is policy-wise not inclined to foster the emancipation of women in general. Apart from that, also the unions, the social security agencies, and other interest groups of the professions do not play any role.

¹²⁸ Please see the full names in the List of Abbreviations.

It becomes visible through the presentation of the data that only the party, the state, the networks, and – already quite marginally – the chambers and the farmers' association of the party FBO represent career paths. The positions in these career institutions can be classified into career types. This classification process was conducted by two means: Firstly, the biographical material was searched for recurring patterns. And secondly, two correlations and a factor analysis were computed in SPSS¹²⁹. However, the quantitative calculation carried out in SPSS was not as much needed as in the case of the other two parties. Positions in networks – except for full-time jobs in networks – were not considered in the classification process as an encompassing political career cannot be fulfilled there. In the following, the results of the empirical endeavour are presented: The career types are presented with their *typically* included career paths and positions. Thereby, the used numbers referred to in the following represent the qualitatively identified affiliations or career centres of the politicians. Each career path is supplied by a portrait of – if possible – a female and a male representative who were affiliated to the respective party group.

1.1. The First Career Type

The first career type involves positions in the party and the state. No minister held a party position on the level of the European Union and only two (!) functions overall were executed by the FPÖ-politicians in the political institutions of the European Union. Hence, the European Union is not a critical part of a political career in the FPÖ.

In the following, the main affiliation(s) or career centre(s) of the ministers to the different party groups of the first career type will be shown. The categories of affiliations were mainly formed according to the relevant selectors in the recruitment process. The distribution of the career paths hence reflects the strength of the respective selectors. The categories involve – for the first career type – national (party) politics and regional (party) politics. The party is the central gatekeeper in staffing positions in the party and in the state, wherefore state and party posts were taken together on the respective territorial level¹³⁰. The functions on the levels below the regional layer were subsumed under the category of regional (party) politics.

¹²⁹ For further detail on this empirical undertaking, please see Appendix 1.

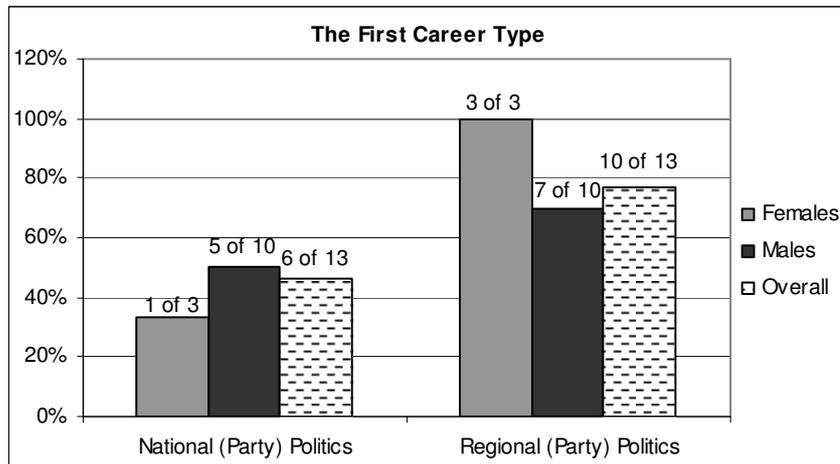
¹³⁰ Positions in the party and the state were part of one factor in the factor analysis, which had the explained variance of 90.5 %.

Table 30: The First Career Type

	Females		Males		Overall	
National (Party) Politics	1	33%	5	50%	6	46%
Regional (Party) Politics	3	100%	7	70%	10	77%
n	3		10		13	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 28: The First Career Type



Notes: In the figure, only the nominal numbers are indicated in order to outline that the percentage values, which are represented by the bars in the graph and are indicated in the table above, only refer to small entities. In the following graphs in this chapter, the same approach was employed.

Overall, most of the ministers are affiliated to regional (party) politics, about half of them represent the national level. This finding mirrors the pivotal role of the regional parties in the processes of selection. All of the three females were affiliated to the regional layer compared to only a (if also the major) part of the males, whereas only one woman and half of the men represented the national layer.

In the following, the regional and local (party) politics as well as the national level will be separately addressed:

Regional and Local (Party) Politics

Most of the ministers who are affiliated to the local or regional level belong to the Carinthian party organization (4). Among them are one female, Elisabeth Sickl, and three males: Karl-Heinz Grasser, Herbert Haupt, Mathias Reichhold. Each male politician represents Salzburg (Friedhelm Frischenschlager), Styria (Michael Schmid), Vorarlberg

(Hubert Gorbach), and Lower Austria (Harald Ofner), whereas one female is affiliated to Upper Austria (Monika Forstinger) and one to Tyrol (Susanne Riess-Passer¹³¹).

The representation of regional parties in government can also be given by someone who is “only” personally rooted in the region, wherefore the regional distribution of all ministers is shown in the subsequent table and figure:

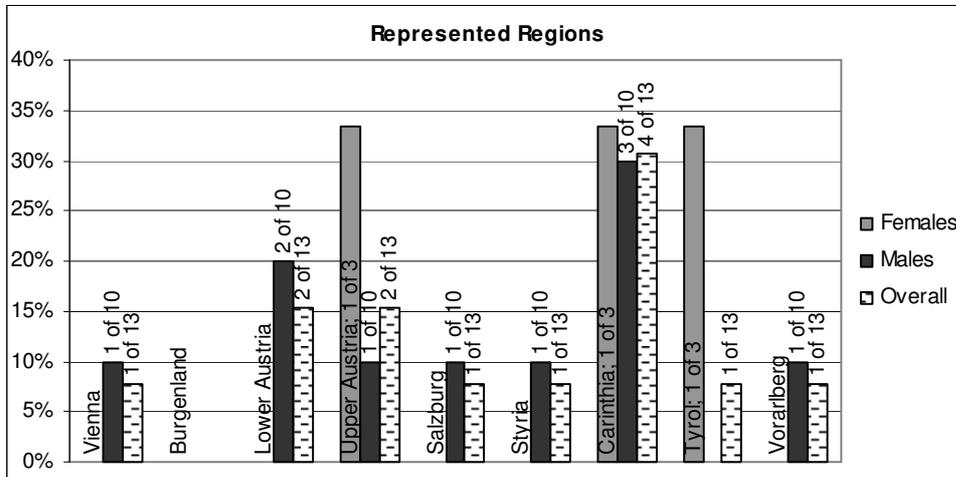
Table 31: Represented Regions by Ministers

	Females		Males		Overall	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Vienna	0	0%	1	10%	1	8%
Burgenland	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Lower Austria	0	0%	2	20%	2	15%
Upper Austria	1	33%	1	10%	2	15%
Salzburg	0	0%	1	10%	1	8%
Styria	0	0%	1	10%	1	8%
Carinthia	1	33%	3	30%	4	31%
Tyrol	1	33%	0	0%	1	8%
Vorarlberg	0	0%	1	10%	1	8%
n	3		10		13	

Notes: In the classification, the regional parties that could be identified as affiliations were taken first. Double entries were thus possible (when a person had affiliations to more than one regional party). Only for the ministers who did not have any affiliations to regional parties, the region of the place of residence during the childhood and youth was then taken instead. For more details on the empirical endeavour, see Appendix 1.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 29: Represented Regions by Ministers



Of the politicians not being affiliated to the regional layer, each one stems from Lower Austria, Vienna, and Upper Austria. Burgenland is not represented at all.

In conclusion, most politicians overall originate in Carinthia (4), followed by Upper and Lower Austria (each 2). The federal distribution of the ministers corresponds to the strong position of Carinthia and Upper Austria in the relations of forces in the party. The regional

¹³¹ Riess-Passer grew up in Upper Austria, but only held functions on the level of regional and local (party) politics in the region Tyrol.

party Vienna is only represented with one minister. However, it did not have a strong role in the 1980s; only in the 2000s, it became the third main player of the regional parties besides Carinthia and Upper Austria. The fact that Carinthia is disproportionately represented shows that Carinthia – the region in which Jörg Haider was regional governor – was a favoured recruitment pool of Haider in the governmental selections in the 2000s. Also Karin Gastinger who was formally partyless at the time of her first selection into government and is thus not represented in the graph, but was selected by the FPÖ, was from Carinthia, typically.

In the following, a biography of a female and of a male will illustrate the career accession process in this career path.

The Case of the Woman: Elisabeth Sickl (2000¹³²)

Sickl was born in Vienna, but moved to Carinthia in the 1960s. She completed her doctoral studies in Law and was trained as teacher in several subjects for Higher and Intermediate Technical and Vocational Colleges. She worked as a teacher and later as head of several Higher and Intermediate Technical and Vocational Colleges in Carinthia. Besides, she was an entrepreneur and owned a café-restaurant. Sickl is widowed and has four children. She was involved in the protest group against the nuclear power plant Zwentendorf and was founding member of the Unified Greens of Austria (Vereinte Grüne Österreich; VGÖ), a predecessor of the Green party. Sickl was rooted in a rather green, bourgeois background (IP 2). She was involved in the economic association RFW. From 1994 onwards, she served as member of the regional government in Carinthia, where Haider deputed her completely unexpectedly. After that, she was deputy of the regional party leader and Third President of the regional parliament in Carinthia. Hence, the regional party Carinthia figured as Sickl's power base. Sickl pertains to the career pattern of the quickstarters; she climbed the political career ladder relatively quickly. Haider recruited Sickl as Minister of Social Security and Generations in 2000. One interviewee underlines not to know the reason – and states that there probably is none – why Sickl became the Ministry of Social Affairs (IP 15). It was certainly of relevance that she was from Carinthia, Haider's preferred region. Sickl did not last long as minister; she was replaced only six months after her appointment. One interviewee states that the competences of the candidate usually

¹³² In the brackets, the year of the first selection into government as minister is indicated.

outweighed the representational demands of the party groups in the recruitment processes to government, but that for the FPÖ-cabinets in the 2000s completely different criteria were in order and gives Sickl as example (IP 1).

The Case of the Man: Harald Ofner (1983)

Harald Ofner grew up in a humble background in Vienna. His father was an employee in the industry sector. Ofner first served an apprenticeship as a high-voltage mechanic, as which he worked in the company *Siemens* for ten years. In the meantime, he completed his A-levels and attained a doctoral degree in law. Finally, he worked as self-employed attorney. He is married¹³³ and has three children. From the middle of the 1970s onwards, he served as member of a town council, deputy mayor, deputy of the regional party leader and – finally – as regional party leader of Lower Austria, consecutively, as well as as delegate in the National Assembly. Hence, the regional party of Lower Austria represented Ofner's power base. In 1980, he became deputy chairperson of the parliamentary group and deputy of the national party leader. He fulfilled a lengthy political career. Ofner was involved in the youth organization RFJ, the students' association RFS, the economic association RFW, and the unions. In 1983, Ofner was recruited as Minister of Justice by Steger, for which his vocation as attorney qualified him with regards to contents (IP 7). Ofner was the unofficial opposing candidate of Steger as new party leader on the national party conference in 1980, when Steger was finally elected (IP 5). By the integration of Ofner, Steger tried to incorporate those party groups, which had a critical approach towards his party leadership (IP 2). However, the regional party of Lower Austria was not a relevant power player within the party, wherefore Ofner's recruitment was a surprise (IP 7). After the elections in 1983, the general secretary Walter Grabher-Meyer asked him, if he would take the position of a State Secretary of Defence¹³⁴. He agreed and was told that he would be the new Minister for Defence. Three days before the official appointment, however, there was a change of plans: Frischenschlager, first planned as Minister of Justice, finally became Minister of Defence, and Ofner joined the Ministry of Justice (interview with Ofner).

¹³³ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not whether they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

¹³⁴ Norbert Steger asked all the ministers to be, if they would be ready to take over a state secretary, which is a serving position to the minister. And only if they agreed, he told them that it involves a ministerial position, really (IP 7; IP 5).

National (Party) Politics

Of those who were affiliated to national (party) politics, three male persons, Karl-Heinz Grasser, Herbert Scheibner, and Mathias Reichhold, were involved in the FPÖ's political academy and also held positions there. Hence, the relevance of the political academy is – in contrast to the SPÖ and the ÖVP – given.

The short presentation of the biographies of Susanne Riess-Passer and Herbert Scheibner will serve to illustrate this career path.

The Case of the Woman: Susanne Riess-Passer (2000)

Riess-Passer grew up in Upper Austria. She completed her doctoral degree in law. During her studies, she was involved in the students' association RFS and was head of the organization in Innsbruck, Tyrol. Riess-Passer is married and does not have any children. Riess-Passer reports that she wanted a job in the economy after her graduation and never wanted to enter politics: *"I was involved in university politics and found this is not for me¹³⁵."* (interview with Riess-Passer). She met Norbert Gugerbauer, the then chairperson of the parliamentary group of the FPÖ, by accident at an event in 1986. He still knew her from her time at the students' association RFS. Gugerbauer was looking for new employees and offered her a job in the press office of the FPÖ (interview with Riess-Passer), where she had several positions, consecutively. In 1991, she was sent as delegate to the Federal Assembly, where she also held the position of the chairperson of the parliamentary group. She was MP in the European Parliament and became head of Haider's office and deputy of the national party leader Haider. In 1999, she became a seat in the Tyrolean regional parliament. At the elections for the National Assembly in 1999, Riess-Passer ran as lead candidate for the Tyrolean FPÖ and served as MP in the National Assembly thereafter. As the coalition between FPÖ and ÖVP was fixed, the question arose who would become Vice Chancellor. Riess-Passer did not want the job in fact; Haider told her: *"You have to do it¹³⁶."* (interview with Riess-Passer). Riess-Passer became the Vice Chancellery and the portfolio of Public Accomplishments and Sports in 2000. She fulfils the definition of a lengthy political career. Riess-Passer's major power centres were the

¹³⁵ In the original: *"War in der Hochschulpolitik aktiv, hab gefunden, das ist nichts für mich."*

¹³⁶ In the original: *"Du musst es machen."*

national party and the regional party of Tyrol. She is a prototypical example of Haider's personal recruitment style: She was the only female who was part of Haider's Boys' Club ("Buberlpartie") (Zöchling 2002), stood in several work relationships with him and was known to be a loyal employee of Haider. They nourished a relation of trust at the time of her recruitment. Riess-Passer was the national party leader from 2000 until 2002.

The Case of the Man: Herbert Scheibner (2000)

Herbert Scheibner grew up in Vienna. His father was car painter, his mother accountant. Scheibner's parents were socialists. Scheibner began to study law, but dropped out. He married¹³⁷ and has two children. Scheibner had worked as self-employed insurance broker for a year before he entered politics on a full-time-basis at the end of the 1980s. The national party became his power base: Among other things, he was office-manager in the general office of the FPÖ, deputy in the National Assembly, general secretary, head of the FPÖ's academy, and chairperson of the FPÖ's parliamentary group. He had a lengthy political career. Scheibner was involved in the youth organization RFJ – of which he was national leader for several years –, the students' association RFS, and the economic association RFW. He belonged to the innermost circle of Haider as he was part of his Boys' Club ("Buberlpartie"). In 2000, he was recruited by Haider to the Ministry of Defence. He had been chairperson of the parliamentary committee for defence and the FPÖ's speaker for defence (IP 15) and was hence qualified as regards contents.

1.2. The Second Career Type

The second career type involves positions in the Chamber of Economy and the Chamber of Agriculture – which are institutions of the social partnership traditionally dominated by the ÖVP – and the FPÖ's farmers' association FBO. Each one was – additionally to the party – affiliated to one of the named institutions and organizations: Helmut Krünes to the Chamber of Economy and Mathias Reichhold to the Chamber of Agriculture and to the farmers' association FBO.

¹³⁷ In the biographical research, I only researched, whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not if they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

The Case of the Man: Mathias Reichhold (2002)

Mathias Reichhold grew up in a family of farmers in Carinthia. He was educated as a teacher for agricultural education. He married¹³⁸ and has two children. He was employed in the Chamber of Agriculture for several years, before working as teacher and then as peasant on his family's farm. From the middle of the 1980s onwards, he had many (party) political positions. The succession of his functions is prototypical for the FPÖ under Haider in so far as the change of institutions and functions was short-lived, quick and often reversed: For example, he was MP in the National Assembly for two years, then served as deputy of the regional governor in Carinthia, was in the National Assembly again for a year, had a short intermezzo in the European Parliament, before entering the National Assembly again for two years, was then – yet again – staffed with the position of the deputy of the regional governor of Carinthia. Among other functions, he also was general secretary of the FPÖ, deputy of the chairperson of the parliamentary group of the FPÖ, head of a FPÖ's district organization in Carinthia, and head of the FPÖ's academy. Hence, the national and the Carinthian party represented power bases of his. Besides, also the Chamber of Agriculture and the FPÖ's farmer organization FBO can be classified as power centres: In the Chamber of Agriculture, where he started his political career, he was attributed with the Vice Presidency in 1992. In the FBO, he was head for a period of time. Reichhold was – as confidant of Haider – part of Haider's Boys' Club ("Buberlpartie"). In 2002, he was provided with the Ministry of Transport, Innovation and Technology. After the events of Knittelfeld in 2002, he was put in as party leader, only for several months however.

1.3. Conclusion: The Career Trajectories in the FPÖ and their Sex/Gender Relations

In conclusion, there are two career types in the FPÖ: Whereas the first one involves affiliations to national and regional (party) politics and hence positions in the party and the state, the second type includes affiliations to the Chamber of Economy and of Agriculture as well as to the farmers' association FBO. Hence, whereas the nodal point of the first

¹³⁸ In the biographical research, I only researched whether the ministers married (which was already difficult to investigate in many cases) and not whether they were divorced or widowed later on. Hence, only the information about a potential marriage can be given here.

career type represents the party, the second career type is rooted in the social partnership. In the table and the figure below, the sex/gender implications of the two career types are presented.

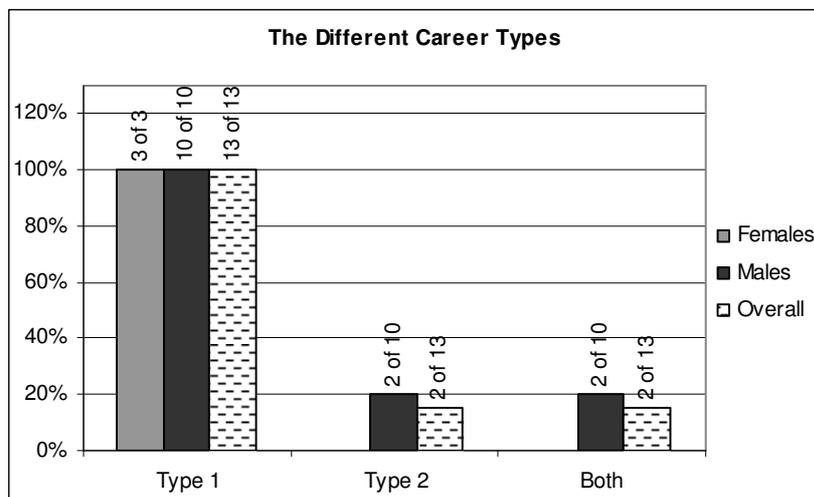
Table 32: The Different Career Types

	Females	Males	Overall
Type 1	3	10	13
Type 2	0	2	2
Both	0	2	2
n	3	10	13

Notes: The different career types were produced by summing up the different affiliations or career centres within each career type.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 30: The Different Career Types



All of the 13 FPÖ-ministers belong to the first career type via the party. Two men are additionally affiliated to the second career type, which is composed of institutions of the social partnership. The social partnership is largely dominated by the SPÖ and the ÖVP, whereby it does not represent a large recruitment pool for the FPÖ. None of the females belonged to an institution of the social partnership; the second career type is only constituted of males.

Although the involved entities of females and males are low, the presented data in this section suggests the affirmation of the hypothesis that the career paths for women and men differ: The second career type through the institutions of the social partnership is only constituted of males. As concerns the party career type, it seems that women are rather affiliated to local and regional (party) politics than to the national layer. These results match those reached for the other two parties and are hence not incidental. In contrast to the other two parties, the FPÖ does not dispose over an exclusively female career path,

which is represented in the other parties by the women's organization. The hypothesis will be more broadly assessed in Chapter 7.

(2) The Relevance of Social Capital: Networks, In-Groups, and Political Friendships

Social capital was operationalized by the belonging to, the holding of positions in, and the affiliations to a selection of networks considered as relevant, which were identified by the literature and by the search for recurring networks in the biographical material. The research was thoroughly conducted; still, the acquired data has to be handled carefully as data of belonging to networks is difficult to access¹³⁹.

Overall, a majority of the politicians under scrutiny (12 of 13 or 92 %) are members in the researched networks. Although the criterion applies for all women (3 of 3) and only a part of the men (9 of 10 or 90 %), the average of networks is higher for men (2.9) than for women (1.3)¹⁴⁰. The data targets the hypothesis that there are differences in the capital and resources held by females and males, which cannot be analyzed here because of the low entities involved. It will be subject of discussion in Chapter 7 for all parties. In the following, the shares of belonging to the researched networks are presented:

¹³⁹ See Appendix 1 for more detail on the empirical issues.

¹⁴⁰ The average values refer to the entity of all female or male FPÖ-ministers.

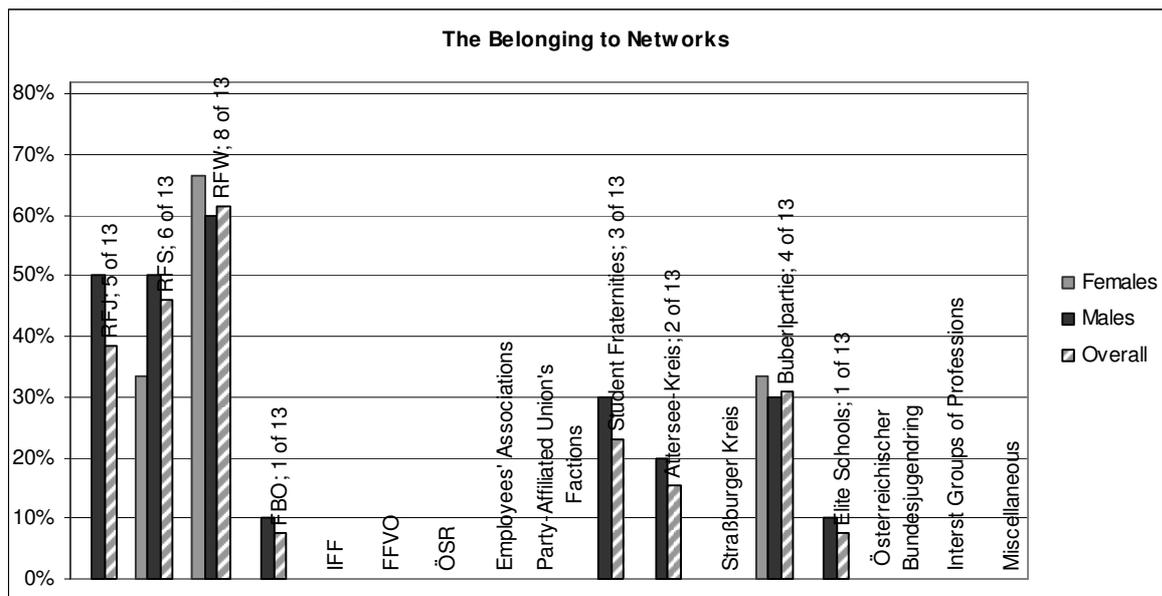
Table 33: The Belonging to Networks

	Females		Males		Overall	
RFJ	0	0%	5	50%	5	38%
RFS	1	33%	5	50%	6	46%
RFW	2	67%	6	60%	8	62%
FBO	0	0%	1	10%	1	8%
IFF	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
FFVÖ	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
ÖSR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Employees' Associations	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Party-Affiliated Union's Factions	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Student Fraternities	0	0%	3	30%	3	23%
Atterseekreis	0	0%	2	20%	2	15%
Straßburger Kreis	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Bublerpartie	1	33%	3	30%	4	31%
Elite Schools	0	0%	1	10%	1	8%
Österreichischer Bundesjugendring	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Interest Groups of Professions	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Miscellaneous	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
n	3		10		13	

Notes: RFJ = Youth Organization; RFS = Students' Organization; RFW = Economic Association; FBO = Farmers' Association; IFF = Women's Association; FFVÖ = Family Association; ÖSR = Retirees' Association

Source: Own statistics

Figure 31: The Belonging to Networks



The economic association RFW (8 persons), the student association RFS (6), and the youth organization RFJ (5) of the FPÖ prove to be – in that order – the most important networks. Haider's *Bublerpartie* (“Boys’ Club”) follows: It is in an informal network, revolving around Jörg Haider and chiefly designates a group of young (male) politicians who were forming the innermost circle around Jörg Haider since his political accession to the position of the party leader. Four of the ministers who were recruited in the 2000s were part of this network. Among them was one woman, Susanne Riess-Passer, who was the only female member of that group (Zöchling 2002). The relevance of the *Bublerpartie* as

recruitment pool indicates the significance of the personal recruitment style of Haider. This rank is succeeded by the national student fraternities: Three male politicians are part of those, mostly in several¹⁴¹. Two males were engaged in the *Atterseekreis* and represent two of the three ministers recruited under the party leader Steger in the governmental participation in the 1980s and thus corroborate the relevance of the network during that time. Finally, one person was active in the farmers' association of the FPÖ, the FBO, and one minister attended a so-called elite school¹⁴² during the upper-secondary level, namely the *Akademisches Gymnasium*. The party's organization for the family (FFVÖ), for women (IFF), and for the retirees (ÖSR) did not have any members among the ministers. Neither did the party-affiliated employees' associations (FA, AUF, RFA), the party-affiliated union's factions, the *Straßburger Kreis*, the *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring* (ÖBJR), other interest groups of the professions, or other relevant organizations subsumed under "miscellaneous".

As concerns sex/gender relations, only the student association RFS (1 person) and the economic association RFW (2) are networks, which have female members among the ministers. The youth organization RFJ, the student fraternities in general, the farmers' association FBO, an attendance of an elite institution, and the *Atterseekreis* are set up with males, entirely. Although the data has to be interpreted carefully due to the low entities of involved persons, the domination of the student fraternities by male ministers is not incidental, but a product of the structural discrimination of women in these organizations. Similarly, the fact that the attendance of elite schools is only composed of a male minister is not a coincidence, as the alumni associations of the elite schools are only constituted by males in all parties. The *Atterseekreis* was a relevant recruitment pool only during the governmental participation of the party in the 1980s, when only males were ministers, wherefore the network is only set up by male ministers. The so-called "*Buberlpartie*" involved a female minister (Riess-Passer); however, the organization must still be characterized as an old boys' club as she was the only female member (Zöchling 2002).

¹⁴¹ For further detail see the section "National Student Fraternities" further below.

¹⁴² Those were identified by the literature (Stimmer 1997, 1011; Seifert 1998, 186-187; Gewinn 2006, 88) and the search for patterns in the upper-secondary school attendance of the ministers and include – in the case of all of the researched ministers – the academic secondary schools *Schottengymnasium*, the *Kollegium Kalksburg*, the *Akademisches Gymnasium* (with its different locations), the *Theresianum*, the *Stiftsgymnasium Seitenstetten*, the *Piaristengymnasium*, the *Hietzinger Gymnasium*, as well as the two academies, the *Theresianische Militärakademie* and the Diplomatic Academy.

About half of the ministers (6 of 13 or 46 %) held positions in one of the researched networks, which applies to one of the three women and half of the men (5 of 10). The concerned networks include the youth organization RFJ, the student association RFS, and the *Österreichischer Pennälerring* (ÖPR). Posts in the party's sub-organizations – such as the farmers' association FBO – were already dealt with as part of the career paths and will not be treated here again. Stimmer professes that the FPÖ also recruited from leading positions *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring* (Stimmer 1997, 1046). For the government members under selection, this does not apply, though.

The same proportion that held posts in networks had (an) affiliation(s) to one or several network(s), namely – in that order – the RFS (1 female, 3 males), the RFJ (2 males), and the ÖPR (1 male). All of the concerned ministers here had – besides the power bases in the networks – (an) affiliation(s) to one or several party group(s) as well¹⁴³.

In the following, several relevant networks will be specifically addressed:

The Student Association RFS

The students' association RFS was a very important recruitment pool in former times. During the 1960s and 1970s, the RFS was a strong force in university politics: It had many voters during a long time. Until today, however, the organization has become irrelevant (IP 7; cf. also: Riess-Passer 2004, 175; Luther 2006, 375; Niederkofler 2004, 400). Hence, it does not serve as recruitment pool anymore; the student fraternities took its place (IP 7). This view stands in contrast to the data of the biographical analysis, which might indicate that – although many of the FPÖ-politicians were part of the organization – the belonging to the network was not a decisive factor in recruitment.

The Youth Organization RFJ

Many of the politicians who later occupied central positions in the FPÖ, were involved in the RFJ during their youth; among them also Haider. Because of ideological and political conflicts, the regional group of Upper Austria, but then also the ones of Tyrol, Vorarlberg

¹⁴³ Also the researched criteria indicated here will be used to explore the hypothesis whether women and men pertain over different forms and amounts of capital and resources.

and Burgenland, disassociated themselves from the national organization of the RFJ in 2003 (Luther 2006, 375).

National Student Fraternities

Student fraternities can be split into Catholic and national ones; only the latter will be examined here. There are school and academic student fraternities (Krause 2007, 290-303), whereas the latter includes different organizational forms such as, for example, Burschenschaften, Corps, Gildenschaften, Landsmannschaften, Sängerschaften, Turnerschaften, Vereine Deutscher Studenten, student fraternities for females, or other student fraternities (Stimmer 1997, 998). These each are related to different umbrella organizations, which often involve organizations from Austria and Germany: The *Deutsche Burschenschaft in Österreich* (DBÖ) and the *Deutsche Burschenschaft* (DB) have Burschenschaften as members. The Austrian Corps are (partly) organized in the *Köseener Senioren-Convents-Verband* (KSCV) and the *Wiener Senioren-Convent* (Wiener S.C.). The *Coburger Convent* (CC) and the *Österreichischer Landsmannschafter- und Turnerschaften-Convent* (ÖLTC) unite Turnerschaften and Landsmannschaften. Besides, there are – amongst others – the umbrella organizations *Kongreß Akademischer Jagdkorporationen* (KAJC), *Verband der Vereine Deutscher Studenten* (VVD ST), the *Akademischer Turnbund* (ATB(Ö)), and the *Österreichischer Pennälerring* (ÖPR) (Stimmer 1997, 998; Krause 2007, 284-303). In the latter, nearly all of the so-called “schlagende” school student fraternities are organized (Zellhofer 1996, 27; email-information of the Österreichischer Pennälerring). The different associations often share basal traits such as tendencies to the extreme right and a blunt nationalism (Zellhofer 1996, 27). Most of the student fraternities are associations of men only; females are usually formally excluded (Krause 2007, 278).

The student fraternities serve as recruitment pools of the party (IP 7; IP 3; IP 5; see also: Niederkofler 2004, 400). Their relevance is also due to the dearth of academics in the FPÖ (IP 3; IP 5). The student fraternities were less influential in the recruitment processes in the 2000s than in the 1980s (IP 2; Hauch 2000, 59; Schiedel/Tröger n.d.). Another respondent, though, asserts that the relevance of the student fraternities has not been decreasing, but that quite the contrary is the case (IP 7). It is also possible that because of the political agitation on the level of the European Union and in Austria, caused by the inclusion of the

FPÖ in government from 2000 onwards, representatives of the far right were spared and more members of student fraternities were thus *not recruited*.

Two of the three ministers recruited in the 1980s (Friedhelm Frischenschlager, Helmut Krünes) and one person staffed in the 2000s (Herbert Haupt) are part of student fraternities: Frischenschlager is member in the school student fraternity *Alte Gymnasialverbindung (AGV) Rugia zu Salzburg*, organized in the ÖPR, the *Salzburger Landsmannschaft*, and the *Universitätssängerschaft Barden zu Wien*. Krünes is part of the *Verein deutscher Studenten (VdSt!) Sudetia* and Haupt belongs to the school student Burschenschaft *Gotia Teurnia zu Spittal*, organized in the ÖPR, and the *Akademische Landsmannschaft Kärnten zu Wien*. Additionally, the officially partyless Dieter Böhmdorfer¹⁴⁴ who was selected by the FPÖ in the 2000s, was part of student fraternities as well, namely the *Akademische Jägerschaft Sylvania Wien* (organized in the KAJC) and the Burschenschaft *Südmark* – both networks, in which Jörg Haider was part of as well (Salzmann/Rippert 2001; Bailer/Neugebauer 1998).

*Atterseekreis*¹⁴⁵

The *Atterseekreis* was the liberal pendant to the *Straßburger Kreis*: The tradition of two schools of thought is rooted in the time of the VdU, the organizational predecessor of the FPÖ: The old, moderately incriminated National Socialists were organized in the *Straßburger Kreis*, whereas the liberal business and socially committed people were involved in the *Atterseekreis* (IP 2). The *Reinhallerkreis* also was a network of the German-nationalist branch (Österreichisches Parlament 2008d). The tradition of the two currents only ended when the political academy of the FPÖ was founded, in which protagonists of both tendencies found their place (IP 2). As already alluded, the *Atterseekreis* represented a strong recruitment pool under Steger who was part of the network himself (IP 2; interview with Steger; see also: Stimmer 1997, 1040-1041). The *Atterseekreis* was originally a partyless group of young academics, which grew relatively quickly to about 200 members. The aim of the group was to nourish contacts with all

¹⁴⁴ Böhmdorfer also worked as attorney of the FPÖ in many cases and was Haider's confidant.

¹⁴⁵ In contrast to the expert groups *1400 Experten* (SPÖ) and *Aktion 20* (ÖVP), which were not included in the presentation and the data analysis concerning the belonging to networks, the *Atterseekreis* was not an expert group, which was set up by the party in order to get expertise, but was installed as network first aiming at giving expertise to the political parties. This is why the *Atterseekreis* is included in the analysis of network-belonging.

parties and to send them concept papers. The parties were not really interested, though. The only one who reacted was Friedrich Peter, the then party leader of the FPÖ. He invited the circle to the national party conference in 1971, which was the first step to integrate the network into the FPÖ. Those involved in the *Atterseekreis* decided to enter the FPÖ (IP 7). Many of those who were involved in the *Atterseekreis* were part of student fraternities at the same time (IP 2; see also: Stimmer 1997, 1044). Major representatives of the *Atterseekreis* aimed to take over regional parties of the FPÖ like Steger in Vienna, Haider in Carinthia, Gugerbauer in Upper Austria, or Frischenschlager in Salzburg. Some succeeded, some did not (IP 7).

A belonging to the *Atterseekreis* is different from the memberships to other networks in so far as not only social capital comes into effect, but also cultural capital: The members were preliminary constituted by academics creating political concept papers. The involved persons hence disposed over cultural capital in the form of expert knowledge and the status of being recognized as expert in the political field by belonging to the group. Apart from the *Atterseekreis*, none of the ministers worked as experts for the party or were involved in any other expert groups.

In conclusion, the data presented in this section proposes to affirm the hypothesis that the representation in networks bears sex/gender differences: Whereas three networks (the student association RFS, the economic association RFW, and the *Buberlpartie*) also have females among its members, the other networks are completely dominated by male ministers. Although the involved entity of ministers is low, the male dominance of several networks cannot be regarded as a coincidence, but has to be seen as a product of the character of these networks as old boys' clubs. This applies especially to the student fraternities and the attendance of so-called elite schools. The *Buberlpartie*, the personal network around Jörg Haider, even involved a female minister. However, she was the only female member among many males, wherefore the network has to be characterized as male organized as well.

III. Conclusion

As concerns the selectors, I explored the hypothesis that the processes of recruitment are chiefly determined by the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces within the party. This was affirmed for the FPÖ. The party even supplies us with an example of the mechanisms of this power game and of the potential consequences, if the relations of forces (and hence the representational interests of the according party groups) are not sufficiently regarded by the party leader: Steger did not consider the representational interests of the decisive party groups – first and foremost the regional parties Carinthia and Upper Austria – enough in the 1980s. The logical result was his overthrow by Jörg Haider in 1986.

The main players in the power game of selection are constituted by the respective party leader and – following that – the regional parties occupying a strong position in the party, which chiefly applies to the regional parties Carinthia and Upper Austria and – but only for the 2000s – Vienna. Besides, there are also other recruitment pools such as the economic association RFW, the farmers' association FBO, or the FPÖ's academy. During Steger's time, the *Atterseekreis* was a crucial recruitment pool. Steger had a quite personal recruitment style, but not as much as Haider. Since Haider's take-over of the party in 1986, the different party groups have significantly lost in influence. Since then, the "Haider-factor" became critical in recruitment as Jörg Haider staffed positions very personally and according to his whims. For example, there are many representatives of Haider's circle of confidants (such as the "Boys' Club" or – in German – "Buberlpartie") as well as "his" region, Carinthia.

As concerns the recruited, two hypotheses were enrolled, whereby some of them cannot be sufficiently answered because of the low entities of females and males, the data referred to: Firstly, it was assumed that the typical career paths differ for women and men. The data suggests the correctness of the hypothesis: There are two career types for the FPÖ, one leads through the party, whereas the other one is located in the social partnership and only of small relevance. Within the party career type, it seems that women are rather affiliated to the regional than to the national level in contrast to men. Additionally, the second career type (through the social partnership) only brought forward males. Hence, the sex/gender differences as concerns the career paths are similar to the relations in the SPÖ and the ÖVP and can hence not be seen as a coincidence. In contrast to the other two political parties, there is no entirely female career path (constituted by the women's organization in the SPÖ and the ÖVP). Overall, women dispose over fewer career paths than men.

Secondly and similarly to the first hypothesis, it was assumed that the representation in networks shows sex/gender-specific traits as many networks can be characterized as male organized. Females were only part in three of the eight networks. It has to be outlined that due to the low entity of FPÖ-ministers, conclusions have to be drawn with caution. However, as concerns several networks, the male dominance cannot be interpreted as a coincidence. This applies, for example, to the national student fraternities, to the attendance of elite schools, and to the *Buberlpartie*.

7. Sex/Gender Relations in Political Recruitment

In the last few chapters, the processes of selections and the political careers in the different political parties and their sex/gender relations were ascertained. This chapter will deliver a synopsis of the party-specific results and embed it into a more general analysis of sex/gender relations in recruitment practices into the Austrian government. For this endeavour, the analytical model developed will be more thoroughly applied: The dimensions of recruitment processes will hence be enrolled according to the different layers of the political field, the political parties, and the recruitment processes themselves, which are again split into the perspective of the selectors (tackling the sub-research question *Who selects?*) and the recruited (targeting the sub-research question *How do political careers work?*), and analyzed with respect to their sex/gender relations. The hypotheses that will be evaluated in this chapter concern these very two sections and will be ascertained in the beginning of each section.

I. The Political Field

There are three critical factors in the political field which influence recruitment practices: Firstly, the *properties of the political field*, which encompass the features of the political field in Austria as a whole, such as the structure, the limits or the characteristics of the political field. Secondly, *formal and informal rules* regulating the practices of recruitment. Thirdly, there are *several (external) factors* which influence recruitment and which have to be located in society and/or in the political field. The three dimensions will be discussed in the following section.

(1) The Properties of the Political Field

The political field in Austria after 1945 can be – following Plasser/Ullram (2006, 559) – differentiated into five periods: The first period, immediately after 1945, shows the greatest concentration of parties because the occupying powers restricted the possibilities of candidacy of the parties and forbade the candidacy of former National-Socialists in any form. The second period in the late 1940s and the early 1950s is marked by the re-

establishment of the “third camp” in the form of the VdU or WdU¹⁴⁶. In the third period from the mid-1950s until the beginning of the 1980s, the political field consolidated. The fourth period, from 1986 until 1999, is characterized by the entry of the Greens and (temporarily) of the *Liberales Forum* (LIF) into the National Assembly and by the uplift of the FPÖ. The beginning of the current period set in with the elections for the National Assembly in 2002, as the FPÖ experienced a devastating election defeat; the ÖVP was elected by most voters and continued the coalition with the FPÖ in 2000 (Plasser/Ullram 2006, 559).

Austria is a party democracy (Müller 2006e, 185), which means that the political parties can be conceived as the main players (Bendel 2003, 458). The camp mentality (“Lagermentalität”) (Wandruszka 1954) in Austria went along with a strong organizational density of the parties in society (Stirnemann 1988, 613): The term entails that nearly everyone belonged to one of the parties – mostly to the major parties, the Social-Democratic Party (SPÖ) and the Austrian People’s Party (ÖVP), – or one of their many party-affiliated networks and was already born into one of the camps. This explains the high organizational level of the parties themselves (Nick/Pelinka 1996/1993, 70, 73) and the fact that the Austrian parties have party members above average in comparison to other countries (Pelinka 1977/1974, 39). The organizational strength of the political parties is tied to the development of a thorough system of patronage or clientelism (Stirnemann 1988, 613). With the Grand Coalition between the SPÖ and the ÖVP, the “proportional system” (“Proporz” in German) was established: The two major parties did not only serve as gatekeepers for state positions, but controlled the access to political positions in the executive and the legislative, the judiciary or the leading bureaucracy (Nick 1996/1993, 70-71; Stimmer 1997, 957; Stirnemann 1988, 599; Pelinka 1977/1974, 534) as well as many other positions in the state sector or state- or party-affiliated areas such as the (partly) state-owned economic sector or the educational system (Pelinka 1988, 39). This development has fostered the bureaucratization of career advancements (Pelinka 1977/1974, 39) and contributed to the extreme stability of the relations of forces of the political field in the sense of a “*decreptitude*” (in German “Verkrustung”) (Nick 1996/1993, 71). Although the organizational levels of the parties have eased due to the fact that the positions of the political parties have been eroding and the traditional relations of

¹⁴⁶ Short for: “Verband der Unabhängigen” and “Wahlpartei der Unabhängigen”. It is the predecessor of the FPÖ.

forces have experienced a partial crisis of legitimation, they still have to be considered as strong in comparison to other countries (Nick/Pelinka 1996/1993, 71, 73).

The Austrian political field is coined by pronounced corporatist traits (Pelinka 2003a, 540). The Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB), the Chamber of Labour (AK), the Chamber of Agriculture (LWK), and the Chamber of Economy (WK) are the four most important associations of the social partnership. The compulsory membership of people with the respective professional background in the chambers (AK, WK, LWK) and the high organizational degree of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB) result in a high organizational level of the population in the trade associations. The institutions of the social partnership are populated by factions structured along party lines and are tightly interwoven with the political parties: In each of the four trade associations one of the major parties is dominating (Nick/Pelinka 1996/1993, 87, 91): The unions and the Chamber of Labour belong to the influence sphere of the SPÖ (and the according faction, the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG)), whereas the Chamber of Agriculture and of Economy are bestrode by the ÖVP and their respective leagues (the farmers' league ÖBB, the economic league ÖWB)¹⁴⁷. The intertwining of the Austrian parties and the associations is not only evident by the characterization of the associations along party political lines, but is also marked by the strong presence of representatives of the associations in the parties and the state (Pelinka 1970, 535; 2003a, 542). The intertwining of the social partnership with the political field or the state are stronger than in other corporatist countries through the party-political organization of the associations and the traditional ties to the two major parties (Neyer 1996, 88-89). For example, one of the informal rules entails that the top officials of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB) are delegates in the National Assembly (Profil 1974d, 25). Also, there are regions, in which the regional governor has to be a functionary of the Chamber of Agriculture. In others, it has to be a unionist or someone from the employees' league ÖAAB (IP 15).

Since the 1980s, the Association of Industrialists (VÖI) has gained in relevance, which is a "free" association with voluntary membership. Whereas the Chamber of Agriculture has lost significance in – for example – issues concerning wage earners, the Association of Industrialists has established as the fourth player (Karlhofer 2001, 14; Fink 2006, 454).

¹⁴⁷ The respective factions of the dominating party are already indicated in the brackets. The other factions include for the SPÖ the Sozialdemokratischer Wirtschaftsverband (SWV) in the Chamber of Economy and the SPÖ-Bauern in the Chamber of Agriculture. For the ÖVP, the employees' league (ÖAAB) is active in the Chamber of Labour and the Christian Union's Faction (FCG) in the ÖGB (cf. e.g.: Pelinka 2003a, 542).

Legally, federalism is relatively underdeveloped in Austria. In fact, though, the regions are highly relevant in terms of power (Pelinka 2003a, 546).

Austria is part of the European Union. Interestingly, the influential dimensions on recruitment practices can be largely confined to the national level; the European Union usually does not have any effect. The recruitment processes in the FPÖ from 2000 to 2006 represent an exception, though: The FPÖ – which was not regarded as a potential government member since the take-over of the party by Jörg Haider in 1986 and its shift to the right – represented the coalition partner of the ÖVP from 2000 to 2006. This met with fierce opposition from parts of society, several political players in Austria and from the EU, and resulted in EU-sanctions against Austria. The political stir had an influence on the political recruitment practices in the FPÖ: Foremost, the entry of Jörg Haider into the cabinet was prevented by that (Perger 2010).

(2) Formal and Informal Rules as Concerns Governmental Recruitment

The party composition of the government results from the elections to the National Assembly and – if necessary – coalition negotiations between the parties (Müller 2006e, 185). Legally, the President appoints the Federal Chancellor and – upon his proposal – the other members of the government (B-VG, Art. 70 (1)). There are no legal rules, but it is established that the President assigns the party leader of the party with the most mandates with the government formation *first*. Only if he (sic!) is not able to build a cabinet with another party, leaders of other parties are assigned. However, this case is exceptional. The president only very seldomly interfered with the government formation, in 1949 and in 2000 (Müller 2006e, 185). In 2000, President Klestil had to swear in the ÖVP-FPÖ-coalition against his will. However, he refuted the appointment of two originally foreseen FPÖ-ministers, Hilmar Kabas and Thomas Prinzhorn (Müller 2006a, 195).

The Federal Chancellor formally only is – as chairperson of the government (Art. 69) – *primus inter pares* within government and is not entitled to give instructions. In fact, however, the legally attributed role is greater and smaller at the same time: On the one hand, the Federal Chancellor has the legally attributed personnel competence for the selection of the governmental members and usually is party leader of the party with the most votes, which strengthens his position. On the other hand, though, the formally

attributed personnel competence is constricted in coalitions: It is an iron law in Austria that the personnel selection is an exclusively party-internal process (Müller 2006e, 173-174).

Only people who are eligible to the National Assembly can become governmental members (B-VG, Art. 70 (2)). Summed up, the conditions for being appointed as a minister are the holding of the Austrian citizenship, a specific age and the non-exclusion of electoral rights (NRWO 1992, § 21 (1), § 41). Between 1966 and 2006, especially the demanded year of age changed, which had to be reached at a specific date (which will be neglected here): Until 1968, every person could become a minister who had transgressed the 29th year of age (B-VG, Art. 26 (4), idF 1945). Then, this age was lowered to 25 (B-VG, Art. 26 (4), idF 1969), to 21 from 1979 onwards (B-VG, Art. 26 (4), idF 1979), and to 19 in 1993 (B-VG, Art. 26 (4), idF 1993). As concerns the exclusion from electoral rights, this could only be the result of a judicial conviction or a decree until 1993 (B-VG, Art. 26 (5), idF 1945, idF 1969, idF 1979). From then on, it only followed from a legally binding conviction to a custodial sentence of more than one year because of one or more criminal act(s) conducted with deliberate intention(s) (NRWO 1992, § 21 (1)) (B-VG, Art. 26 (5), idF 1993).

(3) Several (External) Factors

The discussed factors in the following (pressure for the recruitment of women, the media, financial lobbying) are hybrid in so far, as they unify elements of external struggles in the competitive fight between the parties for votes in the wider societal universe and elements of the political field at the same time.

3.1. The Pressure for the Recruitment of Women in Society and the Political Field

Whether women are purposefully selected into government and to which extent is a question of public opinion and of the pressure executed by forces outside or inside the political field. This view is also shared by an interviewee (IP 12) and illustrated by an example: The fact that Grete Rehor – the first female minister in Austria in 1966 – was a woman also played a role in her recruitment (IP 12). The women in the ÖVP were not

strongly represented back then. But there were several female MPs in parliament, who were rather from the motherly type, but very resolute and who pressured the higher presentation of females very much: “*But most in the ÖVP then, the men then said: ‘Ok. Now, we fulfilled our obligations. Now we have a woman. And just not more.’*”¹⁴⁸ (IP 12). As concerns the SPÖ at least, the purposeful selection of women also depends on whether the women’s organization puts forward strong demands and makes proposals. One respondent assesses: “*I am still convinced that without a strong women’s organization, the female representation will decrease again*”¹⁴⁹.” (IP 4). Other studies corroborate this finding: Sanbonmatsu (2006, 157) professed that where public opinion, measured by ideology and gender role ideology, is more liberal, there are more women in state legislative office.

3.2. The Media

Bourdieu (2001, 32-33) included the media in the definition of the political field as they are relevant for the distribution of political significance. However, I would argue that the media occupy a somewhat intermediate position as they only have influence on politics because they are – on the one hand – crucial in the framing of the opinions of the voters in society and party functionaries – on the other hand – have an interest in the maximization of votes (IP 3). Furthermore, the media also mirror societal expectations of the public to a certain extent (IP 9). A direct impact of the media on the selection practices cannot be established. However, the media can contribute to the demission of politicians (IP 13; IP 15; IP 1). Their impact in this respect depends on who is party leader (IP 1).

3.3. Financial Lobbying

One interviewee identifies “[t]hose who pay.”¹⁵⁰ as influences on recruitment processes. The Association of Industrialists, for example, massively tries to position its people in all the parties and directly ties donations to the condition that a certain person becomes a seat

¹⁴⁸ In the original: “*Aber die meisten haben dann in der ÖVP, die Männer haben dann gesagt ‘Okay. Jetzt haben wir unsere Pflicht getan. Jetzt haben wir eine Frau. Und nur nicht mehr.’*”

¹⁴⁹ In the original: “*Ich bin nach wie vor der Überzeugung, dass ohne eine feste Frauenorganisation die Frauen wieder runterfallen.*”

¹⁵⁰ In the original: “*Die, die zahlen.*”

in parliament. The bank *Raiffeisen* does not act as directly. They pay, if certain policy positions are supported (IP 7).

II. The Party Context

Although formally the Federal Chancellor proposes the members of government, the personnel selections for government are party-internal matters, in which the coalition partner does not have a say (IP 9; IP 8; IP 13; IP 4; IP 3; IP 14), apart from rare exceptions (IP 8; IP 13): “*Only when somebody so to say hurt the inner feelings of a party, can this play a decisive role in negotiations in the form of a veto¹⁵¹.*” (IP 8).

III. The Recruitment Practices in the Political Parties

In the following, recruitment processes are delineated from the perspective of the selectors and of the recruited.

III. A. The Side of the Selectors

According to the analytical model developed in the theoretical chapter, the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces, informal and formal rules, the sex composition of the selectors, the party ideology, and the number of distributable resources play a part in the processes of selection. The impact of party ideology and the availability of distributable resources are handled in Chapter 3; the latter is only briefly discussed here with respect to coalition matters.

Two hypotheses will be explored, from the side of the selectors: (1) The first hypothesis assumes that the (sexed/gendered) power relations within the parties are determinant for

¹⁵¹ In the original: “*Nur dann, wenn jemand quasi die inneren Gefühle der Partei verletzt hat, kann das bei Verhandlungen eine entscheidende Rolle spielen in Richtung auf ein Veto.*”

the processes of selection. It has already been treated in the party-specific chapters (Chapters 4 to 6) and will be discussed more broadly here. (2) I hypothesized that the principle of the permanence of the incumbents applies less to females than to males. On the pages ahead, the following topics will be treated: the number of distributable resources, the definition of recruitment processes as power struggles, the characterization and course of recruitment processes, the selectors, the rules and established practices, and the multi-dimensional demands of the selectors.

(1) The Number of Distributable Positions

The relative position of the party in the structure of relations of forces determines, how many and which positions a party has at hand, which has an effect on the selection of personnel: If a political party disposes over an position endowed with a high amount of capital (mainly determined by the elections' results), it can form a majority government. In times of coalitions, the relative positions of the parties decide over the bargaining powers of the parties and the results of the coalition negotiations. The distribution of the portfolios between coalescing parties is with few exceptions dealt with in the very last negotiation rounds (IP 13). In the distribution of portfolios, there is a notion of certain key portfolios¹⁵², then ideas of balance come into play – as concerns coalitions between the SPÖ and the ÖVP at least: There are several portfolios, which are usually split between the parties: the Ministries of Education and of Science as well as concerns Social Affairs and Economy (IP 8).

(2) The Definition of Recruitment Processes as Power Struggles

The recruitment processes in the different political parties do not differ very much, especially as concerns the two major parties SPÖ and the ÖVP. In all parties, the recruitment processes in the parties have to be understood as power struggles between various party groups seeking state power, i.e. the occupation of the governmental positions. In these processes, the party leader¹⁵³ represents the main player and central angle point in

¹⁵² For the definition of those, please see the section “(3) The Qualitative Representation of Females and Males” on page 76.

¹⁵³ When the two positions of the Federal Chancellor and of the party leader were split between Franz Vranitzky and Fred Sinowatz from 1986 to 1988, it was the Federal Chancellor who occupied the central

all parties (IP 2; IP 5; IP 7; IP 15; IP 1; IP 3; IP 11). It has to be outlined that, compared to other countries, the party chairperson occupies by far the most important position within the parties in Austria because he¹⁵⁴ is the “*leader not only of the internal party organs, but also in the electoral, parliamentary and governmental arenas.*” (Müller/Meth-Cohn 1991, 40). The party leader sets up a list of potential government members (IP 7). According to an interviewee, not only the ministers and the state secretaries are part of the personnel selection at the government formation, but also the president of the National Assembly and the (Vice-)President of the National Bank (IP 7).

Although the party leader is the main player in the game for governmental representation and has the last word in the personnel selection (IP 1), he is not completely free: “(...) *everybody who forms a government – no matter of which party – has to take care that preferably all those are represented in government, on whom the enforcement of the government programme depends. And then there are different weightings corresponding to the main pillars of the parties*¹⁵⁵.” (IP 3). There is pressure on the party leader from different party groups (IP 13), which make their proposals to the party leader: “*Josef Pröll [party leader of the ÖVP since 2008; note V.S.] said in a speech that he could fill a whole series of books with proposals of ministers, which he received in the last weeks*¹⁵⁶.” (IP 10).

The party leader needs to regard the most important players by recruiting someone into government who *belongs* to them: The party groups seek to be represented in government by “one of them”, at least in the position of a state secretary. Some of the party groups have a representational interest in a specific portfolio (for example, the unions are interested in the Ministry of Social Affairs), other party groups will not lean towards a particular ministry. Which of the party groups are considered depends on the relations of forces within the party and the position the respective party group occupies: The power position of the regional parties depends on their respective electoral strength (IP 9; IP 6;

position. In the case of the FPÖ in the 2000s, however, Jörg Haider was the central angle point, even when he formally was not party leader. However, these two cases represent exceptional cases, wherefore the term “party leader” will be used here.

¹⁵⁴ In the following, only the male personal pronouns will be used for the position of the party leader: The FPÖ had two female party leaders during their governmental participation in the 2000s (Susanne Riess-Passer, Ursula Haubner). However, it was Jörg Haider who was the informal centre of the party and was mainly responsible for the personnel selection.

¹⁵⁵ In the original: “(...) *jeder der eine Regierung bildet, egal von welcher Partei, muss schauen, dass er in der Regierung möglichst all jene repräsentiert hat, von denen die Durchsetzung eines Regierungsprogramms abhängig ist. Und dann gibt es die verschiedenen Gewichtungen entsprechend den Hauptstützen der Parteien.*”

¹⁵⁶ In the original: “*Josef Pröll hat in einer Rede gesagt, er könnte ganze Bände mit Vorschlägen für Minister füllen, die er in den letzten Wochen bekommen hat.*”

IP 4; IP 11): *“There are some who only win 20 % in their region. Those have certainly less influence than somebody who is a successful regional governor in a big region¹⁵⁷.”* (IP 9).

The respective power position of the different party organizations also depends on the leading personality (IP 1; IP 6; IP 8), how the leading person asserts him- or herself within the party and how (s)he executes her role (IP 1). However, it also was the personality who won the elections in the first place. For example, Erwin Pröll, the regional governor of Lower Austria, has such a strong power position in the ÖVP because he wins elections and has a concentrated power behind him: *“Someone who does not win elections and does not rally the electorate behind her or him, has nothing to say¹⁵⁸.”* (IP 6). The critical party groups have to be regarded in the selection to government to the degree of their respective strength at the time. For example, when the unions are stronger, they are more strongly represented in government. In periods of weakness they are not (IP 9), which motivates them to revenge (IP 3).

When a certain balance of power is not successfully installed or when the party leader neglects the relations of forces in the party, the government may not be successful and short-lived (IP 3). The former ÖVP-party leader Josef Riegler (1989-1991¹⁵⁹), who had to meet decisions about governmental posts several times, ascertains: *“And I received different messages of course, whereby I was not bound to stick to them. And that is the possible risk, which one has to accept, to defy certain wishes. That can result in accounts later on¹⁶⁰.”* (interview with Riegler). Norbert Steger, for example, party leader of the FPÖ during the FPÖ's governmental participation in the 1980s, neglected the strong regional parties in the FPÖ in the composition of the national party leadership and the national government. In 1986, a coup was organized by those regions who did not feel represented in government and Steger was overthrown as party leader. An interviewee concludes: *“You lose the majority, if you do not serve certain groups of a party¹⁶¹.”* (IP 7). Hence, the party leader has its own wishes as concerns the personnel selection and has to consider the relations of forces within his party by integrating delegates of the main party pillars in

¹⁵⁷ In the original: *“Da wird es welche geben, die gerade 20 % auf die Waage bringen in ihrem Bundesland, die werden sicher weniger Einfluss haben als jemand, der in einem großen Bundesland Landeshauptmann ist erfolgreich.”*

¹⁵⁸ In the original: *“Einer, der keine Wahlen gewinnt und das Wahlvolk nicht hinter sich scharf, der hat nichts zu melden.”*

¹⁵⁹ In the brackets, the period of time is indicated, when Riegler was party leader.

¹⁶⁰ In the original: *“Und da sind mir natürlich verschiedenste Botschaften zugekommen, wobei ich nicht daran gebunden bin, mich an die zu halten. Und das ist ja dann auch unter Umständen das Risiko, das man eingehen muss, sich über bestimmte Wünsche hinwegzusetzen. Das kann dann später wieder einmal, irgendwelche Rechnungen nachbringen.”*

¹⁶¹ In the original: *“Man verliert die Mehrheit, wenn man ganz bestimmte Gruppierungen einer Partei nicht bedient.”*

order to establish a certain power balance (IP 1; IP 3; IP 11). The party leader “(...) *has to feel, what is possible in the party and what is not*”¹⁶² (IP 1). Therefore, it is a priority in the selection of a certain minister that (s)he represents a certain group whose support is needed for the enforcement of one’s politics (IP 3). Another interviewee puts it similarly in stating that the future ministers have to represent the influential party groups, which have to be considered, and who are also believed to be able to do the work (IP 11).

The scope or autonomy of the party leader in the recruitment processes depends on the strength of his party-internal position (IP 13; IP 8; IP 15, cf. also: Müller 2006e, 174; Pelinka 1970, 535). For the latter, several factors are significant: First of all, it is determined by the respective success the party leader can score for his party in national elections (IP 8; IP 13). Secondly, the party leader of a governing party usually is Federal Chancellor or – in case his party is the “little” coalition partner – the Vice Chancellor, which both represent the leading positions in national government and which gives the party leader a stronger authority than – for example – a party leader in opposition¹⁶³ (IP 13). Thirdly, his level of acceptance or popularity in the party is decisive (IP 8).

A strong party leader has more possibilities to enforce his own personnel ideas against the interests of the other party factions (IP 8; IP 15). A weak party leader always has to make compromises, as he always has to please someone with a personnel decision to have the one supporting or at least not to have the one against him in another question (IP 15).

The recruitment processes by the various party leaders vary in so far, as every party leader represents a different personality (IP 9). However, every party leader is only able to set certain accents, as the pivotal power considerations within the party always have to be considered (IP 3). Müller (2006e, 174) observed a tendency of power enlargement of the party leaders in the SPÖ and the ÖVP. However, from my point of view, the position of power of a party leader depends on the respective person. For example, the now party leader of the ÖVP, Josef Pröll, surely has a weaker power position than Wolfgang Schüssel had (IP 9).

The party executive committees are the last formal decision instances in the recruitment processes. In those, the most important party players are represented. Informally, the party leader mostly already accorded his (sic!) decisions with the most important party players before the session in the board. The personnel selections mostly require the formal consent

¹⁶² In the original: “(...) *muss spüren, was in der Partei geht und was nicht.*”

¹⁶³ Again, this does not apply to Jörg Haider (FPÖ) in the 2000s who was neither party leader, nor Federal or Vice Chancellor at the time, but occupied the central position of power in the selection processes to government, nevertheless.

by the party board, but at least the acknowledgement (Müller 2006e, 174). From time to time, the party body did not follow the wishes of the party leader. If a party leader disposes over an outstanding strong position, however, the party executive committee will follow him without any objections. If the situation is unstable, many things can change in the party body (IP 13).

As we have seen, the hypothesis that the processes of selection are mainly determined by the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces within the parties can be affirmed. The selecting party groups to be considered delegate someone into government from their midst. The party leader is not bound to specific recruitment pools. Most of the party leaders had some, though, which were mostly constituted by those, from which they themselves emanated. The sex/gender relations of the selecting agents will not be directly elucidated here, but will become visible indirectly through the analysis of the sexed/gendered structures of the career paths, conducted in the section on the perspective of the recruited (see page 233).

(3) Characterization and Course of Recruitment – Hustle and Bustle

3.1. Hustle and Bustle

In times of coalitions, the question about the staffing of the portfolios only comes up after the majority government is fixed or after the coalition negotiations have successfully been finished (IP 13; IP 7; IP 15). As a result, governmental recruitment processes are often – depending on the situation – quite spontaneous (IP 13). The party leader conducts informal consultations with the leaders of the party groups to be considered, often by phone (IP 14; IP 11). The party leader sets up a list of potential governmental members, which is ordered along preferences: *“Because it is not always the case that everybody immediately says: ‘Yes. Hurray. I would love to be State Secretary of Health.’”*¹⁶⁴ (IP 15). Then, the selected persons are called in order: *“Then he [the party leader; note V.S.] calls, one is in the tube”*¹⁶⁵. (IP 11). If the envisaged candidate turns the job down, the flurry of activity begins. Very surprising decisions are often the result. For example, the party leader of the ÖVP Josef Riegler had to re-staff the portfolio of Environment within 24 hours after the

¹⁶⁴ In the original: *“Weil es ist ja auch nicht immer so, dass jeder gleich sagt, ‘Ja. Hurra. Ich will wahnsinnig gern Gesundheits-Staatssekretär werden.’”*

¹⁶⁵ In the original: *“Dann ruft er[der Parteichef; note V.S.] an, man ist in der Badewanne.”*

then minister Marilies Flemming resigned unexpectedly (IP 13). An interviewee recapitulates: “*Particularly the composition of governments are repeatedly characterized in such a way that last minute telephone calls at night are made and sometimes random personalities are asked, which one would not have assumed and vice versa*¹⁶⁶.” (IP 13). The candidates are usually asked to take over a governmental office on short notice and have little time to decide over the job offer and to prepare themselves for the new post (IP 10; IP 15). Women are disadvantaged in this respect as – if they have family – they typically have more family obligations, which they cannot dissolve from one minute to the other (IP 2). This contributes to the lower representation of women in government and to the low share of females in government with families involving children¹⁶⁷.

3.2. Informal or Formal Procedure?

The recruitment processes to government differ from those to parliament in their degree of formalization: Whereas the selection to parliament is based on formal rules and on a direct-democratic principle, few formal rules exist for the selection to government. Indeed, the recruitment processes to government can be characterized as largely informal. Usually, the affirmation of the personnel selection in the party executive committee is the only formal act in those. There is an additional formal practice in the case of the SPÖ: All party leaders since Kreisky (1967) had to and have demanded the authorisation of the party executive government to select the governmental team on their own (IP 3; IP 4; IP 14). Due to the low degree of formalization, the spectrum of recruited ministers is quite diverse and ranges from long careers to very incidental and sudden personnel decisions (IP 13). The selection patterns for government are hence more flexible than those for parliament, as a powerful party leader may enforce his will against traditional patterns (Pelinka 1970, 535). This may advantage or disadvantage the selection of women, depending on the attitude of the party leader. Sanbonmatsu (2006, 154) sees the informally determined processes as problematic because they allow for social networks and subjective beliefs about female candidates.

¹⁶⁶ In the original: “*Gerade die Zusammenstellung von Regierungen sind immer wieder dadurch geprägt, dass sozusagen in letzter Minute nächtliche Telefonate geführt werden und manchmal irgendwelche Persönlichkeiten gebeten werden, von denen man es nicht vermutet hätte und umgekehrt.*”

¹⁶⁷ In the chapter on the social structure (Chapter 8), the overwhelming differences between women and men as concerns having children (or not) are ascertained.

(4) The Selectors

4.1. The Selectors

Apart from the party leaders, the central players include the strong regional parties in all three parties (IP 5; IP 7; IP 15; IP 13; IP 9; IP 8; IP 10; IP 1; IP 3; IP 6). Besides, the unions and the women's organization belong to the seminal party groups in the SPÖ (IP 1; IP 3; IP 6), whereas the leagues – tied to the respective chambers – play a pivotal role in the ÖVP (IP 13; IP 9; IP 8; IP 10). The selectors thus bear strong federalist and corporatist features. According to an interviewee, the differences of the recruitment processes in the SPÖ and the ÖVP are marginal and the mechanisms of selection are similar: In the SPÖ as well as in the ÖVP, the regional parties are very powerful and have to be regarded, then the party-affiliated institutions of the social partners (IP 9). The influence of the party groups, which have to be regarded in the recruitment processes, is probably greater in the SPÖ and the ÖVP than in the FPÖ (IP 15).

The party leader discusses the personnel selection with the main players in informal one-to-one talks: “*One would not take a person against the will of the organization, which is so to say deputing.*¹⁶⁸” (IP 11). The future ministers can be either proposed by the party leader or the respective party group to be represented (IP 2; IP 11); some of the party-internal groups can even staff the attributed positions autonomously.

4.2. The Sex Composition of the Selectors

In the selected time frame, all of the party leaders who are usually in charge as most relevant players in the recruitment processes were male. The FPÖ had two females in the function of the party leader during their governmental participation in the 2000s (Susanne Riess-Passer and Ursula Haubner); however, Jörg Haider was the centre of the party and represented the major angle point in the recruitment processes. The respective national leaders of the remaining selectors were – apart from minor exceptions – occupied only by men: The Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG) (FSG n.d.) and the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB) (News 2006b), the leagues (ÖWB n.d.; ÖAAB n.d.;

¹⁶⁸ In the original: “*Also man wird keine Person nehmen gegen den Willen der Organisation, die quasi entsendet.*”

AOMWeb; Oberleitner 1981, 46-47), and the Chambers of Economy (aeiou – Österreich Lexikon n.d. b) and of Agriculture (AOMWeb) were all led by males only. Also the regional parties of the three parties are overwhelmingly dominated by male leaders, which is illustrated by the fact that Waltraud Klasnic (ÖVP) was the first female regional governor and thus regional party leader (in Styria) only in 1996 (Forum Politische Bildung 2006). Merely the women's organization of the SPÖ (with its limited relevance) was always headed by females. That means that one side of the recruitment processes is made up of males almost entirely; women are hence structurally excluded from this perspective of the recruitment processes; they are only potential participants in recruitment processes as candidates. Furthermore, it is very problematic that the question whether women are selected or not depends on the (good) will of men. Additionally, as ascertained in the theoretical chapter, the sex composition of the selectors might influence, whether women are recruited or not. Studies have shown that there is a correlation between the representation of females in high (party) functions and the recruitment of women (e.g. Caul 1999, 90; Sanbonmatsu 2006, 147; Kraus 2008). That males tend to select members of the same sex may be intentional or not. It can be traced back to the circumstance that men rather tend to know men than women through the diverse networks and circles of friendships and select those; women are thus overlooked.

(5) Rules and Established Practices

As already ascertained, the rules and established practices when it comes to governmental recruitment are – in contrast to the selection to the National Assembly – largely informally. The female quotas that are in operation in some parties¹⁶⁹ are often discussed with respect to the National Assembly, but are surprisingly never debated with respect to the staffing of governmental posts. There are two relevant rules or established practices as concerns governmental selections, the permanence of the incumbents and the consideration of power potentials for specific portfolios.

¹⁶⁹ In the SPÖ, a women's and men's quota of each 40 % for all functionaries and candidates is devised in the statutes of the party (SPÖ 2004, 8). In the ÖVP, a female quota of a third is not fixed in the statutes, but set as a policy aim in the Policy Statements ("Grundsatzprogramm") of the party for all public offices (ÖVP 1995, 16; 2007). The FPÖ does not dispose over a quota for female participation.

5.1. The Permanence of the Incumbents

The principle of the permanence of the incumbents was affirmed by respondents who stated that the successful, incumbent ministers usually stay in office when a party is in government in consecutive cabinets (IP 1; IP 11). The hypothesis that women are “less permanent” than men (Neyer 1991, 61-62) is evaluated by comparing the times of incumbency: Indeed, the average of incumbency is with 5.1 years higher for men than for women with 3.8¹⁷⁰. The hypothesis can thus be affirmed. From the political parties, the SPÖ leads as concerns the times of incumbency (5.4), followed by the ÖVP (5.0), the partyless (4.4) and – with very short governmental times – the FPÖ (2.3) (own statistics).

5.2. The Attribution of Power Potentials to Specific Portfolios

Several portfolios are conventionally coined by the main players in the respective party to be considered: In the SPÖ, it is an unwritten law that the Ministry of Social Affairs – which is commonly occupied by the SPÖ in coalitions with the ÖVP – is attributed to the unions and is hence staffed with a unionist (IP 13). Similarly, the Ministers of Women’s Affairs have to represent the women’s organization of the party in the SPÖ and the ÖVP (IP 8). The Ministry of Transport is traditionally staffed by someone from the rail workers union (IP 8; Profil 1971, 36). In the ÖVP, the Ministers of Agriculture and of Economy need to stem from the farmers’ league ÖBB and the economic league ÖWB, respectively (IP 13; IP 12). The Minister of Defence is staffed by the employees’ league ÖAAB (Steininger 1999, 98). If another party occupies these portfolios, these mechanisms are partly still in order. For example, when the ÖVP had the Ministry of Social Affairs in the majority government Klaus II in the 1960s, the Minister of Social Affairs, Grete Rehor, was from the unions. Similarly, the Minister of Agriculture requires to be affiliated to the farmers, no matter by which party the position is staffed (IP 8)¹⁷¹.

¹⁷⁰ The times of incumbencies are calculated to the exact month.

¹⁷¹ What the consideration of these party players means with respect to sex/gender relations will be discussed in the section on the recruited further behind.

(6) The Multi-Dimensional Demands of the Selectors

6.1. What Are You Looking for in Selection?

The party leader represents the central linchpin in the recruitment processes: He (sic!) has to reconcile his own wishes regarding personnel choices with those of the other party factions and has to bundle the different demands versus the recruited. In fact, various criteria can play into the selection of certain candidates at the same time. Therefore, the most important dimensions of selection will be ascertained here first, followed by an account on different criteria, which often also play a part.

Who is recruited is also a question of the specific zeitgeist. It depends on what is fashionable at the moment. This is how *time* or the *historical context*, as outlined in the analytical model, comes in: In times of crises, factors like stability, sector-specific knowledge, or trust play a role (IP 11). For a period of time, it was very fashionable to recruit cross-over-candidates who did not evolve from the party apparatus (IP 10).

6.2. Main Requirements in Selection

Mainly, the criteria a candidate should fulfil in all parties can be differentiated into competences of the candidate (i.e. cultural capital), political power considerations within the party or an affiliation to a party group respectively (i.e. delegated political capital), and a working social relation between the candidate and the party leader (i.e. social capital). The competences of the candidates will be ascertained in the section on the perspective of the recruited further behind in this chapter (see page 244).

As already ascertained, a criterion in the staffing of government typically is political power considerations within the party (IP 13; IP 3; IP 2; IP 8; IP 15; IP 1; IP 11): “*Big, strong organizations want to be represented*¹⁷².” (IP 15). Hence, the candidates have to correspond to the party groups, which need to be represented in government. The third main criterion in staffing the government involves that the recruited ministers personally and socially get along with the party leader, so that work without permanent frictions is possible (IP 7; IP 4).

¹⁷² In the original: “*Große, starke Organisationen wollen sich wieder finden.*”

The requirements are differently weighed by the interviewees: Whereas two interviewees rank the content-related qualification of a person before the party-internal power considerations (IP 8; IP 13), the most respondents pronounce different evaluations about the order of priorities: Following the opinion of a respondent, getting along with the party leader is the primary requirement, followed by the satisfaction of party-internal requirements (IP 7). The competences of the candidate are obviously the least relevant. Other interviewees second this evaluation in stating that the satisfaction of the regional parties often outweighs considerations of competence (IP 2; IP 3). An interviewee ascertains that what you are looking for in a candidate as selector and what you should bring in as candidate as concerns personal abilities and competences are two different things. What selectors are looking for in the first place is “(...) *someone who represents a certain group, in order to have its support, which is needed for the enforcement of one’s policies*¹⁷³” (IP 3). Also another interviewee puts it similarly in stating that candidates have to be found who correspond to the influences spheres, which have to be considered, and of whom it is assumed that they are able to do the work (IP 11). Hence, the majority of the interviewees rank the competences of the candidate as the least important for the selectors. One interviewee thinks, though, that considerations of competences outweighed the representational demands of the party groups in former times, but that completely different conditions were in order in the FPÖ-governmental participation in the 2000s (IP 1). The weighting between competences and considerations of party power groups also depends on the assertiveness of the party leader, as a strong party leader is able to enforce his will against the different party factions (IP 15).

6.3. Additional Requirements in Selection

The Logic of Territorial Representation

The recruitment processes are characterized by strong federalist traits. It is not only required that the strong regional parties within the parties are represented in government, but also the regions leading as concerns their population (and hence their potential of voters) need to be incorporated. The latter include Vienna as biggest region, then Lower

¹⁷³ In the original: “(...) *dass es jemand ist, der eine bestimmte Gruppe, die man zur Durchsetzung seiner Politik braucht, damit sie mitzieht, repräsentiert.*”

Austria, Upper Austria and Styria (IP 10). It is a somewhat Austrian curiosity that there have to be representatives of different regions in the set up of a government: *“It is not possible to take two from the same region¹⁷⁴.”* (IP 7)¹⁷⁵.

To Be a Woman Became a Criterion – “Let’s just include a woman. Then it looks better.”

The stronger consideration of women represents the major change in the recruitment processes (IP 13): Since the first female minister in 1966, the inclusion of a certain number of women increasingly became a criterion (IP 8) the party leader has to consider such as other dimensions as well (IP 9; IP 8; IP 13). Hence, there is a somewhat informal quota for women in place. An example concerns the selection of Sonja Moser (ÖVP) in 1994: The then party leader of the ÖVP Busek called the Tyrolean party and asked for a proposal of a minister in a specific area, but that it had to be a woman (IP 12). One interviewee thinks that formerly it happened for certain from time to time *“(…)a list of governmental personnel existed, where one said: ‘Well, it is only men. The media are going to be upset again that not a single woman is included.’”* and that the conclusion was: *“Let’s just include a woman. Then it looks better¹⁷⁶.”* (IP 15). The last example illustrates nicely how the change of the sex/gender relations in society and in the political field comes into effect in political recruitment by, for example, the anticipated media reactions of the selectors. However, being a woman does not suffice; it is rather one of many criteria, which have to be united in a person besides, for example, the fulfilment of a representational demand of a party group. Hence, the belonging to the female sex only became one criterion of many for a proportion of governmental members and thus was only added to the (male/masculine) criteria that were already in place.

¹⁷⁴ In the original: *“Und das geht nicht, zwei aus dem selben Land zu nehmen.”*

¹⁷⁵ The (sexed/gendered) regional distribution of the ministers of each party has been elucidated from the perspective of the recruited in the party-specific chapters. The (sexed/gendered) federal distribution of all ministers will be ascertained in Chapter 8.

¹⁷⁶ In the original: *“(…) dass da eine Liste war, wo man dann gesagt hat: ‘Naja, das sind lauter Männer. Da regen sich die Medien dann wieder auf, dass keine Frau dabei ist.’”* and *“‘Na, nehmen wir halt noch eine Frau dazu. Das schaut besser aus.’”*

Other Demands as Concerns the Social Structure or the Candidate

Resources

Other demands as concerns the social structure or the candidate resources can involve a certain age, an educational status or a certain profession¹⁷⁷. For example, the SPÖ-party leader Vranitzky searched for a Minister of Social Affairs in 1989 with a certain young age or life expectancy because many problems of middle- and long-rang had to be solved in the portfolio (APA Basisdienst 1989). In the SPÖ, it can be of advantage – due to the dearth of academics (Pelinka 1970, 538) – to provide over a higher education diploma. The positive assessment of the occupational class in society may also be a factor: One respondent, for example, relates that bankers and doctors were preferred recruitment pools in the SPÖ since the recruitment of Vranitzky in 1984 because: “*White coats [as a synonym for physicians] and pin stripes [as a synonym for suits; note V.S.] were with over 80 % positively rated in the population. That is why Sinowatz [the then party leader of the SPÖ; note V.S.] meant, someone with a suit in pin stripe design should get to the top*¹⁷⁸.” (IP 3). This example also illustrates how the societal level or the struggle for votes influences political recruitment.

Certain Demands as a Result of Power Struggles

The struggle for power of the different selectors with each other or within a party group can have an impact on the recruitment strategies. In the following, the most relevant mechanisms will be depicted: (1) Many party leaders seek *not* to select potential successors, i.e. someone who is “*better*” than them in order not to be threatened (IP 9; IP 7): “*Kreisky [a former party leader of the SPÖ; note V.S.] had Androsch and Gratz, and when he noticed that they were dangerous, he had them both ousted. That is why the deputy of Schüssel [a former party leader of the ÖVP; note V.S.] was Molterer. And Schüssel was able to still experience the defeat now because he still had Molterer behind him and not a relatively new Kreisky*¹⁷⁹.” (IP 7).

¹⁷⁷ The social structure of the ministers is discussed in Chapter 8.

¹⁷⁸ In the original: “*So weiße Kittel und Nadelstreif war mit über 80 % positiv bewertet in der Bevölkerung. Daher hat also der Sinowatz gemeint, da sollte einer einen Nadelstreif haben an die Spitze kommen.*”

¹⁷⁹ In the original: “*Kreisky hatte den Androsch und den Gratz und wie er gemerkt hat, die sind gefährlich, hat er sie beide gekillt. Darum war der Stellvertreter vom Schüssel ja der Molterer. Und der Schüssel hat die*

(2) Other persons are selected for government, hence advanced, in order to remove them really from their hitherto level of activity. For example: A person should not become mayor and is therefore made minister (IP 9). Christa Krammer (SPÖ; 1994¹⁸⁰) was reportedly recruited as minister because she had higher popularity values in her region Burgenland than the then incumbent regional governor Karl Stix (SPÖ) (IP 6). Günther Platter (ÖVP; 2003) was recruited into national politics because he had the most preference votes in the elections to the National Assembly and the regional governor of Tyrol, Herwig van Staa (ÖVP), wanted to get rid of the concurrent (Wiener Zeitung Online 2008a). Lore Hostasch (SPÖ) became the new Minister of Social Affairs because they wanted to get rid of her in the Union of Private Sector Employees (GPA), where she was chairperson: *“The unions like to solve things in giving people slightly more, to advance them – being a minister is indeed nice – and remove people from the unions really because one stays in the unions. [...] There were several men already waiting for the position and when Hostasch became minister, the chairpersonship of the Union of Private Sector Employees (GPA) was free again, for Hans Salmutter.¹⁸¹”* (IP 4).

(3) The choice of personnel may also be led by the wish to have someone in the position who is politically not strong and hence does not raise troubles. This was the case with Walter Geppert (SPÖ; 1989), for example (IP 12).

(7) Conclusion

The results discussed in this section affirmed the initial hypothesis that the selection processes are mainly determined by the relations of forces within the parties: The party agents are involved in a power struggle with each other over resources, i.e. offices in the national government. The pivotal party groups (as determined by the current relations of forces) need to be regarded in the selection of governmental members in order to establish an enduring balance of power within a party. These act as selectors and appoint their representatives into government, which translates into the need of an affiliation to (a) party

Niederlage jetzt noch erleben können, weil er hinter sich noch den Molterer hatte und nicht irgendeinen neuen Kreisky.”

¹⁸⁰ The indicated years in brackets represent the years of the first selection as minister.

¹⁸¹ In the original: *“Also die Gewerkschaft löst das gerne so, dass sie den Leuten ein bisschen mehr gibt, sie erhöht, Minister ist ja was Schönes, und in Wirklichkeit haben sie sie dann weg, aus der Gewerkschaft, weil bei der Gewerkschaft, da bleibt man, ja. [...] Da haben schon einige Herren in der in den Startlöchern gescharrt und dann ist sie halt Ministerin geworden und damit war der GPA-Vorsitz wieder frei für Salmutter.”*

group(s) on the side of the recruited. The party leader represents the central linchpin in the selection processes in all parties. In all parties, the strong regional parties are among the party groups that need to be considered. In the SPÖ and the ÖVP, the respective corporatist party groups – the unions in the case of the SPÖ and the leagues (tied to the chambers) in the case of the ÖVP – have to be regarded. In the SPÖ, the women's organization also plays a role. The main selectors in the recruitment processes are represented by individuals, which occupy the national leading positions, and are mostly male. Hence, women are largely excluded from this side of the recruitment process – as selectors – and are confined to be candidates only. The male dominance of the selectors is further problematic because the selection of women depends on the good will of men and – as was elaborated – men tend to (unintentionally or not) select males.

Partly, the selection proceeds on short notice and quite chaotic, which discriminates women: It is often not possible for females to accept a governmental job offer on short notice because of (familial) obligations. Furthermore, political recruitment to government can be characterized as very informal process, for which few formal rules exist. This can lead to a stronger inclusion of women largely dependent on the attitude of the party leader, but also allows for subjective beliefs about women and social network ties. The few informal rules and practices that could be identified entail the permanence of the incumbents, which means that incumbent, successful ministers tend to be recruited for another cabinet as well, and the traditional attribution of specific portfolios to certain party groups. As concerns the former, the hypothesis that women are “less permanent” could be affirmed.

Lastly, the demands of the selectors towards the recruited were explained, which are multi-dimensional and involve capital and resources of the candidates (such as competences or specific features of the social structure), a working personal relation with the party leader, the consideration of representational interests within the party and of several regions, a certain number of women or can result from power struggles. The analysis showed that to be a woman was only added as a dimension to the catalogue of criteria that were already in place, before women entered the political sphere. Thus, women were only added to the male/masculine logic of political recruitment.

III. B. The Side of the Recruited

The perspective of the candidates will be elucidated in this section, whereby five hypotheses will be investigated: (1) The career paths for women and men differ. This hypothesis has already been treated in Chapters 4 to 6, shedding light on political recruitment in the different parties. It will be discussed for political recruitment in all parties here. (2) Women are disadvantaged by the established practice to include representatives of the social partnership in government. (3) The principle of territorial representation, i.e. the practice that delegates from local and regional levels are incorporated in government puts women at a disadvantage. These first three hypotheses are correlated as all of them apply to political career paths.

(4) The hypothesis that women and men differ in their disposal over capital and resources will be explored (and also treated in Chapter 8 on the social structure). The reached values of the parties were partly already ascertained in the party-specific chapters – namely, as concerns political and social capital – which will not be referred to again. The party-specific shares will only be indicated for those research dimensions, which were not subject in the party-specific chapters such as the disposition over cultural capital, for example. Overall, the hypothesis will be explored here for delegated political capital, social capital, cultural capital, and the career patterns, which reflect the potential amount of political capital that could have been acquired. Furthermore, the two different developed types of politicians are sex/gender-specifically analyzed with respect to their provision over capital and resources. (5) The final hypothesis, which will be due to evaluation, will be developed from the empirical material in this chapter: Women have less experience in national (party) politics, which is needed, however, in order to successfully hold oneself in government. Hence, I hypothesize that women are less likely to succeed in government than men.

The fourth dimension of the analytical model – apart from the typical career paths, the forms of capital and resources, and the social structure – is the pool of candidates, which will be subject at the end of the chapter. The social structure will be treated in Chapter 8. It has to be outlined, once again, that every individual dimension, which could have an impact on the recruitment processes, cannot be delineated; this chapter focuses on the most important criteria of recruitment practices.

Although sex/gender relations are at the fore, this thesis was also concerned with the processes of political recruitment in the different parties. This is why the party-specific

values will be indicated for the most relevant criteria. However, the data of the different parties will not be sex/gender-specifically interpreted, as the analysis would become too long and divert the attention from the original research aim. The researched ministers of all parties and the partyless comprise 116 persons, including 23 females and 93 males. Of these, 53 belonged to the SPÖ (10 women, 43 men), 40 to the ÖVP (9 women, 31 men), 13 to the FPÖ (3 women, 10 men), and 10 were partyless (1 woman, 9 men). The employed percentage values in this chapter usually refer to the entities of all females or males or to the party-specific entities overall. The entities especially as concerns the FPÖ, the partyless, but also the females are relatively low. However, percentage values need to be employed for comparative means. This is why, the nominal values will be always indicated as well and the interpretation will only be prudently conducted.

In the following, the logic of political careers, the relevance of social capital, the relevance of cultural capital as competences of the recruited, the career patterns, the glass ceiling in government, and the pool of candidates will be treated subsequently.

(1) The Logic of Political Careers – The Necessity to “Belong” to a Party Group or the Relevance of Delegated Political Capital

1.1. The Necessity to “Belong” to a Party Group or the Relevance of Delegated Political Capital

The selecting party groups have a representational interest in government by delegating a person who *belongs* to them to the institution: It is the logic of delegated political capital¹⁸² that comes into effect: It entails that the person in question is “one of them” and hence provides over an affiliation to the party group: A unionist always remains a unionist, even in government. “Belonging” or an affiliation to a party group and hence delegated political capital can be attained by investing time, work, and energy in the party group, whereas politicians can belong to different party groups at the same time. The investment is typically secured by a certain length in the form of a hierarchical ascendancy and many fulfilled career positions, which is mostly referred to as political career. The logic of climbing the political career ladder hence entails slowly working one’s way up from the

¹⁸² It can also be understood as social capital more broadly at the same time, as it is beneficial because of belonging to an organizational form.

bottom to the top. Party groups are rarely delegating someone into government who has not invested very much into the party group. The latter was the case with the selection of Sonja Moser (ÖVP) who had only fulfilled one career position in a town council in Tyrol, before being delegated to the government by the regional party of Tyrol (IP 12). However, this is commonly not the case.

The personnel accents that the party leader wants to set are in contrast to that not confined to a specific career ladder. However, preferred recruitment pools could be identified for most party leaders and are often composed of those party groups (or networks), to which the party leader himself (sic!) belonged.

Executing posts and being affiliated to party groups are hence essential in a political career. I researched this by two methodical means: (1) Quantitatively, all formal positions (the positions, which are defined as being part of a “political career” will be referred to as “career positions” in the following for pragmatic reasons) executed in any of the institutions or organizations, which constitute the ways of making a career in a specific party (further on referred to as “career institutions” for pragmatic reasons), were counted. (2) In contrast to the first instrument, which tackles all the numerous positions the ministers held in very different career institutions, the delegating power(s) behind a person or the belonging of a person to (a) party group(s) was qualitatively identified. The categories of the respective party groups were largely built according to the selecting party agents. Hence, the career paths and the recruiting party agents become visible through the classification. The empirical undertaking is described in detail in Appendix 1 (see page 318). Roughly put, though, the most important career institution(s) were identified by requiring a certain number of positions, a certain hierarchical level, or a certain duration of a full-time job. This narrowed the numerous career institutions down to the essential ones for the majority of the ministers. However, as already elucidated, a small share of the ministers was delegated into government, although they had not invested very much into the organization – as the example of Sonja Moser above illustrates. Therefore, for those politicians who did not fulfil the threshold of career positions to be considered, other functions are included in the classificatory process in order to identify the affiliated party group of the politician. Those ministers technically do not fulfil the requirements of *belonging*, but still they are *affiliated* to the respective career institution or delegating party power. This is why the term *affiliation* is employed further on.

The hypothesis whether women and men differ in the holding of capital and resources was with respect to delegated political capital here empirically operationalized by several criteria: the average of career positions held prior to the first governmental recruitment into a ministerial position, the number of ministers who held positions at all, the average of affiliations, and the number of people having affiliations at all. Functions held in networks thereby represent a somewhat exceptional case: Those are part of a political career and often are the stepping stones for a later full professional career in politics and hence can be understood as delegated political capital. However, although networks represent recruitment pools, they do not act as selectors and a political career as a full-time job cannot be held there. Therefore, holding functions in networks can also be understood as “only” social capital more generally. This is why the named research criteria are once indicated with (Table 34) and once without the networks (Table 35):

Table 34: The Disposition over Delegated Political Capital (including Networks)

	Females		Males		Overall	
Ministers with (a) Career Position(s)	21	91%	83	89%	104	90%
Sum of Career Positions	132	5,7	550	5,9	682	5,9
Ministers with (an) Affiliation(s)	21	91%	83	89%	104	90%
Sum of Affiliations	37	1,6	162	1,7	199	1,7
n	23		93		116	

Source: Own statistics

As concerns the values including the networks (see Table 34), a slightly higher share of women held career positions and affiliations at all. As concerns the number of career positions and affiliations, the values attained by women is slightly lower than those of the men.

Table 35: The Disposition over Delegated Political Capital (without Networks)

	Females		Males		Overall	
Ministers with (a) Career Position(s)	21	91%	82	88%	103	89%
Sum of Career Positions	119	5,2	467	5,0	586	5,1
Ministers with (an) Affiliation(s)	21	91%	81	87%	102	88%
Sum of Affiliations	33	1,4	120	1,3	153	1,3
n	23		93		116	

Notes: The calculation of the career positions and the affiliations here exclude the networks in general. Only the *affiliations* to those networks, in which full-time positions over a certain number of years were held and which were thus already considered as career paths (i.e. the *Mietervereinigung* and the *Kinderfreunde*) are considered in the calculation of the affiliations. The sum of positions held in the *Mietervereinigung* and the *Kinderfreunde*, though, are classified as network positions and are hence excluded here.

Source: Own statistics

Is delegated political capital counted without networks (Table 35), the relation as concerns the number of ministers who held career positions and affiliations at all hardly changes in

comparison to the former table. However, here, the number of career positions and of affiliations is slightly higher for women than for men.

It can thus be concluded that the provision over delegated political capital does not bear considerable differences for women and men. If at all, slightly more women than men are in possession of delegated political capital. As concerns the amount of this capital form, networks seem to represent the relevant differentiator: The amount of delegated political capital is slightly lower for women, when networks are included. When networks are not counted, though, the amount of delegated political capital is a bit higher for women.

1.2. The Career Paths

In the following, the career paths of the ministers – which were already elucidated for the different parties (Chapters 4 to 6) – will be summarized here and analyzed with respect to their sex/gender relations. As the representation of party groups in government can only be given by someone with an according affiliation (the party leader represents the exception in that case as he is not somehow “confined” to one career path in his selection), the sex/gender relations within a party group play out in the processes of recruitment. Those become indirectly visible through the analysis.

In the party-specific chapters, different career types were carved out for the three parties¹⁸³. These bear similar structures, wherefore the data of the three parties and of the partyless can be summarized and analyzed here: The first career type in all parties has the party as its nodal point and involves affiliations to national and regional (party) politics (and, thus, positions in the party and the state), the women’s organization (in the case of the SPÖ and the ÖVP), and other party organizations (in the case of the SPÖ).

The second career type involves career centres in or affiliations to the unions, the Chambers of Economy, of Agriculture and of Labour, the leagues, the farmers’ association of the FPÖ (FBO), the Association of Industrialists, the social security agencies, and the Chamber of Civil Law Notaries. The chambers are part of the social partners. The Association of Industrialists has established as new player besides the four major agents of the social partners in the last few decades (Fink 2006, 454; Karlhofer 2001, 14). The leagues and the FBO represent party-specific factions in the respective institutions of the

¹⁸³ The different career types were produced by summing up the different affiliations or career centres within each career type. Thereby, affiliations to networks were – with the exception of full-time jobs in networks – not considered as a full political career on full-time basis is not possible there.

social partners. Hence, the second career type can be located in the social partnership. The only exception represents the social security agencies, which are not part of the social partnership. However, its representatives are nominated by the social partners (Tálos 1997, 571; Schmid 2000), wherefore they can be included in the corporatist classification.

Although the networks were (at least partly) included in the quantitative analysis of the sum of career positions and affiliations, those are excluded here as typical career paths. A network can represent a relevant affiliation; however, it is a somewhat stepping stone *before* a full-time political career, which is why they are not considered here and treated separately.

In the following, the two career types with their main nodes in the party and the social partnership are depicted and succeeded by a comparative account on both trajectories. For this classification, only the qualitatively identified *affiliations* of the ministers are used:

Career Type 1: The Career Paths via (Party) Politics

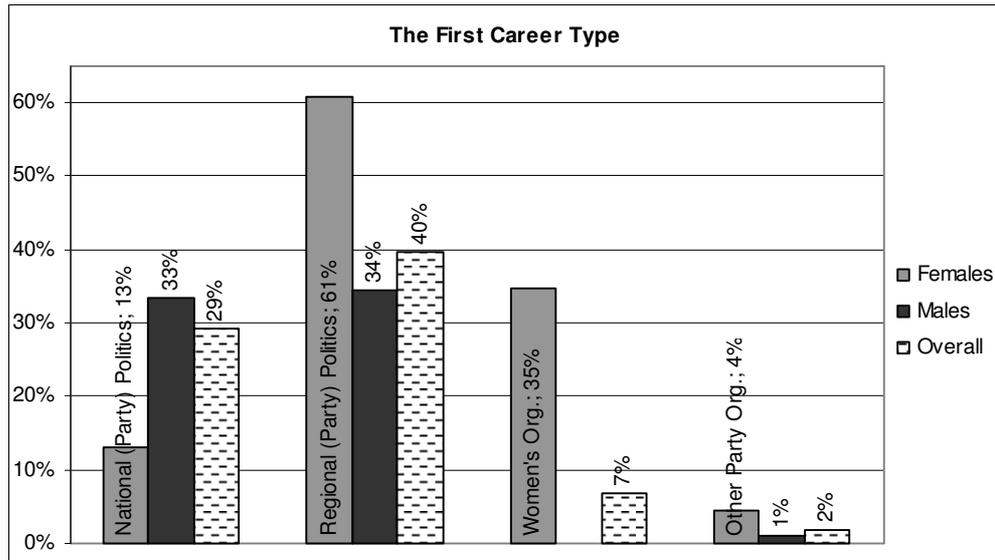
In the selection processes, the national and the regional party organizations represent main party players, wherefore the career paths were separated into regional and local (party) politics and national (party) politics as well. Local positions were hence subsumed under the regional category. Positions in the party and the state on the respective territorial level are taken together, as the party is responsible for the staffing of both. In the following, the affiliations of all ministers within this career type are shown:

Table 36: The First Career Type

	Females		Males		Overall	
National (Party) Politics	3	13%	31	33%	34	29%
Regional (Party) Politics	14	61%	32	34%	46	40%
Women's Organization	8	35%	0	0%	8	7%
Other Party Organizations	1	4%	1	1%	2	2%
n	23		93		116	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 32: The First Career Type



In the Theory Chapter, I hypothesized that females are discriminated on the regional and local layers and rather yielded by national politics. The established practice to include the strong regional parties in the processes of selection and represent certain regions would thus be discriminatory for women. However, the analysis shows that women disproportionately stem from regional (party) politics including the local levels, whereas the opposite is the case for national (party) politics (see Figure 32). This seems to be at odds with the fact that the quantitative presence of females is higher in national politics than on the regional and local levels (Steininger 2006, 259). Thus, although the pool of female candidates is vaster in the national arena and smaller on the regional and local layers, women are rather pulled from the latter. From this it can be concluded that the national party leadership with its central linchpin of the party leader largely selects men, which also points to the correctness of the evaluation that male selectors tend to – intentionally or not – recruit males (e.g. Caul 1999, 90; Sanbonmatsu 2006, 147; Kraus 2008)¹⁸⁴. Women are then only tried to bring in through other channels. The example of Sonja Moser (ÖVP) elucidated above thus becomes paradigmatic: The then party leader of the ÖVP Busek called the Tyrolean party and wanted a proposal of a minister who had the female sex belonging (and represented the Tyrolean regional party in government) (IP 12). This also illustrates how females only have been added to the male logic of political recruitment. Apart from party politics (see Figure 32 above), the women's organizations in the SPÖ and the ÖVP represent entirely female career ladders, for obvious reasons. However, their

¹⁸⁴ See page 220 for more detail.

overall relevance is low (7 %). A career via other party organizations only applies minimally and only comprises SPÖ-ministers.

Career Type 2: The Career Paths via the Social Partnership

The career paths in the social partnership are typically divided along the two influence spheres of the SPÖ and the ÖVP, apart from minor exceptions: SPÖ-politicians dispose over affiliations to the unions and the Chamber of Labour, whereas ÖVP-politicians ascend via the Chamber of Economy and of Agriculture and – as party-specific structure – the leagues. Besides, several of the SPÖ-ministers showed an affiliation to the social security agencies and the Chamber of Agriculture, several ÖVP-politicians were affiliated to the unions and to the Association of Industrialists. A small proportion of FPÖ-politicians had affiliations to the Chamber of Economy, the Chamber of Agriculture, and the FPÖ's farmers' association FBO. One partyless minister can be affiliated to the Chamber of Civil Law Notaries. The party-specific data of affiliations or career centres is summarized in the following table and the graph, whereby the party-specific factions in the social partnership (the leagues, the FBO) are attributed to the respective institution they are organized in:

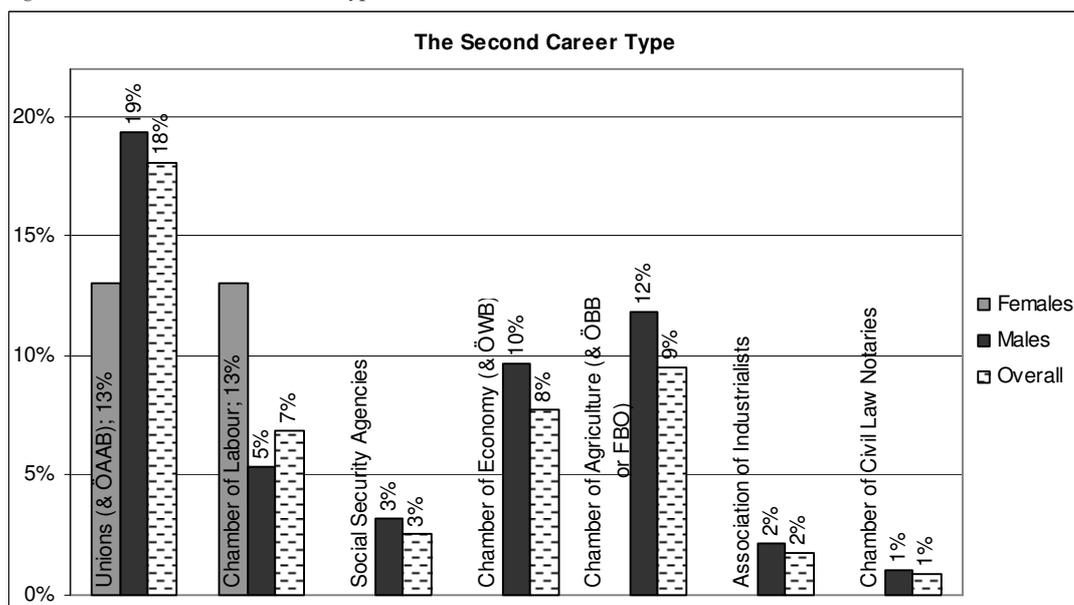
Table 37: *The Second Career Type*

	Females		Males		Overall	
Unions (& ÖAAB)	3	13%	18	19%	21	18%
Chamber of Labour	3	13%	5	5%	8	7%
Social Security Agencies	0	0%	3	3%	3	3%
Chamber of Economy (& ÖWB)	0	0%	9	10%	9	8%
Chamber of Agriculture (& ÖBB or FBO)	0	0%	11	12%	11	9%
Association of Industrialists	0	0%	2	2%	2	2%
Chamber of Civil Law Notaries	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%
n	23		93		116	

Notes: ÖAAB = Employees' League (ÖVP); ÖWB = Economic League (ÖVP); ÖBB = Farmers' League (ÖVP); FBO = Farmers' Association (FPÖ)

Source: Own statistics

Figure 33: The Second Career Type



As can be seen in the graph above, an affiliation of females to any of the named institutions can only be identified for the unions (connected to the employees' league ÖAAB in the ÖVP) and the Chamber of Labour, which mainly represent the SPÖ's reach in the social partnership! Whereas the unions are dominated by men, the opposite is the case for the Chamber of Labour. The other career paths, namely via the social security agencies, the Chamber of Economy (which is tied to the economic league ÖWB in the ÖVP), the Chamber of Agriculture (which is knot to the farmers' league ÖBB in the ÖVP and to the farmers' association FBO in the FPÖ), the Association of Industrialists, and the Chamber of Civil Law Notaries were *entirely* set up with male ministers. The hypothesis that the strong corporatist features of the selectors or the selecting mechanisms respectively disadvantage women can be thus clearly affirmed.

A Comparison of the Two Career Types

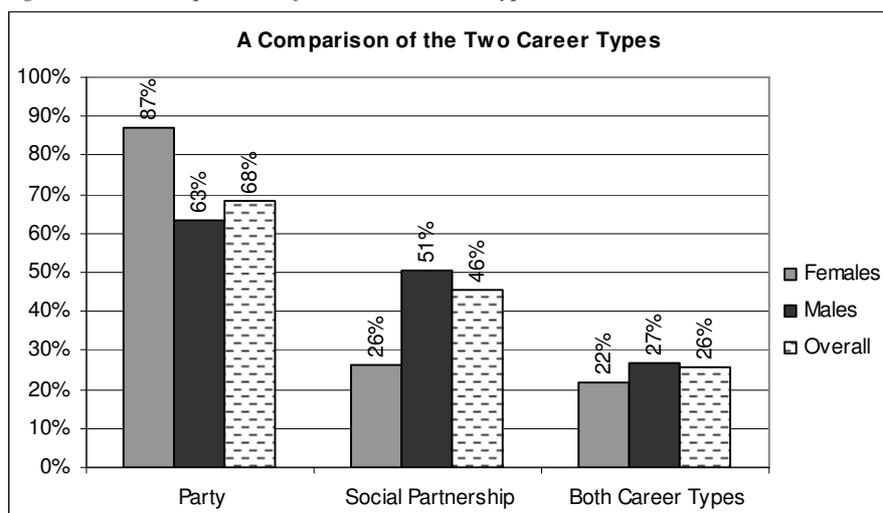
In the following, the two career types will be compared and analyzed with respect to their sex/gender implications:

Table 38: A Comparison of the Two Career Types

Party	Females		Males		Overall	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Social Partnership	6	26%	47	51%	53	46%
Both Career Types	5	22%	25	27%	30	26%
n	23		93		116	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 34: A Comparison of the Two Career Types



In the graph above, it becomes visible that females are disproportionately less represented in the second career type, which is mainly composed of the institutions of the social partnership. In the first career type via the party proportionally more women are rooted than men, in order to balance the fact that *not enough women* are ascending via the second career type. Interestingly, nearly all of the women, but only half of the men coming through the second career type were affiliated to the party as well (which is represented in the graph by the category “both career types”): Women only seem to be able to ascend in the social partnership if they have the *additional* resource of being rooted in the party as well. Hence, as concerns the career paths via the social partners, women require indeed more capital than men – as additional delegated political capital by the party – in order to succeed.

In conclusion, the hypothesis that the career paths for women and men differ was affirmed, as the analyzes in the party-specific chapters already showed: Whereas many career paths are entirely dominated by males (Chamber of Economy and of Agriculture and the according leagues/associations, Association of Industrialists, social security agencies), the women’s organization of the SPÖ and the ÖVP is the only career ladder, which is exclusively open for females. The accession process via national (party) politics and the unions is dominated by males as well, whereas regional and local (party) politics and the Chamber of Labour brought forward disproportionately many women.

1.3. Stepping Stones in a Political Career – Typical Career Positions

In the following section, typical stepping stones of a political career are elucidated, which interestingly only involve state posts:

Table 39: Stepping Stones in a Political Career

	Females		Males		Overall	
Delegate in the National Assembly	8	35%	50	54%	58	50%
State Secretaries	3	13%	17	18%	20	17%
Delegate in the Federal Assembly	5	22%	11	12%	16	14%
Member of Regional Government	6	26%	14	15%	20	17%
Delegate in Regional Parliament	11	48%	11	12%	22	19%
n	23		93		116	

Source: Own statistics

Delegates from the National Assembly are a favoured recruitment pool: The deputies can learn, how national politics work and can acquire political abilities there (IP 4). A political experience on the national level in general and the National Assembly more specifically is essential; otherwise, the recruited have to catch up on a certain learning process (IP 13). A parliamentary representation concerns about a third of the women and about half of the men, which may be attributed to the fact that women rather climb the career ladder in regional and local than in national politics. The proportions reach the highest values in the case of the FPÖ, followed by the ÖVP, and then the SPÖ, which might be related to the respective times of opposition of the parties. It does not only recur to politicians from (party) politics, but also from the social partnership as the latter provides over certain seats in the National Assembly as well – at least in the case of the SPÖ and the ÖVP (own statistics). Although a parliamentary representation is a typical stepping stone in a political career, Austria has one of the lowest percentages of MPs in government in Western Europe (Müller 2006e, 182).

The fact that political experience in the National Assembly or national (party) politics more generally is so desirable (IP 13) and the fact that women rather stem from regional and local (party) politics than from the national layer as concerns their career paths seems to have further discriminatory consequences for females: That women are less present on the national level and in the National Assembly makes them less prepared for the political arena of the national government and hence less likely to succeed as do not have the kind of “*tacit knowledge*” (Polanyi 1966) about the functioning of political processes, which often decides over the success or failure of politicians. The hypothesized link can be evaluated by comparing the times of incumbencies between women and men, as they

mirror how long a minister can successfully hold her- or himself in government and is thus correlated to the already confirmed hypothesis that women are less permanent in government. This comparison was already conducted on page 222, which showed that women indeed take part in government for a lesser time than men. This hypothesis can thus be affirmed. The structural disadvantage that women experience in their access to political career paths makes them thus less likely to succeed in government.

The positions of state secretaries applies to women slightly less than to men (Table 39). They only include ministers from the SPÖ and the ÖVP, as the FPÖ was only part of a government for several years in the 1980s and the 2000s (own statistics). In the Federal Assembly, in contrast to that, nearly double as many women as men were delegates. The values of representation in the Federal Assembly are the highest for the SPÖ and the ÖVP (own statistics). As concerns a participation in a regional parliament or a regional government, the female shares outweigh the male values by far. The differences may be attributed to the fact that women rather came through the regional layer and hence had more positions there. Governmental positions in a region and in the national arena are comparable from their basic requirements, only that the national governmental function is ten times more intensive (IP 11; IP 13). Members of regional governments acquire the demanded managerial abilities and specific knowledge in their attributed portfolios or responsibilities. The shares of the SPÖ and the ÖVP are very similar as concerns the representation in both institutions and are ranked on the middle level. The FPÖ exceeds the values attained by the two major parties by far (own statistics).

1.4. Conclusion: The Sex/Gender Relations with Respect to Delegated Political Capital and Career Paths

The exploration of the hypothesis that women and men are distinct in their possession of capital and resources showed that women and men barely differ with respect to delegated political capital. If at all, only slightly more women than men disposed over delegated political capital. Interestingly, as concerns the amount of delegated political capital, networks seem to represent a differentiator. With respect to the career paths, females who came through the institutions of the social partnership, which can generally be described as largely male organized, needed the additional resource of being backed by a party group or

the delegated political capital of a party group respectively, as well. Therefore, in the later case, women have to be provided with *more* resources indeed.

The hypothesis that the career paths for female and male politicians differ could be affirmed: Many party groups are male dominated – some even exclusively – as concerns the ministers they bring forward. Women are – in their career ascendancy – sectorized to specific party groups and are hence disadvantaged in their access to delegated political capital and to positions of power. The practices and patterns of advancement are therefore highly discriminatory for women. Related to this topic, two further hypotheses were explored: It was assumed that the corporatist traits of political recruitment would disadvantage women, which is clearly the case. Furthermore, I hypothesized that it is rather national (party) politics, which ensures the selection of women than the regional and local levels, which has to be refuted, though.

Finally, a hypothesis that was derived from the empirical material was explored: I hypothesized that women would be less likely to succeed in government, as they dispose less over an essential resource, namely political experience in the National Assembly or national politics in general. This hypothesis was affirmed.

(2) The Relevance of Networks or Social Capital

Networks are important sources of social capital and include various organizational forms¹⁸⁵. Also the influence of formal organizations may be traced back to the fact that certain circles of friends evolve in these (IP 13). Foremost, networks take an important role as personal ties or recommendations play a part in the staffing of posts in the course of an ascendancy process (cf. also: Epstein 1981, 11). With respect to the recruitment processes to government, more specifically, that means that – firstly – every party leader needs people in government that he (sic!) trusts very much, which is why party leaders often recur to people they know from their own personal networks (IP 9; IP 13). Secondly, every party leader also has his private environment, which advises him and participates in the selection (IP 2). Hence, in-groups and the political circle of friends around the main selector are relevant in the recruitment process (IP 1; IP 11): *“Those linchpins who bring in or keep away people. Because he [the party leader; note V.S.] cannot know everybody. That is why the environment, the political circle of friends of a Federal Chancellor [or of a*

¹⁸⁵ For a definition of those, please see the section “3.2. The Perspective of the Recruited” on page 61 in the Theory Chapter.

party leader more generally; note V.S.] yet also plays a role in who is considered as able to govern or not¹⁸⁶.” (IP 11). It is mostly men who act as those advisors or linchpins as it is men who typically occupy the central posts around the party leader. As we have seen on the pages ahead, the male composition of selectors leads to the disproportional selection of males, even if unintentionally.

Apart from the relevance of *belonging* and *being known* and *trusted*, political experiences about the mechanisms of political organizations and a political tool kit can be acquired in formal organizations by occupying positions in these, which is a valuable resource for the recruits. Furthermore, networks may serve as an important source of information (about e.g. vacant jobs), advice, jobs and direct endorsements (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 162-163).

The hypothesis that women and men differ in their provision over capital and resources will be explored in the following with respect to social capital, which was operationalized into several research criteria: Namely, the belonging to networks, holding positions in networks, and affiliations to networks. For each dimension, the number of ministers, for which the criterion applies at all, and the respective sums are calculated. As already outlined in the section above on delegated political capital, functions and affiliations to networks represent a somehow limit case, as those can be understood as delegated political capital, but also as social capital more generally. Thus, they were partly included in the analysis of delegated political capital above, but will be separately depicted here again in order to analyze the holding of social capital:

Table 40: The Disposition over Social Capital

	Females		Males		Overall	
Ministers Involved in Networks	21	91%	91	98%	112	97%
Average of Networks Involved in	53	2,3	285	3,1	338	2,9
Ministers with (a) Function(s) in (a) Network(s)	6	26%	40	43%	46	40%
Sum of Functions in Networks	13	0,6	83	0,9	96	0,8
Ministers Holding Affiliations to Networks	3	13%	33	35%	36	31%
Sum of Affiliations to Networks	4	0,2	42	0,5	46	0,4
n	23		93		116	

Notes:

- (1) The networks, in which full-time positions over a certain number of years were held and which were thus already considered as career paths (i.e. the *Mietervereinigung* and the *Kinderfreunde*), were not considered in the calculation of *affiliations* to networks anymore. However, the number of positions held in the *Mietervereinigung* and the *Kinderfreunde* were considered in the counting of network functions.
- (2) The attendance of so-called elite schools during the upper-secondary level was included in the calculation of network belonging, as those can also work as networks.

Source: Own statistics

¹⁸⁶ In the original: “Diese Rotierblätter, die Menschen hinbringen oder fernhalten. Weil er kann nicht alle kennen. Daher spielt das Umfeld, der politische Freundeskreis eines Bundeskanzler schon auch eine Rolle, wer als ministrabel gilt oder nicht.”

As concerns the *belonging* to networks, a smaller proportion of women than of men is organized in networks at all and is represented in fewer networks. The differences between females and males aggravate as concerns the other two research dimensions: The male share is about one and a half times greater than the proportion of females as concerns the holding of functions in networks, but is nearly triple as high with respect to holding network affiliations. From this follows that the hypothesis that women and men differ in the possession of capital and resources applies for social capital: Females provide over less social capital than men in general, whereas the differences become the greater, the tighter the relation to the network is: The belonging to a network is still a quite loose relationship. The holding of positions in networks already ensures – by the higher investment – a tighter relation and thus a stronger backing by the network. The affiliation to a network represents the tightest organizational relation; the network functions as power base of the politician. From these insights it can be concluded that the less formal and public an organizational form is, the less women there are. Networks are – in contrast to state institutions or the party – not public. Hence, women can be included to a lesser degree as they do not have to justify the exclusion of women as much. This is even more enforced when it comes to the holding of positions and – through that – to having a power position in those. That women are disadvantaged in and barred from their access to networks compared to men as many of the networks can be defined as male/masculine organized is corroborated by two interviewees: One interviewee explains that one of the greatest hurdles for women's representation, in the FPÖ for example, is that women are disadvantaged in their access to networks (IP 2). According to another interviewee, the selection of men follows different rules than the one of women as men are recruited through in-groups, which one often does not even know about, and through personal recommendations. The interviewee states the freemasons' influence in the SPÖ in former times as example (IP 4).

Quite similar to the situation of the career paths, women and men differ with respect to *where* they acquired social capital: In the party-specific chapters, the hypothesis was explored and affirmed that the structure of representation in networks bears sex/gender-specific differences. The analysis of all parties proposed that there are many networks, which are dominated by the male sex and have to be characterized as old boys' networks. For example, the attendance of so-called “elite schools¹⁸⁷”, comprising academic

¹⁸⁷ Those were identified by the literature (Stimmer 1997, 1011; Seifert 1998, 186-187; Gewinn 2006, 88) and the search for patterns in the upper-secondary school attendance of the ministers and include – in the case

secondary schools and academies, only applies to men. Other networks rather appeared sex/gender balanced (at least in terms of *belonging*). Finally, some networks – particularly female ones – were dominated by women. Overall, however, the male dominated networks have a disproportionally greater relevance than those of the second or third category. Furthermore, men provide (again) over the whole spectrum of potential belongings to networks, whereby women only appear in specific organizational forms and are (largely) excluded from others.

The belonging to expert groups or working as expert for a party is a somewhat specific case: It is not only the social capital, which comes into effect here, but also the strength of cultural capital in the form of specific knowledge or expertise. Between the sexes, women dispose over slightly less of this capital form (9 % or 2 of 23) compared to men (14 %) (own statistics). This has to be correlated to the fact that the supply of females being experts has been smaller.

(3) The Relevance of Competences or Cultural Capital

The hypothesis that women and men differ with respect to their disposal over capital and resources is explored here with respect to competences or cultural capital. Various abilities and attributes can aid a political advancement; the perfect candidate does not exist, however. Hence, in the following the most important traits, selectors are looking for, will be ascertained. These traits can be defined as competences or cultural capital and can be differentiated into specific knowledge (for the attributed portfolio), managerial abilities, and political experience. All of the named forms can be defined as incorporated cultural capital. However, other forms of capital might be affected as well. For example, specific knowledge can be acquired by education and hence might (also) be institutional cultural capital. Also, economic capital is typically required in order to accumulate cultural capital (especially in its institutionalized form), as time is needed for this endeavour. Political experience can be understood as cultural capital, but is tied to delegated political capital: By holding political functions both forms of capital, i.e. delegated political capital and cultural capital, are acquired.

of all of the researched ministers – the academic secondary schools *Schottengymnasium*, the *Kollegium Kalksburg*, the *Akademisches Gymnasium* (with its different locations), the *Theresianum*, the *Stiftsgymnasium Seitenstetten*, the *Piaristengymnasium*, the *Hietzinger Gymnasium*, as well as the two academies, the *Theresianische Militärakademie* and the Diplomatic Academy.

Qualified candidates are characterized as what is termed “ministrabel” in German, i.e. as *governable* (Müller 1995, 16) or as able to conduct the job. The recruitment processes to the portfolios vary in so far, as the demanded content-related qualifications for the ministries differ (IP 14; IP 3; IP 4; IP 11).

Specific Knowledge

Specific knowledge of a candidate for the attributed portfolio is a relevant resource, especially as concerns the so-called specialized areas (“Fachressorts” in German) (IP 15; IP 3; IP 14). As one respondent put it: “*One takes care in fact that the person one wants to recruit for a ministry worked politically such in her or his pre-governmental time that one can say that the person is versed in this respect*¹⁸⁸.” (IP 14). For example, you would not select a woman for the Ministry of Women’s Affairs who was never occupied with such questions in her hitherto political activities or was possibly against the furthering of female emancipation (IP 14).

Several portfolios are coined by certain party groups in the SPÖ and the ÖVP. For example, the Ministry of Social Affairs is usually staffed by the unions in the case of the SPÖ. The specific knowledge of those ministers is secured by their involvement in the party group. For other ministries, a specific vocation, professional occupation or according political activities are relevant. In politics, the qualification is mostly attained by being the speaker’s person of the party, the state secretary, a member of a regional government, or a member of a committee in the National Assembly *in the same area*. Less often, content-related abilities for the portfolio are acquired by the participation in a specific committee of the Federal Assembly or of the party (own analysis). There are several difficult questions. For example, should a university professor become Minister of Science, should the Minister of Health be a physician or a high-ranked officer a Minister of Defence? Some affirm it because of his content-related qualifications; others disagree because the candidate probably has difficulties to face the former colleagues from a different interest angle (IP 14). The extent, to which the resource of specific knowledge has to be fulfilled, depends on the respective portfolio. For several portfolios, a political engagement in the same field is sufficient. For Finance, a certain economic expertise is required, attained by specific studies, an according vocation or the execution of relevant political positions in the

¹⁸⁸ In the original: “*Man schaut eigentlich schon, dass die Person, die man für ein Ministerium rekrutieren will, in seiner Vor-Regierungszeit politisch so gearbeitet hat, dass man sagen kann, der ist da versiert.*”

same area. The ministers of Economics were occupied with economic questions before their governmental participation and stemmed – as concerns those of the ÖVP – most typically from the Chamber of Economics and/or the economic league. As concerns the SPÖ-ministers, several ministers of Transport were rooted in the Austrian Railways (ÖBB) and – less so – in the rail workers' union. The ministers of Justice all studied law and mostly included attorneys. For the portfolio Federalism and Reform of Administration, which existed for a period of time, similar criteria apply as for Justice. In Defence, officers or lieutenants represented the favoured recruitment pool. The ministers of Foreign Affairs were all employed in the diplomatic services before their governmental participation. The deployment of diplomats and the passage between career in the bureaucracy or the diplomatic service and in politics is a specific career pattern of Foreign Affairs. The ministers of Social Affairs were mostly staffed by the SPÖ and were typically active in the unions, but also in the Chamber of Labour and/or the social security agencies. The ministers of Agriculture are all characterized by activities in the same field; all of the ÖVP-ministers were involved in the farmers' league and/or the Chamber of Agriculture. The Ministers of Women's Affairs were all staffed by the SPÖ and emanated from the party's women's organization. As concerns Health, physicians and representatives of the social security agencies, more specifically the Health Insurance Agency (GKK) and the General Accident Insurance Institution (AUVA), were recruited (own analysis). For the Ministry of Education, the closeness to the union of teachers has relevance, which has been decreasing however (IP 8). At least, the candidate preferably was a teacher. For example, as the former party leader of the SPÖ Bruno Kreisky told Sinowatz that he would like to have him as Minister of Education, was the reaction of the surprised Sinowatz that he was not a teacher (Campbell 1995, 525).

Hans Tuppy pursued a career in science and was chosen for the according portfolio. The Ministry of Constructions and Engineering, which existed for a while, was staffed with persons having expertise in engineering or in construction or who were in the committee of the National Assembly occupied with questions of housing and rent law. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is a special case in so far, as a content-related qualification was empirically not only assumed for those who were occupied in exactly the same area, but also for those who were involved in similar areas like civil servants, justice, or defence. As concerns the portfolios Family & Youth, Health and Environment, an involvement or engagement in the area is sufficient as qualification. Franz Kreuzer, for example, was a journalist who made a name for himself in the topics science and environment; he was recruited into the portfolio

Health and Environment. Ruth Feldgrill-Zankel, Maria Rauch-Kallat, and Sonja Moser were engaged in family issues and/or environment; they were later recruited into Youth and Family and – as concerns Feldgrill-Zankel and Rauch-Kallat – Environment (own analysis).

The SPÖ had its difficulties to staff the portfolio Agriculture and Forestry, a ministry typically occupied by the ÖVP in the Grand Coalition, with qualified people. The ÖVP, on the other hand, obviously had too many representatives of the farmers' league and/or the Chamber of Agriculture to only select them for Agriculture: Theodor Piffl-Perčević and Ernst Strasser both stemmed from the agricultural party groups, but were chosen for Education and Internal Affairs (own analysis). In the following, the disposition over specific knowledge will be presented for all women and men and for the different parties. Specific knowledge was researched for the first portfolio taken over. The responsibilities were identified by the name of the portfolio. In case the ministry consisted of several areas, the major one was considered as relevant. If the areas were equal in terms of their weight, specific knowledge for one field sufficed to fulfil the criterion¹⁸⁹.

Table 41: The Disposition over Specific Knowledge – Females and Males

	OVERALL					
	Females		Males		Overall	
Specific Knowledge (All Parties)	19	86%	84	91%	103	90%
n ¹	22		92		114	
Specific Knowledge (Without FPÖ)	19	95%	77	94%	96	94%
n (Without FPÖ) ^{1,2}	20		82		102	

Notes:

- (1) Two persons (Hermann Withalm (ÖVP) and Susanne Riess-Passer (FPÖ)) are excluded from the entities as they served as Vice Chancellors for which no specific knowledge is needed, which is why the entities referred to here are smaller than usual.
- (2) The entities for the specific knowledge counted without the FPÖ are smaller than the overall entities used above because the FPÖ-ministers are all excluded from this calculation.

Source: Own statistics

Table 42: The Disposition over Specific Knowledge Along Party Lines

	SPÖ				ÖVP				FPÖ				Partyless			
	f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall	
Specific Knowledge	10	41	51	96%	8	27	35	90%	0	7	7	58%	1	9	10	100%
n ¹	10	43	53		9	30	39		2	10	12		1	9	10	

Notes: (1) Two persons (Hermann Withalm (ÖVP) and Susanne Riess-Passer (FPÖ)) are excluded from the entities as they served as Vice Chancellors for which no specific knowledge is needed, which is why the entities referred to here are smaller than usual.

Source: Own statistics

The great majority of the ministers pertained over specific knowledge for their portfolios, which involves a slightly lower share of women than men (Table 41). This can be

¹⁸⁹ For further details on the empirical endeavour, see Appendix 1.

attributed to the fact, however, that the two females of the FPÖ¹⁹⁰ did not have the requested qualification. If the averages are computed without the FPÖ, the female share (95 %) and the male proportion (94 %) are quite similar.

Overall, the partyless ministers are all qualified (Table 42), followed by the overwhelming majority of the SPÖ (96 %) and the ÖVP (90 %). As concerns the FPÖ, however, only 58 % (7 of 12) pertained over specific knowledge, which gives a devastating picture about the personnel selection in the FPÖ.

Several interviewees feel that the relevance of a content-related competence, other than by a representation of a party group, has had decreasing significance (IP 8) and was not salient in the recent cabinets, including the cabinets Gusenbauer (2007-2008) and Faymann (in office since 2008) (IP 1; IP 3; IP 4; IP 11). This especially applies to the FPÖ-governmental team in the 2000s (IP 1).

Managerial Abilities

Managerial or political-organizational abilities, i.e. the capability of personnel management and personnel decisions, entail a further resource, which is needed (IP 15; IP 13; IP 11; IP 14) in order to be able to lead a ministry with several hundred employees and to position it in a way that the coalition agreement can be enforced (IP 11). An interviewee professes that the basic prerequisite are not content-related qualifications, but leadership qualities in order to be able to manage the ministry (IP 15). Another interviewee states that there are ministries in which the content-related requirement plays a central role, in other ministries it may rather be the political-organizational aspects (IP 13). Managerial abilities can be attained by occupying leading positions in politics or in a private occupation. These include leading positions in a department or in an organization, in the public as well as the private sector. Also attorneys or physicians with their own law firm or medical practice are involved in the definition. Managerial skills cannot be acquired as state secretaries (Müller/Philipp/Steininger 1988, 159), by leading functions in youth organizations, and by (party) political positions and on the district and town levels. The following tables show the provision over this resource by females and males and in the parties:

¹⁹⁰ As concerns the disposal over specific knowledge, the entity of females is only two as Susanne Riess-Passer was recruited into the Vice Chancellery (with the attribution of the minor responsibilities Public Achievements and Sports), for which no specific content-related qualifications are needed.

Table 43: The Disposition over Managerial Abilities – Females and Males

	OVERALL					
	Females		Males		Overall	
Managerial Abilities	21	91%	92	99%	113	97%
n	23		93		116	

Source: Own statistics

Table 44: The Disposition over Managerial Abilities Along Party Lines

	SPÖ			ÖVP			FPÖ			Partyless		
	f	m	Overall	f	m	Overall	f	m	Overall	f	m	Overall
Managerial Abilities	9	43	52 98%	8	31	39 98%	3	9	12 92%	1	9	10 100%
n	10	43	53	9	31	40	3	10	13	1	9	10

Source: Own statistics

The data analysis showed that nearly all of the ministers (97 %) pertain over managerial or the political-organizational abilities, whereas the share of females (91 %) is lower than the male one (99 %) (Table 43). This difference has to be linked to the societal level, as considerably fewer women than men are able to acquire this resource by holding leading positions in the political field and in the social space. As concerns party-differences (Table 44), all of the partyless and nearly all of the SPÖ and the ÖVP (98 %) pertain over the managerial qualities needed as well as 12 of 13 FPÖ-ministers (92 %) do.

Political Experience

Political experience and abilities are of advantage. However, it is the first two criteria, i.e. specific knowledge and managerial abilities, which are critical: Cross-over candidates are recruited, although they typically do not pertain over political experience; they should still have the content-related and leading skills, however. Political experience targets specific background knowledge about political structures and the logic of political actions as well as the inherent laws of a party organization in order to know about the dangerous aspects within a party and within a coalition (IP 10). It is the knowledge of the agents about the positions of the agents towards each other, the relations, and how the mechanisms of the political field work that comes into play here. Political experience is a form of cultural capital, but is also tied to delegated political capital as both capital forms are acquired by the execution of posts at the same time. Political experience was empirically defined as more than one career position (apart from the networks) or a representation in the National Assembly.

Table 45: The Disposition over Political Experience – Females and Males

	OVERALL					
	Females		Males		Overall	
Political Experience	18	78%	74	80%	92	79%
n	23		93		116	

Source: Own statistics

Table 46: The Disposition over Political Experience Along Party Lines

	SPÖ				ÖVP				FPÖ				Partyless			
	f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall	
Political Experience	9	34	43	81%	7	29	36	90%	2	10	12	92%	0	1	1	10%
n	10	43	53		9	31	40		3	10	13		1	9	10	

Source: Own statistics

Political experience is fulfilled by a majority of the ministers (79 %), whereas the female and male proportions do not differ considerably; the female share is only slightly lower than the male one (Table 45). That the overall value is so low can be attributed to the fact that the criterion only applies for one of the partyless (10 %). From the parties, the FPÖ (92 % or 12 of 13) and the ÖVP (90 %) lead here and are followed by the SPÖ (81 %) (Table 46).

The recruited ministers bear the most cultural capital with respect to managerial abilities, followed by specific knowledge, and – at last – political experience. Overall, the great majority of the ministers pertained over the requested cultural capital. Also, several interviewees underline that politics is also learning-by-doing (IP 10; IP 11; IP 15). An interviewee ascertains, for example, that the future minister should dispose over basic knowledge as concerns the field of the attributed portfolio. Detailed knowledge is not necessary, however, as this can be acquired on the job and the ministers have experts for this (IP 10; cf. also: Müller 2006e, 182).

In conclusion, the hypothesis that women and men differ in their possession over capital and resources cannot be unequivocally answered for cultural capital: The greatest differences are discernable for managerial abilities, followed by specific knowledge, and – lastly – political experience, whereby the attained values are quite similar as concerns the latter. The fact that more men are qualified as concerns managerial abilities has to be correlated to societal circumstances, in which women are structurally disadvantaged to acquire this kind of resource. That women and men differ with respect to specific knowledge is due to the fact that the female FPÖ-ministers are not qualified.

(4) Career Patterns or Which Habitus Do You Need?

4.1. The Career Patterns

The hypothesis that women and men differ in their provision over capital and resources will be scrutinized with respect to career patterns here: The political careers of the ministers before the recruitment to government can be classified according to their intensity, i.e. their length of involvement in and investment into the political field, which hence mirrors the personal or delegated political capital that was accumulated. In the literature, two career patterns are identified: a lengthy political career referred to as “seniority” and not any political career at all in the form of cross-over recruitment (Pelinka 1970, 537-538; Baumgartner 1983, 184; Stimmer 1997, 1036; Dachs/Gerlich/Müller 1995a, 641; Stirnemann 1988, 603). I will introduce a new type into the typology: a rather short political career for “quickstarters”. The career patterns were empirically largely identified by the quantity of held career positions prior to the governmental recruitment and did not include network positions as these are not part of the career paths per se, but rather represent a previous stepping stone¹⁹¹:

(1) A lengthy political career is mostly referred to as “seniority” in the literature. The pattern of seniority was formulated by Naßmacher (1968, 67-68). He observed that younger candidates mostly have to run for hopeless seats in the elections to the National Assembly, whereas older people are placed on secure positions¹⁹². He concluded that the career advancement respectively the selection of MPs primarily works through waiting and moving up (Naßmacher 1968, 67-68; Stirnemann 1988, 617). Pelinka (1970, 535) followed Naßmacher, but altered the automatic mechanism of moving up inherent to Naßmacher’s definition to a broader principle of a “cursus honorum”, which requires specific positions and waiting in order to climb the political career ladder (Pelinka 1970, 535; Stirnemann 1988, 617, 621). The principle of seniority has to be understood as a slow career advancement characterized by a certain length, i.e. the execution of many political functions in the form of a political ascendancy. It is also traded under the names “cursus

¹⁹¹ For the specifics of the classification process, please see Appendix 1.

¹⁹² For elections to the Austrian National Assembly, each party sets up a ranked list of candidates who become MPs according to their place on the list and the results of the election.

honorum” (Pelinka 1970, 536) or – in German – “Ochsentour” (Herzog 1975, 68) and “Ersitzung” (Naßmacher 1968, 67; Pelinka 1970, 535).

(2) The second type concerns “quickstarters”. Those politicians also had political positions; their number is only minimal, however. Their career is characterized by a relative sudden entry into politics and the take-over of only a few, mostly hierarchically quite staggered positions before their governmental participation, which hence marks the quick advancement of their career. The term “quickstarters” was modelled after the German expression “Blitzstarter”.

(3) The third type of recruitment is “cross-over”, which pertains to all ministers who did not operate any or only one political career position before their political recruitment. The respective persons skip the usual steps of lengthy, hierarchically staggered careers and are immediately recruited into a top position (Pelinka 1970, 537). Cross-over recruitment was identified by Pelinka (1970, 537) – at the time of the publication of the article in 1970 – as a relatively new pattern. The following scholars affirmed its existence (e.g. Stimmer 1997, 1036, 1074; Stirnemann 1988, 621-622). In the literature, it is also referred to as a “technocratic recruitment pattern” (e.g. Stirnemann 1988, 603) and defined as (1) the recruitment of experts (2) from the bureaucracy or the institutions of the social partnership (3) who were hitherto politically not active or even partyless and are immediately recruited into a top position without the requirement of a lengthy political career, and (4) are mainly selected by the national party (Baumgartner 1983, 179; cf. Pelinka 1970, 536-538).

Stirnemann (1988, 621-622) also subsumed youth and student organizations under the definition. The fact that the social partners and youth and student organizations are included in the definition is contradictory, from my point of view, as they are typically part of a political career. Hence, the recruitment of experts with different levels of closeness to the party (technocratic recruitment) and the pattern of a sudden political recruitment of hitherto politically not-active persons (cross-over recruitment) were associated in the literature. These two meanings should be disentangled. Also, only referring to experts in the cross-over pattern seems to be outdated for today’s relations. Other reasons such as popularity, e.g. the selection of sportsmen or persons formerly employed in the media, can be relevant for this type of recruitment as well. As a result, cross-over recruitment is only defined as the *lacking* of a political career here. In the following, the distribution of the ministers to the three career patterns is shown:

Table 47: The Distribution of the Career Patterns – Females and Males

	OVERALL					
	Females		Males		Overall	
Seniority	15	65%	60	65%	75	65%
Quickstarters	3	13%	12	13%	15	13%
Cross-Over Recruitment	5	22%	21	23%	26	22%
n	23		93		116	

Source: Own statistics

Table 48: The Distribution of the Career Patterns Along Party Lines

	SPÖ			ÖVP			FPÖ			Partyless						
	f	m	Overall	f	m	Overall	f	m	Overall	f	m	Overall				
Seniority	8	28	36	68%	6	25	31	78%	1	7	8	62%	0	0	0	0%
Quickstarters	1	6	7	13%	1	3	4	10%	1	2	3	23%	0	1	1	10%
Cross-Over Recruitment	1	9	10	19%	2	3	5	13%	1	1	2	15%	1	8	9	90%
n	10	43	53		9	31	40		3	10	13		1	9	10	

Source: Own statistics

As the table above (Table 47) shows, about two thirds of all ministers have fulfilled seniority, this value is succeeded by cross-over recruitments and then quickstarters. Interestingly, there are not any differences as concerns the distribution of the career patterns between the sexes. The contrary is the case: the reached shares are astonishingly the *same*. Hence, the hypothesis that the forms and the amount of capital and resources vary for females and males has to be refuted as concerns the length of engagement in the political field and hence the (reflected) political capital.

In all three parties (Table 48), the recruitment pattern of seniority prevails: The ÖVP leads and is followed by the SPÖ and the FPÖ. Conversely, the FPÖ has the highest share of short or not any political careers. The great majority of the partyless were cross-over candidates, only one person could be classified as quickstarter; none of the partyless ministers fulfilled seniority.

4.2. Two Types of Politicians or Which Habitus Do You Need?

The analysis of the career patterns brought to light that the recruited governmental members can be divided into two types or – roughly put – habitus: the political professional or the accumulator of posts (“Ämterkumulurier” in German) and the political alien or the top dog. The term habitus is in this sense here a bit loosely used and targets differences in the disposition over capital and resources, the relational position in the field, and thus also different dispositions, i.e. distinct kinds of behaviour, attitudes or styles, for example. The political professional is constituted by those who had a long political career (“seniority”), whereas the political alien or top dog is composed of those who had a short

or not any political career (“quickstarters” and “cross-over recruitments”). The two types entail different logics of recruitment. We have seen in the previous section that the “political professional” is much more in demand by the selectors than the “political alien”. In the following, the two types will be ascertained, whereas first the major characteristics of the respective type will be outlined and then – in a second step – a sex/gender-specific comparison will follow. Thereby, the hypothesis that women and men differ in their provision over capital and resources will be explored.

The political professional applies to 15 females and 60 men (75 persons) and the political top dog to eight females and 33 men (41 persons). Thus, the sex/gender-comparative data of the two types can only indicate trends and has to be carefully interpreted, which especially concerns the type of the political alien.

The Political Professional or the “Accumulator of Posts”

In the following, this type of politician is compared against the average as concerns several criteria in order to establish the major traits of this type:

Table 49: The Political Professional Compared to the Average

		The Political Professional – Overall		Average
Higher Education Diploma	Doctoral Degree	27	36%	60%
	Diploma Degree	20	27%	13%
	Overall	47	63%	73%
Private Career		45	60%	74%
Ministers with (a) Career Position(s)		75	100%	90%
Sum of Career Positions		611	8,1	5,9
Ministers with (an) Affiliation(s)		75	100%	90%
Sum of Affiliations		161	2,1	1,7
Ministers Involved in Networks		74	99%	97%
Sum of Networks Involved in		238	3,2	2,9
n		75		116

Notes: The indicated sums and averages of previous career positions and of affiliations include career positions and affiliations to networks. The positions of networks are not specifically indicated here as these differences are not as relevant.

Source: Own statistics

The ministers of this category have passed and experienced a long involvement and investment into the political field. This is illustrated in the table above by the fact that the political professional disposes over more delegated political capital (operationalized by the research criteria involving career positions and affiliations) than the average minister. The political engagement often started already during the childhood and youth of the

politicians, by the membership and engagement in certain party-affiliated networks, and leads to the typical career paths of the parties. A tight and enduring presence in politics in Austria is tied – by its logic – to the fulfilment of many functions in different organizations and institutions of a political party and – because of that – linked to the fact that most of the ministers in this category worked as full-time professionals before: This is why, the data shows that fewer political professionals had private careers than the average (Table 49). The logic of investing into a party and a specific party group by being involved and executing posts often leads to the situation that politicians are critically tagged as accumulators of posts (the Austrian expression is “Ämterkumulierer”) in the public. Indeed, the data shows that the sum of career positions held by this type is considerably higher than the average (Table 49). In return for this thorough investment, politicians are rewarded by being rooted and belonging to the party groups they invested into, which act as their power bases in the political field. Several interviewees elucidate that without the “*weight of an organization*¹⁹³” (IP 4), politicians are not able to make it in somewhat difficult or dangerous situations (IP 1; IP 2; IP 8). According to an interviewee, a long political career makes sense in so far, as by the mechanism of slowly climbing the career ladder only people come through who asserted themselves in their organizations and have acquired knowledge about the functioning of the political field and a political toolkit (IP 3). Hence, these politicians acquired the somewhat “*tacit knowledge*” (Polanyi 1966) about the mechanisms of the political field and know how to *play*. Furthermore, this category is further determined by a (little bit) higher amount of social capital, operationalized by the belonging to networks here; however, the values are only slightly higher than the average (Table 49).

Conversely, the data analysis showed that the politicians falling into this category exhibit less cultural capital than the average does (Table 49): 63 % of those fulfilling seniority are academics, whereas the average of all governmental members lies at 73 %. This finding is even more markedly shown by the averages of doctoral degrees: 36 % of those with a long political career, compared against 60 % of all ministers hold this educational attainment. Also, the ministers of this category pertain over a career in a private profession only to a share, which is below the average of the entity of all ministers. Hence, resources and forms of capital, acquired in other fields than politics are not as significant.

¹⁹³ In the original: “*Gewicht einer Organisation*”

After defining the basal traits of this career type, we will cast a look at the possible differences between women and men:

Table 50: *The Political Professional – Females and Males*

Higher Education Diploma	Females		Males	
	Doctoral Degree	2	13%	25
Diploma Degree	5	33%	15	25%
Overall	7	47%	40	67%
Private Career	9	60%	36	60%
Ministers with (a) Career Position(s)	15	100%	60	100%
Sum of Career Positions	121	8,1	490	8,2
Ministers with (an) Affiliation(s)	15	100%	60	100%
Sum of Affiliations	30	2,0	131	2,2
Ministers Involved in Networks	15	100%	59	98%
Sum of Networks Involved in	44	2,9	194	3,2
n	15		60	

Notes: The indicated sums and averages of previous career positions and of affiliations include career positions and affiliations to networks. The positions of networks are not specifically indicated here as these differences are not as relevant.

Source: Own statistics

The data proposes (see Table 50 above) that women and men provide over quite similar amounts of delegated political capital, specified by the research criteria targeting career positions and affiliations to party groups. Also, the amount of social capital – visible through their involvement in different networks – appears to be quite similar for women and men: Whereas a slightly higher share of women was involved in networks at all, the sum of networks represented in was slightly higher for men. Hence, the forms and amounts of political and social capital, over which the politicians of this category dispose, do not differ considerably. The same applies to resources and capital forms accumulated in other areas than the political field, for which the disposition over a private career was an indicator. The data analysis only suggests one major distinction, namely as concerns the provision over the institutionalized form of cultural capital, over which fewer women seem to demand: Two thirds of the men, but only half of the women pertain over a higher education diploma. This has to be correlated to the sexed/gendered educational structure in Austria, which was long characterized by *less* formal education of women. Thus, these results might mean that the female political professional had to pertain over the delegated political and the social capital to about the same extent as men – although women have also been disadvantaged in their access to delegated political capital and foremost to

networks – but did not necessarily need the same amount of cultural capital demanded from men¹⁹⁴.

The Political Alien or the Top Dog

Although cross-over candidates and quickstarters were differentiated as career patterns, they show common traits as the ministers of both groups did not fulfil a classic, long political career and hence build one type or a (loosely defined) habitus here. The traits of this type will be carved out in comparison to the average ministers by several criteria:

Table 51: The Political Alien Compared to the Average

		The Political Alien – Overall		Average
Higher Education Diploma	Doctoral Degree	36	88%	60%
	Diploma Degree	2	5%	13%
	Overall	38	93%	73%
Private Career		41	100%	74%
Ministers with (a) Career Position(s)		29	71%	90%
Sum of Career Positions		71	1,7	5,9
Ministers with (an) Affiliation(s)		29	71%	90%
Sum of Affiliations		38	0,9	1,7
Ministers Involved in Networks		38	93%	97%
Sum of Networks Involved in		100	2,4	2,9
n		41		116

Notes: The indicated sums and averages of previous career positions and of affiliations include career positions and affiliations to networks. The positions of networks are not specifically indicated here as these differences are not as relevant.

Source: Own statistics

The politicians of these two career patterns bring in the attractiveness of new faces and are conversely characterized by a low (or even not any) involvement in the political field until their first governmental recruitment and thus less (or even not any) delegated political capital as the comparison above shows (Table 51): Firstly, all of the ministers of this type had a private career, which clearly is above average and corroborates that these politicians were not engaged as full-time politicians. Secondly, all research criteria targeting the disposal over delegated political capital, i.e. the research criteria involving the career positions and the affiliations, show that the number of politicians of this type who acquired

¹⁹⁴ Which traits the logic of this career type takes in individual biographies can be looked up in the produced case studies and involves the examples Lanc, Firnberg, Weißenberg, Fröhlich-Sandner, Lacina, Dohnal, Hesoun, and Hostasch from the SPÖ (pages 104 to 115); Rehor, Neisser, Mitterer, Riegler, Feldgrill-Zankel, Busek, Rauch-Kallat, Ditz and Prader from the ÖVP (pages 142 to 154); Riess-Passer, Reichhold, Scheibner and Ofner from the FPÖ (pages 192 to 195).

delegated political capital and the amount of this capital form is clearly below the average. Interestingly, though, the social capital of the political alien – operationalized here by the number of ministers involved in networks and the sum of networks they belonged to – is below the average, but reaches a considerable volume.

In return for the low amount of delegated political capital, the politicians are demanded to bring in other resources: Foremost, incorporated cultural capital in the form of specific knowledge or expertise for the attributed portfolio is typically required of these politicians (cf. also: Pelinka 1977/1974, 41). Indeed, the vast majority of the investigated ministers (83 %) can be characterized as experts¹⁹⁵ for the portfolio they were attributed to. They are drawn from the public sector, including the diplomatic service, the economic field (including banks), and the legal professions; they were employed as teachers, physicians, at the university, and in the media sector. A minor share had the content-related qualification for the attributed portfolio, but could not be described as expert per se and is only composed of SPÖ- and ÖVP-politicians. The remaining proportion did not have any content-related qualification at all and all stem from the FPÖ. The partyless ministers could all be categorized as experts (own analysis). The relevance of cultural capital in general is corroborated by the fact that the overwhelming majority holds a higher education diploma (93 %), largely even a doctoral degree (88 %), which exceeds the average by far (see Table 51). Also, the fact that all of the ministers of this type fulfilled the criterion of a private career allows the inference that they might dispose over other forms of capital or resources as well, which they acquired in other fields and which can be of advantage in politics. Apart from that, other resources might play a role as well: The closeness to the party leader, i.e. social capital, plays a pivotal role, may it be the personal loyalty of a co-worker or a favoured recruitment pool.

Other, but minor factors are (still) the satisfaction of representational interests of different party groups, where political capital in its delegated form comes into effect for the recruited. For example, for Ludwig Weiß' recruitment (ÖVP; 1966), his leading positions in the *Katholische Aktion* also played a role (Schneider 1995, 93). For other marginal cases, it can also be the relative “success” in the political field, in spite of their short involvement in the political field, and hence the prospects of an attractive candidate. Michael Ausserwinkler (SPÖ; 1992), for example, was not only a successful physician, but also climbed the political career ladder in Carinthian (party) politics extremely quickly: In the course of a year, he ascended from being member of a local council in Carinthia to

¹⁹⁵ For the empirical classification of expert knowledge, please see Appendix 1.

being the deputy mayor in a town. After that, he was quickly recruited into government. Overall, though, the attractiveness of the candidates is largely constituted by the acquisition of capital and resources outside the political field. It is the “success” of the recruited, which can be exemplified by their educational status, their level of expertise or their position in a private profession, which makes them appear shiny and attractive to the selectorate (hence the expression “top dog”). Thus, it is a high level of symbolic capital, which was acquired in another field that comes into effect.

The emergence of these career patterns has to be contextualized into a trend towards an increasing personalization of politics through for example TV (Stirnemann 1988, 622). The attractiveness of the candidates to the electorate has been getting more and more important (Nick 1995, 68). The party leadership is interested in the maximization of votes. Hence, there is a trend to select the – at least assumed – most attractive candidate for the electorate; also, if that means to neglect party-internal considerations (Pelinka 1970, 540). Although also several politicians falling into these two career patterns fulfilled interests of party groups, most of these politicians were directly recruited by the national party leadership, wherefore their recruitment often displeases the diverse players within the parties. The analysis showed that whereas seniority has to be fulfilled in most career institutions, nearly half of the politicians (47 %) who had an affiliation to national (party) politics fall into one of these career patterns. Also, the data proposed that the share of ministers who cooperated with the party leader before their governmental participation is above average (own statistics). Hence, a presence in national politics or being known on the national level or by the national party leader might help to markedly accelerate the career duration. Stirnemann (1988, 622) concedes that the party leadership increasingly defies the diverse players within the parties. However, the analysis demonstrates that the career patterns of quickstarters and cross-over are not increasing, but are rather cyclical and depend on the specific time and the (strength of the) respective party leader. Only more independent party leaders who dispose over a strong position in the relations of forces within the party can *not* regard the wishes of the pivotal party groups as much and recruit relatively autonomously following their own ideas (IP 9).

The partyless ministers who are constituted by nine men and one female are somewhat the *prototype* of the political alien; the features of this type seem the most pronounced as concerns them: All of the partyless ministers can be defined as political aliens; not one of them had a long political career, most of them had a cross-over career. The partyless

minister is typically male (9 of 10 persons), only one female is among them. Eight men have a doctoral degree in law, one male attended the elite academy *Theresianische Militärakademie*, and the one female has a diploma degree in law also. Five of them (among them the one woman) were recruited to be Minister of Justice. Four were attributed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; all of those had been in the diplomatic service before. Finally, the person who had attended the military academy and was an officer was selected for Defence (own analysis). They held high amounts of cultural capital – usually in a very specific form (e.g.: law experts, diplomatic service, defence) – and had thus acquired a high level of symbolic capital in another field. Whereas the volume of delegated political capital even seems to be below, the amount of cultural and thus symbolic capital, on the other hand, appears to be above the average of the political alien. Because they mostly did not hold any career position before their selection into government, they cannot represent party groups and are thus directly selected by the national party leadership. In the selection of partyless ministers, it is the expert status (and thus the high level of symbolic capital acquired in another field) combined with the political neutrality (see also: Müller 2006e, 181; Müller/Philipp/Steininger 1988, 149) that is decisive. Because of their independent position, they are able to neutralize sensitive areas such as Justice and signal a “state political” or non-partisan line (IP 13; see also: Müller/Philipp/Steininger 1988, 151) and soothe the rare conflicts between parties over proposed candidates. Apart from that, the recruitment of partyless ministers can be additionally motivated by the aim to represent other political forces – as it was the case under Kreisky, for example¹⁹⁶.

The downside of the “political alien” is that they – due to their “foreignness” in the political field – lack knowledge about how politics *works*. The problem is that they have to catch up on a certain learning process (IP 13). The recruits are usually not accustomed to the inner party power games and its balance, or to the diverse interests of the different party organizations (cf. also: Baumgartner 1983, 179; Rebenstorf 2005, 123; Pelinka 1977/1974, 41). The SPÖ party leaders Vranitzky or Klima are good examples: It took years until Vranitzky was able to recognize the laws, which exist in party organizations like the SPÖ, and fulfilled them. This is indeed an accomplishment. However, it is not the same, if you have to learn that as party leader or if you have already known it and it was certainly not good for the party: “*Not because the people were not willing or capable, but*

¹⁹⁶ Kreisky rather recruited partyless ministers in order to represent other political or social forces: Willibald Pahr (1976) and Rudolf Kirchschräger (1970) were both part of the ÖVP’s employees’ league ÖAAB; Erich Bielka (1974) and Karl Lütgendorf (1971) both stemmed from noble backgrounds (Own analysis).

*because they were not close enough to those instruments which are necessary to deploy the means to assert their policies*¹⁹⁷.” (IP 3). Furthermore, they do not pertain over a stable power base in the political field (IP 1; IP 4), which makes them *less survivable*. Overall, there are very few successful examples among those who have little experience with the political field (IP 15). The candidates are expected to perfectly integrate themselves into the party organization, which they are mostly not capable of (IP 1; IP 4). Indeed, the type of the political alien is shorter in office (3.7 years) than the average (4.8) (own statistics). In sum, the politicians of this type typically bring in little or no delegated political capital. In return, other resources are demanded more strongly from this group, especially cultural capital. Usually, these politicians pertain over a high volume of symbolic capital acquired in another field (e.g.: “the star physician” or “the law expert”). Interestingly, the holding of social capital in the form of belonging to networks was lower than the average, but reached a relatively high amount. Similarly, a personal relation with the party leader or the national party leadership (which is also social capital) is disproportionately important for this type.

After identifying the main features, we will now turn to the analysis between women and men. The involved entity of females is with eight persons quite low; however, the comparison might propose interesting trends:

¹⁹⁷ In the original: “*Nicht weil die Leuten nicht guten Willens waren oder nicht fähig waren, sondern sie waren im Einsetzen der Mittel zur Durchsetzung ihrer Politik zu wenig jenen Instrumenten nahe, die dafür notwendig sind.*”

Table 52: The Political Alien – Females and Males

Higher Education Diploma	Females		Males	
	Doctoral Degree	7	88%	29
Diploma Degree	1	13%	1	3%
Overall	8	100%	30	91%
Experts	4	50%	30	91%
Specific Knowledge, Not Experts	2	25%	1	3%
Not Qualified	2	25%	2	6%
Ministers with (a) Career Position(s)	6	75%	23	70%
Sum of Career Positions	11	1,4	60	1,8
Ministers with (an) Affiliation(s)	6	75%	23	70%
Sum of Affiliations	7	0,9	31	0,9
Ministers Involved in Networks	6	75%	32	97%
Sum of Networks Involved in	9	1,1	91	2,8
n	8		33	

Notes:

- (1) The indicated sums and averages of previous career positions and of affiliations include career positions and affiliations to networks. The positions of networks are not specifically indicated here as these differences are not as relevant.
- (2) The criterion “private career” is not included in this table (as in the table before) as all of the politicians of this type fulfilled the criterion.
- (3) The criterion of being an expert or having the specific knowledge or not was researched for the first portfolio taken over. The responsibilities were identified by the actual name of the portfolio. In case, the ministry was composed of several areas, the major one was considered as relevant. If the concerned fields were equal in terms of their power status, specific knowledge or expertise for one area was considered as sufficient to fulfil the respective criterion. See Appendix 1 for more detail.

Source: Own statistics

The data in the table above (Table 52) suggests that the greatest differences between women and men exist as concerns the criterion of being an expert for the respective portfolio: The overwhelming majority of the males, but only half of the women can be described as experts. As concerns the highest educational status, however, the comparison proposes that more women are better educated. This is especially interesting, when knowing that in the overall entity of all ministers, the females are less educated than the men¹⁹⁸. It seems that, although the formal side of knowledge and expertise as educational attainment (cultural capital in its institutionalized form) is even a little stronger in the case of women than of men, the informal status to be an expert (cultural capital in its incorporated form) is obviously overwhelmingly held by and *demande*d from men in comparison to women: Already the educational structure alludes that there would be female experts in government; obviously expertise is less demanded from them, though. The partyless ministers seem to dispose over the traits of this politician type the most pronounced and thus over the highest level of cultural and symbolic capital and can in terms of sex/gender serve as prototypical example here, as almost all of them (9 of 10) are male.

¹⁹⁸ See the section “6.2. Highest Educational Attainment” on page 282.

As concerns the holding of delegated political capital (which is targeted by all research criteria involving career positions and affiliations), slightly more females seem to be in possession of this capital form, females held fewer career positions than men, but had an equal number of affiliations. Thus, the comparison with respect to delegated political capital is difficult; overall, the differences between females and males are not great. Considerable differences appear to exist for social capital (targeted by the involvement in networks): The data proposes that women provide over less social capital than men in these sense of belonging to networks. As this political type is chiefly selected by the national party leadership, this might mean that it was more important for women to be in a personal relation with the (male) party leader or any of the (male) selectors¹⁹⁹.

4.3. Conclusion: Sex/Gender Relations with Respect to Career Patterns or Types

The evaluation of the hypothesis that women and men differ in their provision over capital and resources took quite complex forms on the pages ahead and cannot be unequivocally answered: We have seen that there are not any differences recognizable as concerns the distribution of the career patterns between women and men, which also reflects the amount of delegated and personal political capital accumulated. The analysis of the two career types (loosely defined as two kinds of habitus) was trickier:

The features of the *political professional* are a high provision of delegated political and social capital (whereby social capital was here operationalized by belonging to networks). Conversely, this type has a low level of cultural capital. The males and females of this type appear to be about equal as concerns the holding and the volume of delegated political and social capital. Only, women seem to dispose over less institutionalized cultural capital than men (i.e. educational titles), which is linked to the fact that females have pertained over less formal education in Austria for a long time. However, females have also been disadvantaged as concerns the access to delegated political and especially to social capital. Thus, these results might suggest that the disposal over delegated political and social capital (to about the same extent as men) was more relevant for a career of this female

¹⁹⁹ In the party-specific chapters, several individual biographies classified into this type are illustrated: Among the “quickstarters” are Scholten (SPÖ; page 105) and Sickl (FPÖ; page 191). Öllinger (SPÖ; page 116) and Plassnik (ÖVP; page 143) are among the cross-over recruitments.

politician type than the disposition over cultural capital often held by and/or demanded from men.

The *political alien*, on the other hand, barely has any delegated political capital, but brings forth a high level of cultural capital and of symbolic capital acquired in another field. The volume of social capital appears to be below the average, but still is considerable. The data proposed that the disposition over delegated political capital is quite alike for females and males, that the female type has less social and cultural capital in its incorporated form (i.e. expert knowledge) than the male type, but slightly more cultural capital in its institutionalized form (i.e. they are better educated). The comparative lack of social capital in the form of belonging to networks by females may be levelled by knowing (male) selectors personally. Here, especially the data as concerns the expert status bears great differences. It seems that expertise is *less in demand* from females as the educational structure of the concerned women indicates that there *would be* more female experts. Hence, it seems that the holding of delegated political and cultural capital in its institutionalized form was more relevant for the selection of the female political alien, but that cultural capital in its incorporated form rather was not in comparison to men. Overall, it seems to be cultural capital which is the relevant differentiator between females and males: The female political professional pertains over less cultural capital than the male one. The female political alien, on the other hand, appears to have more cultural capital in its institutionalized form (i.e. formal education), but much less cultural capital in its incorporated form (i.e. expertise) than the male type.

(5) The Glass Ceiling in Government

The comparison between the times of incumbencies conducted on page 222 already showed that women are *less* part of the government than males. Another barrier for women in government represents the selection into another portfolio, which often means a further climbing in the career ladder. For example, the Federal or Vice Chancellors often served in other portfolios before fulfilling the highest posts in cabinet. Overall, 26 % of the male ministers and only one female from the ÖVP (4 % of the females) were recruited in another portfolio in government. A third recruitment into another portfolio even only applies to men (6 %) (own statistics). From this follows that women cannot be denied the access to government anymore, but that they meet a glass ceiling when it comes to further advancement.

(6) The Pool of Candidates

It was outlined in the theoretical chapter that the attractiveness of governmental offices affects the strength of the power struggle between the potential candidates: A low attractiveness of governmental jobs and hence a restricted pool of candidates might enhance the female representation because in times of high competition, women are *saved* (Sanbonmatsu 2006, 34; Diamond 1977, 4). The attractiveness of the governmental jobs in Austria has become very low. One interviewee thinks that more of the candidates, who are asked to take over a governmental post, refuse the job than accept it (IP 9). Another respondent assesses that recruitment is so difficult in all parties because being a minister is not appealing anymore. That was completely different in the past, but this was a long time ago. The candidates only see: the media pressure, the intention of the media to see everything negatively. The interviewee concludes that those who are not employed in the protected public sector, where one can always come back to if one is politically not successful, but those who work in the economy and have a future career in this sector, do not want to go through that (IP 15): *“And it is not the money, the critical factor, that the salary is so low, but it is simply the media situation, that she or he says, ‘I do not have a private life anymore, they are always after me, my family’ (...)²⁰⁰.”* (IP 15). According to another interviewee: *“(...) real quality is almost not recruitable for politics anymore with this merciless populism, which basically involves the self-castration of the political class, the quality of the political personnel is meanwhile highly questionable.²⁰¹.”* (IP 9). These evaluations draw a devastating picture about the unattractiveness of governmental jobs and the major changes of the political field more generally.

In comparative perspective, Austria is relatively well positioned as concerns the quantitative female representation in government. In a comparison of the industrial democracies after the last national elections to the end of 1998, Austria occupies the ninth place out of 27 (Siaroff 2000, 200). It is the low appeal of the offices, which can explain this comparatively seen reasonable share of females. From this follows that a feminization of segments of the political field only takes place, where men are not available or not as willing to do the job.

²⁰⁰ In the original: *“Und das ist nicht das Geld, das Ausschlaggebende, dass der Verdienst so wenig ist, sondern es ist einfach die mediale Situation, dass der sagt, ‘Ich habe kein Privatleben mehr, die sind immer hinter mir her, meiner Familie’ (...).”*

²⁰¹ In the original: *“Und das vor dem Hintergrund, dass echte Qualität für die Politik fast nicht mehr zu rekrutieren ist, bei dem gnadenlosen Populismus, der im Wesentlichen mit einer Selbstkastration der politischen Klasse einhergeht, ist die Qualität des politischen Personals mittlerweile ja höchst zweifelhaft.”*

(7) Conclusion

In this section, five hypotheses were evaluated, whereby the first three are correlated and concern the typical career paths of the ministers: Firstly, the hypothesis that women and men differ with respect to their career paths could be affirmed. There are huge differences as concerns typical career channels of females and males. Female politicians are pushed aside; many party groups can be described as old boys' clubs, in which the ascendancy of women is obviously not possible. The exclusively female career ladders only comprise the women's organizations of the SPÖ and the ÖVP, which are of minimal relevance.

Secondly, the hypothesis that the corporatist structures and the principle of the inclusion of the social partners in government disadvantage women can be clearly affirmed. The third hypothesis, though, that the principle of territorial representation and thus the incorporation of the regions into government discriminate women, has to be refuted: In comparison to men, females dominate the career paths via local and regional politics, whereas the opposite is the case for national politics. This stands in contrast to the fact that the political participation and representation of females is higher on the national level than in regional and local politics. It hence illustrates that the national layer rather selects men and that females have then to be brought in via other channels.

The investigation of the fourth hypothesis that women and men differ in their disposal over capital and resources took more complex forms: It was analyzed with respect to delegated political, social, cultural capital, and the career patterns, which mirror the potential amount of political capital that could have been acquired. Additionally, the two different types of recruited politicians (also loosely defined as two kinds of habitus), the "political professional" and the "political alien", were each analyzed according to their sex/gender-specific definition and their provision over capital and resources.

As concerns delegated political capital, women and men barely differed. If at all, slightly more females disposed over this capital form. What seems interesting is that networks seemed to draw a distinction between women and men: When the amount of delegated political capital acquired was calculated including the networks, women possessed slightly less capital than men. Conversely, when networks were excluded in the calculation of this capital form, the relation was reverse. Thus, it appears that women invested (or were able to invest) more into party groups apart from the networks, whereas men invested more into networks. Furthermore, it seems that the few females who were able to climb the career

ladder via the institutions of the social partnership, which are male organized, seemed to need *additional* delegated political capital and tended to be – in contrast to men – represented in the other career type via the party *as well*. The analysis of the career patterns, which target the intensity of the involvement in the political field and thus also reflect the amount of political capital that could be acquired, did not take different forms between females and males neither.

Women and men differed in the possession of social capital, whereas the gap gets the greater, the tighter the relation to the network becomes: Women bring in less social capital than men in terms of belonging; still the volume of capital is considerable given the level of discrimination women experience in the access to many networks. Whereas women thus still bring forth a considerable volume of social capital in terms of belonging to networks, the proportion of females holding positions in and having affiliations to networks incrementally decrease. However, it is exactly the holding of positions in and the affiliations to networks, which makes the networks *power bases* of the politicians – which is thus less accessible to women. Furthermore, as the analyzes in the party-specific chapters (Chapters 4 to 6) showed, the two sexes differ in *where* or in which organizations they acquired this capital form as many networks can be – similar to the career paths – described as male organized and women were sectorized to specific networks.

Cultural capital was researched in this chapter for all politicians by the provision over managerial abilities, specific knowledge for the respective portfolio, and political experience. The greatest differences between women and men were discernable for managerial abilities, whereas the gap has to be described as modest overall: Women disposed less over this capital form, which has to be tied back to societal circumstances. Following that, females and males also differed with respect to specific knowledge: Fewer females pertained over this capital form, which is due to the fact that none of the female FPÖ-ministers were qualified. When this capital form was computed without all FPÖ-politicians, the values reached by females and males were similar. Lastly, females and males hardly differed as concerns the provision over political experience, which is also tied to delegated political capital, as through political participation and representation both kinds of capital are acquired. Finally, the belonging to expert groups or the working as expert for a party represents a somewhat peculiar case, as it tackles social and cultural capital and applies to fewer females than to males, which has to be correlated to the unequal supply of females and males being experts in society.

As concerns the three kinds of capital discussed here, women rather bring in (or are demanded to bring in) delegated political capital: They are in hold of this capital form to about the *same extent* than men, although they are discriminated in the access of the capital form. This is visible through the calculation of this capital form and the distribution of the career patterns. Furthermore, they need additional delegated political capital to come through the institutions of the social partners, and do not differ with respect to political experience, which is connected to delegated political capital. Thus, although women are disadvantaged in the access to all capital forms, it rather seems to be delegated political capital that is relevant for their political advancement. As concerns the other capital forms, females were in possession of less capital than men in case of differences. The greatest distinctions in the holding of capital forms could be identified for social capital: The numbers of belonging to networks only showed a difference for women and men with 7 %²⁰² as concerns the women/men represented in networks at all, whereby the sum of networks reached by females was about two thirds of the value attained by men. The gap enlarged to 17 % with respect to holding positions in networks and to 22 % with respect to having affiliations to networks. The next biggest distinctions could then be identified for forms of cultural capital: As concerns managerial abilities, women and men differed with 8 %. This value is followed by specific knowledge and a gap of 5 % (due to the minor qualification of the FPÖ-ministers) and by working as an expert for a party with a gap of 5 % also. Significantly, women brought forth similar values as concerns political experience, which is not only a form of cultural capital, but also tied to delegated political capital. Thus, holding functions in and having affiliations to networks and thus having power bases in networks (as social capital) seems to be the greatest differentiator between female and male politicians. It is followed by the distinctions with respect to the belonging to networks and the differences as concerns several forms of cultural capital that were treated here, which are not great overall, though.

The analysis of the two types of politicians, the “political professional” and the “political alien”, leads us deeper in the analysis and suggests interesting trends: Both types were analyzed with respect to the holding of delegated political capital, social capital (which was operationalized by the belonging to networks here), and cultural capital (which was operationalized by the highest formal education in both types and the disposition over

²⁰² The differences in the percentage values are indicated here for comparative means. However, it has to be kept in mind that they are partly based on relatively low entities and have thus to be valued prudently.

expert knowledge as concerns the second type): The political professional is characterized by high levels of delegated political and social, but a low amount of cultural capital.

Women and men of this type do not seem to differ with respect to the first two capital forms; only females appear to have less institutionalized cultural capital (i.e. educational titles) than men. Women are structurally disadvantaged as concerns the access of all three capital forms. Thus, the results might suggest that the disposal over delegated and social capital of females (to about the same extent than men) was more relevant for a female politician than the holding of cultural capital.

The political alien barely has any delegated political capital, a volume of social capital that is below the average of all politicians but considerable and high levels of cultural capital and of symbolic capital acquired in another field. As concerns delegated political capital, the data proposes that the values reached by females and males were quite similar.

Furthermore, females seemed to be in possession of less social capital than men. However, this could be levelled by personally knowing the (male) selectors, which is more important for this type because they are predominantly selected by the national party leadership and typically do not pertain over backing in party groups. Foremost it seems relevant that females and males differ – yet again – with respect to cultural capital: Women appear to have considerable less cultural capital in its incorporated form (expertise), but slightly more cultural capital in its institutionalized form (formal educational titles). This proposes that expertise and the expert status are *less in demand* from females than from males by the selectors, as the holding of formal education would propose that there would be *enough* female experts. Hence, it seems that the provision over delegated political capital (to about the same extent than men) and the disposal over cultural capital in its institutionalized form (more than men) was more relevant for the females of this type, but that cultural capital in its incorporated form was rather not.

Thus, delegated political capital is again similar for women and men in both types of politicians. As concerns social capital, which was targeted by the belonging to networks for these two types, the female political professional also holds about the same amount of social capital than men. The female political alien, though, possesses less social capital than males (difference of 22 %²⁰³), which might be balanced by stronger personal relations of females to (male) selectors. Overall, it rather seems to be cultural capital, which represents the greatest differentiator between females and males in these two types:

²⁰³ It has to be outlined again that the differences in the percentage values are indicated here for comparative means and that it has to be kept in mind that they are partly based on relatively low entities and have thus to be valued prudently.

Whereas the female political professional is in hold of less institutionalized cultural capital than men (difference of 20 %), the female political alien possesses over slightly more institutionalized (difference of 9 %), but considerable less incorporated cultural capital than males (difference of 49 %).

The results can be thus summarized: Delegated political capital is the most relevant of all capital forms for women and also applies to the females of both politician types.

As concerns social capital, females are in hold of a lesser volume than men. The greatest differences for all female and male ministers can be located for the holding of positions in and having affiliations to networks (difference of 17 and 22 %). The belonging to networks (difference of 7 %) also shows distinctions. However, the analysis of the two types of politicians brought forth that the female political professional has about the same amount of social capital than men in terms of network belonging, whereas the female political alien has less social capital than men (difference of 22 %). Through the fact that the political aliens are predominantly selected by the national party leadership, it might be concluded that personal relations for females to (male) selectors are thus more important for females. As concerns cultural capital, the greatest differences could be identified for the expert status and the level of formal education: Whereas the female political alien disposed over less expert status (difference of 49 %), but had slightly more formal education (difference of 9 %), the female political professional had less formal education compared to men (difference of 20 %). The analysis of all politicians showed that females had less managerial skills (difference of 8 %), slightly less specific knowledge (difference of 5 %), and worked slightly less as experts for the parties (difference of 5 %).

The hypothesis that women and men differ with respect to capital and resources will be further explored in Chapter 8 as concerns the disposal over cultural capital. The hitherto analysis showed that differences can be generally located for social and cultural capital, whereas delegated political capital seems to be the same for women and men (even though females are disadvantaged in acquiring it).

Finally, the fifth hypothesis (which was derived from the empirical material) that women tend to be less likely to succeed in government because they lack political experience on the national level compared to men was affirmed. The relative “success” in government was operationalized by the times of incumbencies, as they show how long the ministers manage to *survive* in government. Indeed, women were in government for a smaller period

of time than men. Political experience on the national level thus is a form of delegated political and cultural capital, which is less accessible to women. Furthermore, women experience a glass ceiling *in* government: Whereas some of the men are recruited into hierarchically higher positions within government, such as the Federal Chancellery for example, women are barred from that.

Lastly, the research has depicted a catastrophic picture about the low appeal of governmental offices in Austria, nowadays, which can explain the comparatively seen reasonable share of females in the Austrian executive.

IV. Outlook

Due to the length of this chapter and the fact that the recruitment processes were split into the perspective of the selectors and of the recruited, the detailed conclusions for each perspective can be found at the end of each section (see page 227 and page 266). Thus, what has been done in each section will only be briefly summarized: From the perspective of the selectors, two hypotheses were explored: (1) That it is the (sexed/gendered) relations of forces within the parties, which chiefly determine the selection processes, and (2) that the principle of the permanence of the mandates applies less to females than to males. Both hypotheses could be affirmed.

From the perspective of the recruited, five hypotheses were (at least partly) investigated: (1) I hypothesized that the typical career paths for women and men differ, which could be clearly affirmed. Related to that, I further hypothesized that (2) the corporatist structures and the established practice to include the social partners in the government formation would disadvantage women, which was confirmed by the analysis as well. The (3) hypothesis in this respect, however, that women would be disadvantaged by the practice to include the regions in the personnel selection to government had to be refuted, as women disproportionally stemmed from the regional than from the national level.

The (4) hypothesis that women and men differ with respect to the capital and resources they hold, took quite complex forms and cannot be unequivocally answered. This hypothesis still needs to be further explored in the following chapter on the social structure, before fully answering it in the conclusion (Chapter 9).

Finally, the (5) hypothesis was derived from the empirical material: I assumed that women would be less likely to survive and thus succeed in government because they dispose less over the essential experience in national politics. This hypothesis was also affirmed: Women were in government for a smaller period of time than men. Thus, the discrimination that women face as concerns career paths has further discriminatory consequences.

8. The Social Structure

In the following, the social structure of the governmental members will be assessed, tackling the sub-research question of *Who are the Austrian ministers?* and their inherent sex/gender relations. In the theoretical chapter, several so-called sub-hypotheses were elaborated, which largely target the link between these capital forms and resources and political recruitment, but also the correlation of these resources and the sex/gender dimension. Furthermore, the hypothesis that women and men differ in the provision over capital and resources will be explored here with respect to the holding of cultural capital. As the sub-hypotheses were already subject to thorough discussion in the Theory Chapter, they will only be briefly summarized here:

Foremost, it is the sex belonging (and the according gender) which determines the possibilities to enter the political field and subsequently to be successful in the field. In several studies on political leaders, it was assessed that they predominantly stem from privileged social backgrounds, are typically well-educated and have occupations with a high status. Formal educational achievements represent cultural capital in its institutionalized form, whereas a certain occupation embodies cultural capital in its incorporated form by specifically gained capabilities during the professional life, for example. The data on the educational and the occupational structure will allow for conclusions about the positions of the ministers in the wider social space. As concerns education and occupation, it is often a specific form of cultural capital that is in demand as those occupying powerful political positions are predominantly composed of law students and of the talking professions (such as lawyers, civil servants, teachers, or journalists). Apart from that, it was assumed that an urban background and – related to that – the geographical closeness to political institutions and their hierarchical level as well as the political engagement of family members or relatives might be of advantage for a somewhat “better” accessibility of politics. The research on the territorial representation of the ministers will complete the analysis of the socio-geographical structure of the ministers and also targets the sex/gender implications of the political relevance of the regions in the political recruitment processes.

Furthermore, I hypothesized that fewer females have family than males. Lastly, it was assumed that women are older than men, following the results of international studies. The named dimensions are operationalized in the following and amended by some research criteria that seemed of interest as well.

The sex/gender relations as concerns the social structure are in focus here. However, as this work is also concerned with political recruitment processes in the different parties in general, the party-specific data will be indicated for the most relevant research criteria in order to demonstrate the party-specific traits of the ministers. Hence, the party-specific data will be presented as concerns sex and age structure, the social background of the ministers, the highest educational attainment, the private profession, and family. However, the data of the specific parties will not be sex/gender-specifically enrolled, as the analysis of the social structure here would become too long and divert the attention from the original research aim.

The shares indicated in this chapter either refer to the researched ministers overall (116), to the entity of investigated females (23) and males (93) respectively, or to the number of members of the respective party and the partyless. Only, in case a criterion could not be fully researched for all the ministers – like the civil status for example – the entity referred to is constituted by the number of known cases and will be specifically indicated. For the SPÖ (53 ministers) and the ÖVP (40), percentage-values are employed. The entities of the FPÖ (13), the partyless (10), and the females (23) are rather small, wherefore the nominal values are always indicated as well and the interpretation of the results will be carefully handled.

(1) The Structure of Sex Belonging

In the following table, the sex belonging of the researched ministers is indicated:

Table 53: The Structure of Sex Belonging of the Ministers

	Females		Males		n	
SPÖ	10	19%	43	81%	53	100%
ÖVP	9	23%	31	78%	40	100%
FPÖ	3	23%	10	77%	13	100%
Partyless	1	10%	9	90%	10	100%
Overall	23	20%	93	80%	116	100%

Notes: The numbers presented here differ from those depicted in Chapter 3 because the party leaders who were first recruited as party leaders and then served as ministers were excluded from the research selection as other recruitment mechanisms are in order for party leaders than for ministers.

Source: Own statistics

Overall, 20 % of the ministers under scrutiny here are females and 80 % are males. The ÖVP and the FPÖ bring forward the highest shares of females and are followed by the SPÖ and then the partyless. This overview clearly shows that political leaders are disproportionately men.

(2) The Age Structure

In Chapter 7, it was already ascertained that a certain young age or a certain life expectancy can be of advantage in recruitment²⁰⁴. The analysis of the governmental members showed that the average age of the female politicians at the time of their first recruitment as a minister is with 50.1²⁰⁵ slightly higher than those of the men with 48.8 (own statistics). Hence, the hypothesis that female officeholders are older than their male counterparts (e.g.: CAWP 2001, 4; Sanbonmatsu 2006, 32) can be confirmed here. This may be a product of female caregiver responsibilities (Sanbonmatsu 2006, 32).

Seen in comparison between the different parties and the partyless, the partyless ministers (53.0) are typically the oldest because they need *time* to gain their high level of cultural and symbolic capital, i.e. their expert status. They are succeeded by the SPÖ (49.3) and the ÖVP (49.2) with very similar values. The FPÖ-ministers (44.8) are the youngest (own statistics).

(3) Social Background in the Family

The social background in the family is operationalized by the occupation of the father. The professional status of the mothers' could – unfortunately – not be researched, as it was mostly not indicated in the biographical material. Additionally, a potential belonging to the nobility was investigated.

3.1. The Occupation of the Father

Roughly stated, the occupation of the father with the highest status, executed during the childhood and youth of the politicians, was employed for the classification²⁰⁶. The information on the fathers' jobs was often only scarce; Norris/Lovenduski's (1995, 99) classification system is most useful in order to categorize the jobs and to get an overview over the position of the family in the social space. The classification system distinguishes the categories professional, business, miscellaneous, and manual workers, and was amended by the category farmers/foresters/millers: *Professional occupations* contain

²⁰⁴ See page 226.

²⁰⁵ The average age has been calculated to the exact month.

²⁰⁶ For more detail on the empirical undertaking, please see Appendix 1.

barristers/solicitors, doctors/dentists, architects/surveyors/civil engineers, accountants, civil servants, work in the armed services, and teachers/researchers. *Business* includes company directors/executives, employments in the commerce/insurance, and in the management/clerical/other. The category *miscellaneous* contains miscellaneous white collar workers, political organizers, publishers, journalists, homemakers, and students. In the following, the occupations of the fathers of the female and the male ministers will be presented:

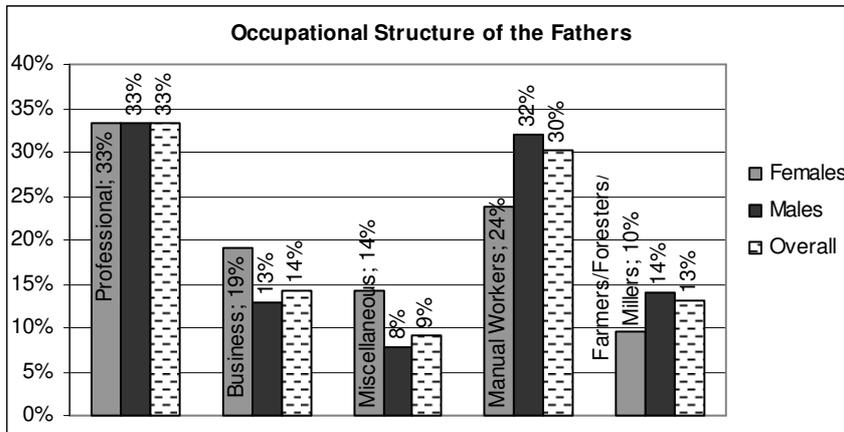
Table 54: Occupational Structure of the Fathers according to Norris/Lovenduski (1995)

	Females		Males		Overall	
Professional	7	33%	26	33%	33	33%
Business	4	19%	10	13%	14	14%
Miscellaneous	3	14%	6	8%	9	9%
Manual Workers	5	24%	25	32%	30	30%
Farmers/Foresters/Millers	2	10%	11	14%	13	13%
n	21		78		99	

Notes: (1) The occupational status of the fathers was not researchable for all ministers, which is why, the percentage values only refer to the numbers of known cases indicated for all ministers under “n”. In the following, the entities are depicted as “n: Overall (Females, Males)” and the numbers are presented as “known cases of overall entity”: Overall: 99 of 116 (21 of 23f, 78 of 93m).

Source: Own statistics

Figure 35: Occupational Structure of the Fathers according to Norris/Lovenduski (1995)



Around half of the families of the ministers are from well-off backgrounds constituted by the fathers with professional jobs and occupied in business. About a third originates in workers’ families and 13 % grew up in rather rural conditions with fathers as farmers, foresters or millers. The rest of the fathers are occupied with miscellaneous jobs. Whereas the shares of females and males having fathers with “professional” jobs are equal, proportionally more women’s fathers were occupied in business and in miscellaneous jobs than their male counterparts. Conversely, fewer females than men had fathers with manual jobs or who worked as farmers, foresters or millers.

Although the data gives a nice picture about the position of the ministers in the social universe, the initial hypothesis that the ministers are disproportionately pulled from well-off family backgrounds (Putnam 1976, 22; Dachs/Gerlich/Müller 1995a, 634) cannot be unequivocally answered by this data set as a third was occupied with “professional” jobs, which comprise occupations with a high status, but another third of the ministers’ fathers were manual workers, for example.

In the following, the reached shares by the different parties and the by the partyless will be shown:

Table 55: Occupational Structure of the Fathers Along Party Lines

	SPÖ				ÖVP				FPÖ				Partyless			
	f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall	
Professional	3	13	16	33%	4	8	12	33%	0	2	2	25%	0	3	3	43%
Business	1	2	3	6%	3	4	7	19%	0	3	3	38%	0	1	1	14%
Miscellaneous	1	3	4	8%	2	2	4	11%	0	0	0	0%	0	1	1	14%
Manual Workers	4	18	22	46%	0	5	5	14%	0	1	1	13%	1	1	2	29%
Farmers/Foresters/Millers	1	2	3	6%	0	8	8	22%	1	1	2	25%	0	0	0	0%
n¹	10	38	48		9	27	36		1	7	8		1	6	7	

Notes: (1) The occupational status of the fathers was not researchable for all ministers, which is why, the percentage values only refer to the numbers of known cases indicated for all ministers under “n”. In the following, the entities are depicted as “n: Overall” and the numbers are presented as “known cases of overall entity”: SPÖ: 48 of 53; ÖVP: 36 of 40; FPÖ: 8 of 13; Partyless: 7 of 10.

Source: Own statistics

The table above shows that the fathers of the SPÖ-ministers are – in comparison to the other parties – manual workers to a high proportion, but are relatively seldomly employed in the business sector or as farmers, foresters or millers. The ÖVP, on the other hand, has high proportions of farmers, foresters or millers as well as people employed in the business sector, but relatively few manual workers. The shares of the FPÖ appear to be the closest to the ÖVP in the low provision over manual workers and a relatively high number of farmers, foresters or millers and seem to have many fathers occupied in the business sector. As concerns the category of “professional” jobs, the partyless dispose over a pronounced proportion, the shares in the SPÖ and the ÖVP are the same, whereas the FPÖ’s value appears to be relatively low. The fathers of the partyless ministers also have – apart from the professional jobs – a quite pronounced portion of manual workers.

The respective family backgrounds correspond to a great part to the voters’ structures of the parties: Traditionally, the electorate of the SPÖ was strongly composed of blue- and white-collar workers, whereas self-employed people (the category “self-employed” would be “business” in my classification), professionals and farmers were only minimally

represented among them. The voters of the ÖVP, on the other hand, were dominated by those who lived from farming, self-employed or professional jobs, whereas the proportion of manual and white-collar workers was relatively small. The FPÖ pulled their voters mainly from white-collar employees, self-employed persons and professionals before the take-over of the party by Haider in 1986. Since then, the share of blue-collar workers and of farmers has increased (Müller/Ullram 1995, 149-151). The results of the data analysis propose that the fathers of the ministers were – at least to a considerable part – voters of the same party, the politicians later participated in, especially as concerns the SPÖ and the ÖVP.

3.2. The Belonging to the Nobility

Belonging to the nobility seems to be an exclusively male phenomenon: It applies to 4 % of all ministers, composed of five men and none of the women: Rudolf Scholten and Caspar Einem (SPÖ), Lujo Tončić-Sorinj (ÖVP), and Karl Lütgendorf and Erich Bielka (2 of 10 partyless). Lütgendorf and Bielka were both recruited by the SPÖ-leader Kreisky. According to an interviewee, Kreisky was attracted by the nobility and the higher bourgeoisie and would have never selected Lütgendorf if it were not for his belonging to the nobility (IP 4).

(4) Accessibility of Politics

The accessibility of politics is evaluated by two criteria: the political involvement of a family member or a relative and the geographical accessibility of political institutions.

As concerns the political engagement of the family, not the party membership, but the political interest was the decisive criterion for the classification. What interested me was, whether the politicians had at least one politically interested family member or a relative (also comprising uncles/aunts or grandmothers/-fathers for example) who could have awakened their interest in politics. Hence, if relatives were party members, but were not politically interested at all, the variable was indicated as negative. A political interest of one of the family members was indicated in the accessed sources for 57 % of the females (13 of 23) and 45 % of the men, which sums up to 47 % overall (own statistics). As the

information is difficult to access, it may be assumed that the real values are higher. Hence, the hypothesis that a political involvement of a family member or a relative can be advantageous for a political career or an involvement in the political field can be confirmed. However, the hypothesis whether women and men differed with respect to this resource cannot be accessed, as the data is probably not complete for all ministers. Most of the relatives classified as political were involved in the same party, the minister her- or himself later belonged (own analysis). This finding is corroborated by the analysis of the occupational structure of the fathers above, which suggested that the occupational structure of the ministers' fathers largely corresponds to the voters' structure of the parties, the politicians were later involved in. In an analysis of politicians in high positions, Dachs/Gerlich/Müller (1995a, 635) contend that three quarters of the ministers follow their family in their political orientation.

As concerns the geographical accessibility of politics, I elaborated Putnam's (1976, 32) assessment that political leaders tend to originate in cities and hypothesized that the geographical closeness to political institutions would advantage a political career: I thus assumed that an urban background may be more advantageous in comparison to a rural background because of the political institutions of the town. Politicians who grew up in regional capitals would be even more advantaged in their access to politics, as regional capitals provide over the political structures not only of a city, but of the region as well. A place of residence during the childhood and youth in the national capital might hence be a further plus, as Vienna additionally disposes over the national political institutions. In comparison to that, ministers who grew up in the countryside might be disadvantaged. Thus, I hypothesized that the hierarchical level of the accessible political institutions and the chances to be recruited are directly linked. Empirically, the places of residence of the ministers during childhood were researched and classified into countryside, city, regional capital, and capital (whereby the latter three research dimensions are all cities):

Table 56: Places of Origin of the Ministers

		Females		Males		Overall	
Countryside		5	22%	27	29%	32	28%
City	City	4	17%	9	10%	13	11%
	Regional Capital	5	22%	15	16%	20	17%
	Capital	9	39%	42	45%	51	44%
n		23		93		116	

Source: Own statistics

Overall, 44 % of the concerned politicians grew up in Vienna, which points to the correctness of the hypothesis. However, the data shows that only 17 % of the ministers under scrutiny grew up in a regional capital – compared to 28 % rooted in the countryside. Hence, it can be concluded that the hypothesis has to be at least partly refuted: The closeness to the regional political institutions does not apply as a comparative advantage compared to an origin in a city or in the countryside, for example. Hence, the hierarchical level of the accessible political institutions and the chances to climb to political power positions are not directly linked. Overall, though, the majority of the ministers stem from an urban background, whereby the greatest part originated in Vienna. The origin in a city and especially the capital is thus favourable for a political career. However, probably not only because of the access to political institutions, other factors may intervene as well. As concerns the values reached by females and males, it seems that the shares of females are – compared to those of the men – stronger in the dimensions city and regional capital, but weaker as concerns the countryside and the capital. Overall, it is interesting that more females than males originated in a city. This may be due to the more traditional sex/gender relations and perceptions on the countryside, which present a bigger hurdle for women to become politically active.

(5) Territorial Representation

The origin of the ministers as concerns the rural-urban dichotomy has already been analyzed. The analysis of the regional distribution of the ministers completes the investigation on socio-geographical factors, but also mirrors the sexed/gendered structures of the political relevance of the regions in the political recruitment processes: It has been outlined in this work that not only the major regional parties within each party need to be regarded (IP 5; IP 7; IP 15; IP 13; IP 9; IP 8; IP 10; IP 1; IP 3; IP 6), but also the most important regions with respect to the size of the population and thus with the greatest potential of votes (Vienna, then Lower Austria, Upper Austria, and Styria (IP 10)) play an important role (IP 7; IP 15; IP 10) in the recruitment practices. The affiliation to regions was identified by taking the affiliations to regional parties; only, if there were not any, the region of the place of residence during the childhood and youth was taken instead:

The affiliation to regions was researched by taking the region in which the person held political positions or – if there were none – the place of birth.

Table 57: Represented Regions by Ministers

	Females		Males		Overall	
Vienna	9	39%	41	44%	50	43%
Burgenland	1	4%	4	4%	5	4%
Lower Austria	2	9%	19	20%	21	18%
Upper Austria	2	9%	6	6%	8	7%
Salzburg	2	9%	4	4%	6	5%
Styria	2	9%	9	10%	11	9%
Carinthia	3	13%	8	9%	11	9%
Tyrol	2	9%	4	4%	6	5%
Vorarlberg	1	4%	2	2%	3	3%
n	23		93		116	

Notes: In the classification, the regional parties that could be identified as affiliations were taken first. Double entries were thus possible (when a person had affiliations to more than one regional party). Only for the ministers who did not have any affiliations to regional parties, the region of the place of residence during the childhood and youth was then taken instead. For more details on the empirical endeavour, see Appendix 1.

Source: Own statistics

The greatest share of the ministers by far (43 %) belongs to Vienna. The next biggest proportion is reached by Lower Austria (18 %). Styria and Carinthia (9 %) follow and are succeeded by Upper Austria (7 %), Tyrol and Salzburg (5 %), Burgenland (4 %), and Vorarlberg (3 %). Hence, the most important regions with respect to potential voters (Vienna, then Lower Austria, Upper Austria, and Styria (IP 10)) are only partially mirrored in the representation in government: Whereas Vienna, Lower Austria and Styria are among the leading regions, Upper Austria is present only on a relatively low level. This might be due to the fact that the federal distribution in government also reflects the party-internal power constellations with respect to the strong regional parties at the same time. Lower Austria shows the greatest difference as concerns the delegation of females and males. Tyrol, Salzburg and Carinthia also differ with respect to the shares of females and males, but only with values of 4 and 5 %. The other federal states do not bear considerable discrepancies. This finding is corroborated by a respondent who professes that the greatest gap as concerns female representation is Lower Austria (IP 4)²⁰⁷.

(6) The Educational Structure

As concerns education, the attendance of different school types during the upper-secondary level, the highest educational status, the completed university studies, and the drop-out rate from university was investigated.

²⁰⁷ The regional distribution in each party is discussed in the party-specific chapters.

6.1. The Attendance of Different School Types

The Austrian school system bears structures of inequality very strongly (Erler 2007). Hence, it seems of interest, whether there is a dominant pattern of attended school types discernable. In the following table, the attended school types are presented for females and males. The Academic Secondary Schools and the Higher Technical and Vocational Colleges are finalized with A-levels, whereas Intermediate Technical and Vocational Schools or vocational education provide for professional training. The category “Other School Types” basically consists of school forms which have already been abolished.

Table 58: The Attendance of Different School Types

	Females		Males		Overall	
Academic Secondary Schools	14	61%	57	62%	71	62%
Higher Technical and Vocational Colleges	5	22%	9	10%	14	12%
Intermediate Technical and Vocational Schools or Vocational Education	3	13%	15	16%	18	16%
Other School Types	1	4%	11	12%	12	10%
n¹	23		92		115	

Notes: (1) The information was not accessible for one male, which is why, the percentage values only refer to the numbers of known cases indicated for all ministers under “n”. In the following, the entities are depicted as “n: Overall” and the numbers are presented as “known cases of overall entity”: Overall: 115 of 116 (23 of 23f, 92 of 93m).

Source: Own statistics

The data shows that the great majority of the ministers, males and females equally, attended an Academic Secondary School during their upper-secondary level. Proportionally more females than males went to a Higher Technical and Vocational College, whereas the opposite is true for Other School Types. No considerable differences were discernable as concerns Intermediate Technical and Vocational School or a vocational education. Overall, the correlation between the sex and the attendance of a school type is not significant²⁰⁸. It is interesting, though, that proportionally more of the women attended a Higher Technical and Vocational College. This might be due to the fact, however, that more women only were recruited in recent decades, in which older school types only partly existed or did not exist anymore.

6.2. Highest Educational Attainment

The highest educational status represents cultural capital in its institutionalized form. Additionally, the data on the highest educational status is used – together with the data on

²⁰⁸ The two variables were tested for a possible correlation in SPSS, using the Pearson correlation coefficient.

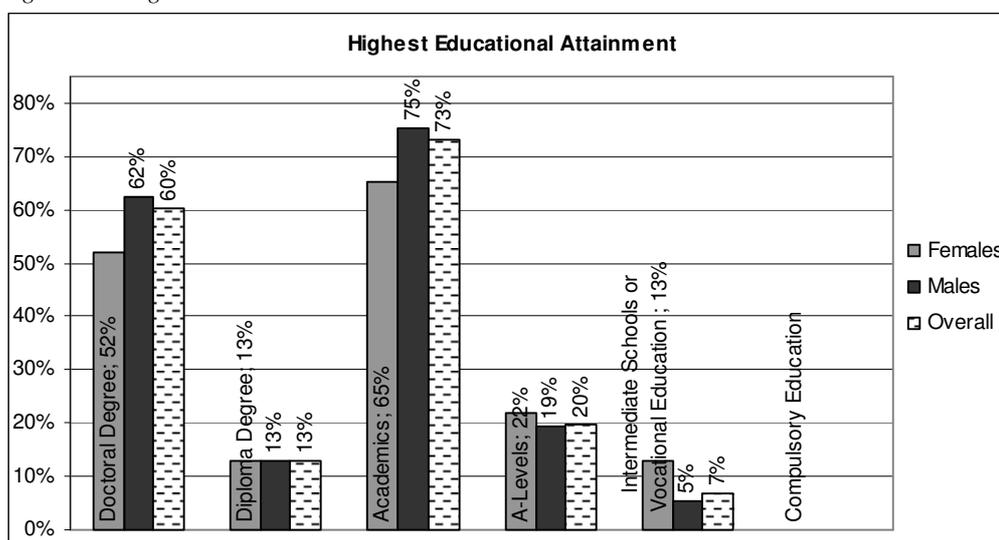
the private occupation – to make inferences about the position of the politicians in the wider social universe. The educational attainment was differentiated into academics (which was further divided into doctoral and diploma degree holders), A-levels, Intermediate Technical and Vocational Schools or a vocational education, and compulsory education.

Table 59: Highest Educational Attainment

Academics	Females		Males		Overall	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Doctoral Degree	12	52%	58	62%	70	60%
Diploma Degree	3	13%	12	13%	15	13%
Academics	15	65%	70	75%	85	73%
A-Levels	5	22%	18	19%	23	20%
Intermediate Technical and Vocational Schools or Vocational Education	3	13%	5	5%	8	7%
Compulsory Education	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
n	23		93		116	

Source: Own statistics

Figure 36: Highest Educational Attainment



Overall, the initial hypothesis that governmental members are disproportionately well educated (Putnam 1976, 26) can be affirmed, as the figure above shows.

As concerns sex/gender differences, the data proposes that women are slightly less educated than men: Whereas 75 % of the males hold a university degree, only 65 % of the females do. However, the correlation of sex belonging and highest educational status is not significant²⁰⁹. The main difference applies to the holders of a doctoral degree: Whereas the shares of females who graduated in a diploma study equals the one of males, fewer women than males completed a PhD. The female shares are higher as concerns an education in an Intermediate Technical and Vocational School or an apprenticeship and – a little – as

²⁰⁹ The two variables were computed in a correlation using the Pearson correlation coefficient in SPSS.

regards the A-levels. Overall, females are slightly less educated and hence pertain over less cultural capital than men. This reflects the unequal sex/gender relations in society as concerns education: In the Austrian society, the proportion of female students only surpassed the male one in the year 1999/2000. For example, if we take the hypothetical case that a woman was recruited in 2000 – at a very late point of time of the researched time frame – and had the average age of 50, she was 20 in 1970. In this year, the female share of students only reached a third of the male one (Statistik Austria 2009b).

Subsequently, the shares reached by the specific parties will be briefly summarized:

Table 60: Highest Educational Attainment Along Party Lines

		SPÖ				ÖVP				FPÖ				Partyless			
		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall	
Academics	Doctoral Degree	5	23	28	53%	4	23	27	68%	3	4	7	54%	0	8	8	80%
	Diploma Degree	1	6	7	13%	1	3	4	10%	0	3	3	23%	1	0	1	10%
Academics		6	29	35	66%	5	26	31	78%	3	7	10	77%	1	8	9	90%
A-Levels		2	11	13	25%	3	3	6	15%	0	3	3	23%	0	1	1	10%
Intermediate Technical and Vocational Schools or Vocational Education		2	3	5	9%	1	2	3	8%	0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0%
Compulsory Education		0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0%
n		10	43	53		9	31	40		3	10	13		1	9	10	

Source: Own statistics

Overall, the partyless are the best educated, followed by the FPÖ and ÖVP, and then the SPÖ. It was already elaborated in Chapter 7 that an academic degree can be of advantage for a political career²¹⁰.

6.3. Completed University Studies

The completed studies were classified along the classificatory system of ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education²¹¹) (BMBWK 2005, 268-270). In the following, the proportions of completed university studies are depicted.

²¹⁰ See page 226.

²¹¹ The ISCED was developed by the UNESCO in order to classify different school types and school systems internationally. The ISCED classifies studies into the following fields: education; humanities and arts; social sciences, business and law; science; engineering; manufacturing and construction; agriculture; health and welfare; services; and not known or specified. However, as I knew the studies for all politicians in question, the latter category was not needed.

Table 61: Fields of Studies

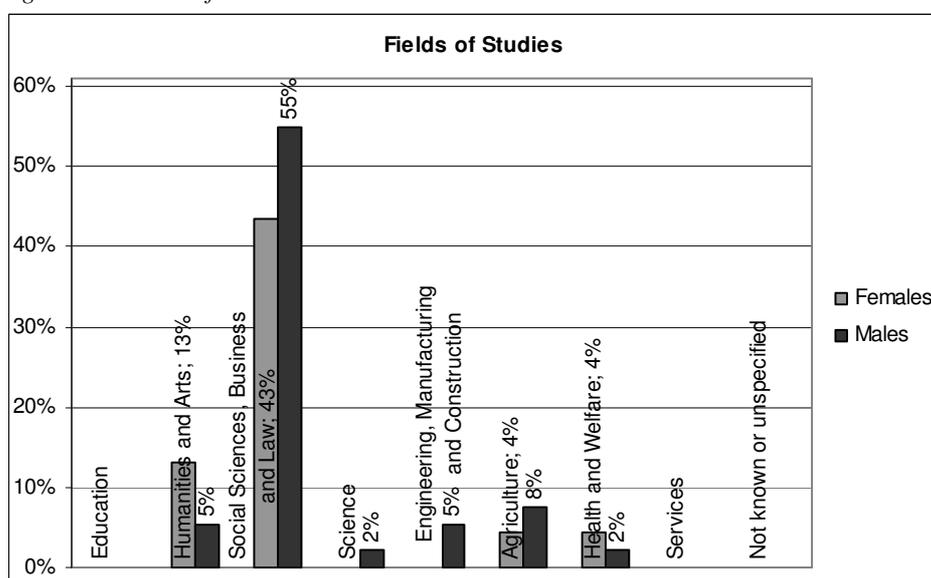
	Females		Males		Overall		
Education	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
Humanities and Arts	3	13%	5	5%	8	7%	
Social Sciences, Business and Law	Law	6	26%	40	43%	46	40%
	Other	4	17%	11	12%	15	13%
	Overall	10	43%	51	55%	61	53%
Science	0	0%	2	2%	2	2%	
Engineering, Manufacturing and Construction	0	0%	5	5%	5	4%	
Agriculture	1	4%	7	8%	8	7%	
Health and Welfare	1	4%	2	2%	3	3%	
Services	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
n¹	23		93		116		

Notes:

- (1) The indicated shares refer to the total number of ministers, and not only to the academics.
- (2) Double entries were possible.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 37: Fields of Studies



Notes: The overall values are not indicated in the graph here in contrast to the other figures, as the inclusion of another bar would result in a confusing presentation.

A majority of the ministers was engaged in studies in “Social Sciences, Business and Law,” composed of a smaller share of females than men. The female proportion surpasses the male one as concerns “Humanities and Arts” as well as “Health and Welfare”.

“Agriculture” is dominated by males on the other hand. “Science” and “Engineering, Manufacturing and Construction” is entirely set up by men. The fields of “Education” and “Services” are not represented at all.

The hypothesis that the governmental members are dominated by law graduates (Epstein 1981, 10; Putnam 1976, 59) can be confirmed here: 40 % overall graduated in the discipline of law, composed of considerably fewer women (26 % or 6 of 23) than males (43 %) (own statistics).

The university studies completed by females and males largely mirror the sexed/gendered distribution of completed university studies between the two sexes in the Austrian society even nowadays (taking the academic year 2007/2008 as comparison basis). Only in “Social Sciences, Business and Law” and “Agriculture”, the relation between women and men is reverse: Female graduates are meanwhile dominating both groups of studies (BMWF 2010). The differences can be attributed to the sexed/gendered notion of the respective areas in the wider social space.

6.4. University Drop-Out

Referring to the overall number of ministers, 5 % dropped out of their studies, applying to females (4 % or 1 of 23) and males (5 %) quite equally.

(7) Private Profession

As ascertained in Chapter 7, a certain profession or the positive assessment of the occupational class in society may be a positive factor in recruitment²¹². One interviewee, for example, stated that bankers and doctors were among the preferred recruitment pools because of their positive evaluation by the population (IP 3).

In the following, the non-political jobs were classified twice: First, according to Norris/Lovenduski's (1995, 99) classification system, which divides professions into four classes (professional, business, miscellaneous, manual workers) and was enlarged by the category farmers/foresters/millers²¹³. This system will be used here again in order to be able to compare the occupational status of the politicians themselves with those of their fathers and to evaluate a potential social ascendancy. Secondly, the professional status of the ministers was categorized according to the scheme of economic activities ÖNACE²¹⁴ (Statistik Austria 2008) that has 21 categories of economic activities and was amended by the category “housework” in order to take a closer look on the definition of the jobs of the

²¹² See page 226.

²¹³ The classification system was already used for the classification of the fathers' jobs on the pages ahead and was elaborated there in more detail. See page 275.

²¹⁴ NACE is the acronym for the French name “Nomenclature générale des Activités économiques dans les Communautés Européennes”. It is a classification system for economic activities in the European Community. ÖNACE is the Austrian version of the scheme.

ministers and to assess the hypothesis of the dominance of the “talking professions”. In both classifications, positions, which are counted as part of the political career, were excluded here in order not to classify them twice. For example, this applies to activities in the social partnership or in the social security agencies.

Furthermore, the fulfilment of a “private career” was qualitatively identified. This criterion only applied for the ministers who had a classification of a private occupation at all and was subtracted by those who only held their private job for less than four years. The category housework was thereby not considered: Although it has to be considered as valuable activity, by which useful capabilities can be attained (such as the management of a big household), it is not valued as such in an androcentric dominated field such as politics²¹⁵.

The data for the different parties and the partyless is only presented for the first classification of professional activities and for the research criterion of a private career.

Overall, a private profession could be qualitatively classified for 96 % of the females (22 of 23) and 85 % of the males. These values indicate that more of the men only had full-time jobs in politics. This applies to all FPÖ- and partyless ministers and to about five sixth of the ÖVP- (85 %) and the SPÖ-politicians (83 %) (own statistics), which can be attributed to the fact that more of the SPÖ- and ÖVP-ministers pursued a full-time political job.

The criterion of a private career is fulfilled by 74 % of the females (17 of 23) and 74 % of the men (own statistics). Hence, whereas more females had a private job at all, the criterion of a private career and the forms of capital, which can be acquired through that, pertained to females and males equally in the entity of all female or male ministers.

7.1. The First Classification of the Jobs

In the following, the occupational structure of the ministers will be classified with Norris/Lovenduski’s (1995, 99) classification system, amended by the category farmers, foresters or millers²¹⁶:

²¹⁵ For details on the empirical endeavour, see Appendix 1.

²¹⁶ For details, see page 275.

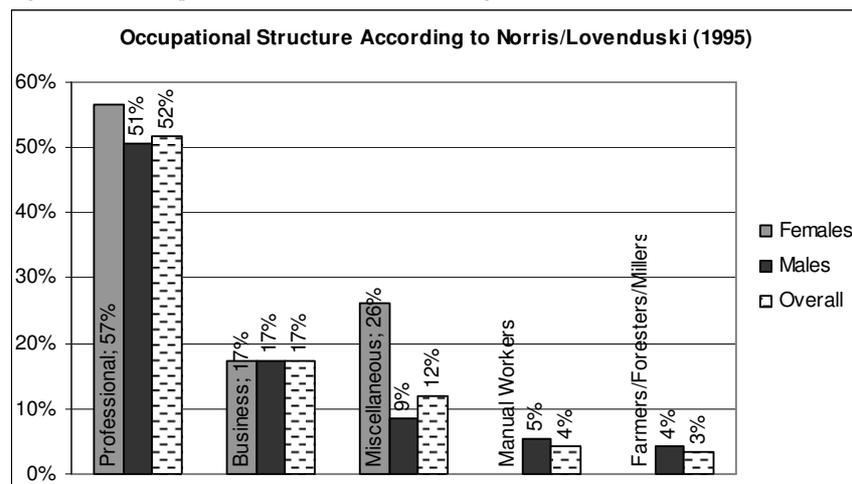
Table 62: Occupational Structure According to Norris/Lovenduski (1995)

	Females		Males		Overall	
Professional	13	57%	47	51%	60	52%
Business	4	17%	16	17%	20	17%
Miscellaneous	6	26%	8	9%	14	12%
Manual Workers	0	0%	5	5%	5	4%
Farmers/Foresters/Millers	0	0%	4	4%	4	3%
n	23		93		116	

Notes: I tried to reach only one classification for each person; double entries were only made, when two positions had about the same weight. In the end, two persons had double entries.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 38: Occupational Structure According to Norris/Lovenduski (1995)



About half of the ministers (52 %) executed jobs classified as “professional”. The next biggest shares are distributed to business (17 %) and miscellaneous occupations (12 %). Manual workers (4 %) and farmers, foresters or millers (3 %) only represent a minimal proportion. Hence, the hypothesis that the governmental members are disproportionately drawn from occupations with a high level of status (Putnam 1976, 22; Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 110) can be confirmed here. Additionally, the data shows that – compared to the occupational structure of the fathers (Table 54 on page 276) – that the ministers have socially advanced compared to their family backgrounds.

As concerns the sex/gender relations, the major difference between females and males is that females were not occupied as manual workers and as farmers, foresters or millers – in contrast to men. Women, on the other hand, had higher shares foremost as concerns the category “miscellaneous” and – to a lesser extent – professional occupations. This distribution mainly mirrors the sexed/gendered occupational structure also in effect nowadays (taking the year 2009 as comparison basis): Females are rather not employed as manual workers, but are disproportionately represented in “miscellaneous” occupations such as miscellaneous white-collar jobs, homemakers or students (Statistik Austria 2010b).

Inferences about potential differences between women and men in cultural capital – operationalized by occupation – cannot be drawn from the data.

Overall, the analysis of the educational and the occupational structure shows that the ministers typically dispose over a high volume of cultural capital. Differences in the educational structure propose that women have less cultural capital in its institutionalized form at hand. The high amount of cultural capital leads to conclude that the ministers are typically endowed with high levels of social and economic capital as well and occupy rather privileged social positions in the social space. Additionally, the comparison between the occupational structure of the ministers themselves and those of their fathers illustrates that the ministers have socially arisen in comparison to the social backgrounds in their families.

In the following, the occupational structure within the different parties and of the partyless will be shown.

Table 63: Occupational Structure Along Party Lines

	SPÖ				ÖVP				FPÖ				Partyless			
	f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall	
Professional	6	15	21	40%	4	18	22	55%	2	5	7	54%	1	9	10	100%
Business	2	10	12	23%	1	3	4	10%	1	3	4	31%	0	0	0	0%
Miscellaneous	2	4	6	11%	4	3	7	18%	0	1	1	8%	0	0	0	0%
Manual Workers	0	5	5	9%	0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0%
Farmers/Foresters/ Millers	0	1	1	2%	0	2	2	5%	0	1	1	8%	0	0	0	0%
n	10	43	53		9	31	40		3	10	13		1	9	10	

Notes: I tried to reach only one classification for each person; double entries were only made, when two positions had about the same weight. In the end, two persons had double entries.

Source: Own statistics

When comparing the shares between the parties, it becomes obvious that the manual workers only stemmed from the SPÖ; most of them climbed the career ladder in the unions. All of the partyless ministers executed jobs in the category of professional jobs; the ÖVP and the FPÖ are constituted by persons with professional jobs to about a half, whereas the SPÖ shows a smaller, but also considerable share. The data seems to propose that the FPÖ leads as concerns business, followed by the SPÖ, and then the ÖVP. Conversely, it appears that the most ministers with miscellaneous jobs are from the ÖVP, then the SPÖ and the FPÖ. With respect to agriculture, forestry and millers, the shares are low; the FPÖ leads, succeeded by the ÖVP and the SPÖ.

7.2. The Second Classification of the Jobs

The results of the second classification following the scheme ÖNACE, amended by the category “housework”, are indicated in the following, whereby only those categories of economic sectors are indicated here, in which at least one minister was occupied.

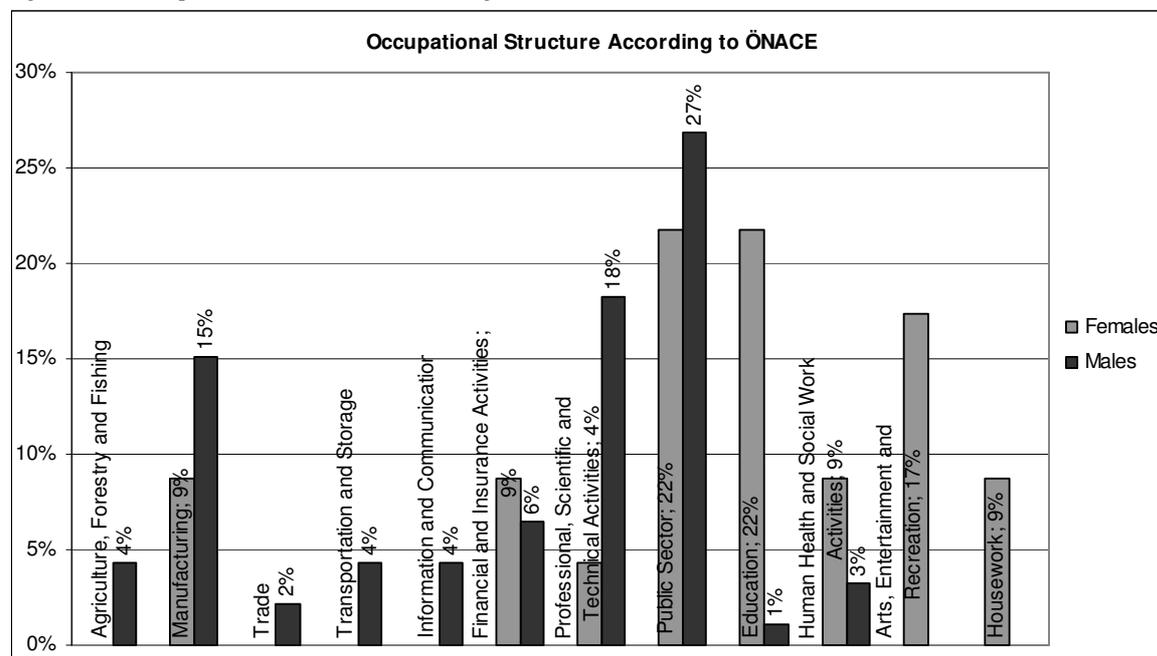
Table 64: Occupational Structure According to ÖNACE

	Females		Males		Overall	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	0	0%	4	4%	4	3%
Manufacturing	2	9%	14	15%	16	14%
Wholesale and Retail Trade; Repair of Motor Vehicles and Motorcycles	0	0%	2	2%	2	2%
Transportation and Storage	0	0%	4	4%	4	3%
Information and Communication	0	0%	4	4%	4	3%
Financial and Insurance Activities	2	9%	6	6%	8	7%
Professional, Scientific and Technical Activities	1	4%	17	18%	18	16%
Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security	5	22%	25	27%	30	26%
Education	5	22%	1	1%	6	5%
Human Health and Social Work Activities	2	9%	3	3%	5	4%
Arts, Entertainment and Recreation	4	17%	0	0%	4	3%
Housework	2	9%	0	0%	2	2%
n	23		93		116	

Notes: I tried to reach only one classification for each person; double entries were only made, when two positions had about the same weight. In the end, two persons had double entries.

Source: Own statistics

Figure 39: Occupational Structure According to ÖNACE



Notes: The overall values are not indicated in the graph here in contrast to the other figures, as the inclusion of another bar would result in a confusing presentation.

The values show that some sectors are completely male like “Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing”, “Wholesale and Retail Trade; Repair of Motor Vehicles and Motorcycles” (referred to as “Trade” in the graph), “Transportation and Storage”, and “Information and

Communication”. The sector “Arts, Entertainment and Recreation” as well as “Housework” are filled by females only. The male shares surpass the female ones as concerns “Manufacturing”, “Professional, Scientific and Technical Activities” and “Public Administration and Defence; Compulsory Social Security” (referred to as “Public Sector” in the graph): Of these, a third served in the diplomatic services, whereas the other two thirds were employed in other areas of the public administration: Equal shares of females (9 % or 2 of 23) and males (8 %) served as diplomats, but proportionally fewer women (13 % or 3 of 23) than men (19 %) were occupied in other areas of the public sector. In some sectors, the female share is higher than the male one. Namely, “Education”, “Human Health and Social Work Activities”, and “Financial and Insurance Activities”.

The analysis of the economic activities shows that civil servants are represented with a quarter (26 %) among the ministers. The next strongest group, “Professional, Scientific and Technical Activities” (16 %), is composed of attorneys, tax accountants, executives, architects, engineers, researchers, persons occupied with advertising and market research, and veterinarians. In this category, researchers (who also belong to the “talking professions”) and attorneys are most prominently represented (own analysis). The strong presence of law graduates has already been assessed and affirmed. A dominant position of teachers and journalists has to be refuted for the Austrian ministers: Only a minor share was active in the categories “Education” and “Information and Communication”. Hence, the hypothesis that governmental members tend to be composed of the “talking professions” (Putnam 1976, 59; Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 110) and of civil servants specifically (Stirnemann 1988, 631; Baumgartner 1983, 199) can be generally confirmed. It specifically applies to civil servants, researchers and law graduates in general, but not for teachers and journalists. Whereas the public sector is male dominated, but constituted of a high level of female ministers, the male share prevails the female one by far as concerns professional, scientific and technical activities. These differences reflect once again the societal sex/gender relations. Overall, it appears that this specific form of cultural capital (in the sense of specific abilities or special knowledge) is rather held by men than by women.

The share of public sector employees is astonishing, when considering that many positions, which formally have to be defined as public positions as well (such as positions in the social partnership for example), were not considered here because they were counted as

part of the political career. Politics has been dominated by public sector employees in Austria because formerly civil servants granted tenure of office kept their job, but were freed from any occupational tasks, when they took a parliamentary seat. This trend is declining, however: Meanwhile, the laws changed several times and today a person has to decide, whether (s)he wants to continue her or his occupation to a certain degree. Besides, the number of civil servants holding tenure of office decreases (IP 13).

One respondent fears that the scope of personnel selections in political recruitment becomes tighter and tighter (IP 15). In general, the selection process is suffering from the fact that those who have the greatest time potential in their private profession at hand are advantaged. That also led to a system of almost only full-time politicians today, which is not healthy for the system. However, there is not any alternative: In politics you have to care for your party and your lobby. If you have a private profession, your possibilities to cover that are too small (IP 15). Another reason is that cross-over candidates who have an occupational life are rarely successful in politics. Today, there are in fact only people of protected areas, i.e. from the public service or from high positions of the party apparatus, active in the political field. This is not inherently bad, but there should also be people in politics who are economically independent of politics. There should be people who are able to say, this policy is important to me and so I'll take a chance. That does not exist anymore because the system does not allow it in fact (IP 15).

(8) Family

I hypothesized that female politicians would have *less* family than men. "Family" was operationalized here by the civil status, the number of politicians who are parents and the number of children:

Table 65: The Civil Status

	Females		Males		Overall	
Not Married?	2	9%	0	0%	2	2%
Married?	21	91%	91	100%	112	98%
n¹	23		91		114	

Notes: (1) The information as concerns the civil status was not accessible for two males, which is why, the percentage values only refer to the numbers of known cases indicated for all ministers under "n". In the following, the entities are depicted as "n: Overall (Females, Males)" and the numbers are presented as "known cases of overall entity": Overall: 114 of 116 (23 of 23f, 91 of 93m).

Source: Own statistics

The data shows that the overwhelming majority (98 %) was married. The unwed involves two females: Hertha Firnberg (SPÖ; 1970) and Monika Forstinger (FPÖ; 2000).

Table 66: Ministers as Parents

	Females		Males		Overall	
Ministers as Parents	14	61%	83	95%	97	88%
n¹	23		87		110	

Notes: (1) The information, whether politicians had any children, was not researchable for all ministers, which is why, the percentage values only refer to the numbers of known cases indicated for all ministers under “n”. In the following, the entities are depicted as “n: Overall (Females, Males)” and the numbers are presented as “known cases of overall entity”: Overall: 110 of 116 (23 of 23f, 87 of 93m).

Source: Own statistics

As concerns children, the differences between women and men are overwhelming: Only 61 % of the female ministers and 95 % of the male politicians had children. Indeed, the correlation between sex belonging and children is positively significant²¹⁷. The huge disparities present a devastating picture about the scope for women to combine a fulfilled political career with a private life including children. The average of children (referring to those who had children at all²¹⁸) is similar and only slightly lower for females (2.1) than for males (2.4).

A family might be a valuable resource: Two respondents underline the relevance of a working family background for an occupation in politics (IP 2; IP 5). However, a family involving children obviously is a major hurdle for women (but not for men). One respondent corroborates this finding by stating that the greatest impediments for women to become a minister are still the personal living conditions of females. One of the greatest obstacles is the care for children, which predominantly falls into the women’s responsibilities. If you are able to manage that or not is also a question of economic capital, i.e. money (IP 1).

These results relate to the evaluations of several authors that the balance of a political career with a family represents a barrier for women (Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 116; Sanbonmatsu 2006, 128), and stands in contrast to Epstein’s conclusion (1981, 12) that most successful females have families.

In the following, the distribution of children between the different parties and the partyless are presented:

²¹⁷ The two variables were tested for a correlation in SPSS using the Pearson correlation coefficient and are significant with 0,334.

²¹⁸ For the information, to which entities these values refer to, please see Table 66.

Table 67: Ministers as Parents Along Party Lines

	SPÖ				ÖVP				FPÖ				Partyless			
	f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall		f	m	Overall	
Ministers as Parents	5	40	45	90%	7	26	33	85%	1	9	10	83%	1	8	9	100%
n¹	10	40	50		9	30	39		3	9	12		1	8	9	

Notes: (1) The information, whether politicians had any children, was not researchable for all ministers, which is why, the percentage values only refer to the numbers of known cases indicated for all ministers under “n”. In the following, the entities are depicted as “n: Overall” and the numbers are presented as “known cases of overall entity”: SPÖ: 50 of 53; ÖVP: 39 of 40; FPÖ: 12 of 13; Partyless: 9 of 10.

Source: Own statistics

The data analysis shows that 90 % of the SPÖ-ministers have children, compared to 85 % of the ÖVP-, and 10 of 12 FPÖ-politicians (83 %). All of the partyless ministers had children. The average of children – referring to those who had children at all²¹⁹ – is the highest for the partyless and the ÖVP (2.7) and succeeded by the FPÖ (2.2) and the SPÖ (2.0).

The greatest difference between the sexes as concerns having children pertains to the SPÖ and the FPÖ: In both parties, all of the men had children, but considerable proportions of women did not (SPÖ: 5 of 10; FPÖ: 2 of 3). In the ÖVP, children are much more distributed between the sexes: Firstly, not all male ministers have children (87 % do) and secondly, proportionally more women (7 of 9) than in the other two parties do. Regarding the partyless, all of them had children, including the one female.

(9) Conclusion

In this chapter, the sub-research question *Who are the Austrian ministers?* and its sex/gender relations was researched. Furthermore, the hypothesis that women and men differ in their provision over capital and resources was investigated with respect to cultural capital. For most of the individual research criteria, so-called sub-hypotheses about the correlation between the holding of specific resources and political recruitment or the sex/gender dimension were assessed. The results can be thus summarized:

The belonging to the male or the female sex (and the according gender) clearly attributes an advantage to men; the ministers are dominated by males.

As concerns the age structure, women and men differ as females are usually older, which can be probably attributed to female caregiver responsibilities.

The social background of the politicians was assessed with respect to the sub-hypothesis that political leaders are usually drawn from privileged backgrounds and operationalized

²¹⁹ For the information, to which entities these values refer to, please see Table 67.

by the occupation of the father. Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be unequivocally answered: Nearly half of the families' backgrounds occupy a good position in the social space, which is indicated by the fathers' occupations with professional jobs or in business. Another third originates in a workers' background and 13 % are rooted in rural conditions with fathers occupied as farmers, foresters or millers. The remaining fathers had miscellaneous jobs. The shares of females and males are equal as concerns fathers with professional jobs, more women had fathers occupied in business or with miscellaneous occupations, but fewer females had fathers as blue-collar workers or as farmers, foresters or millers than men. A belonging to the nobility was given for a minimal proportion of the male (!) ministers.

The research on the accessibility of politics involved two dimensions: Firstly, it was shown that a political engagement of a family member or a relative is of advantage for a political career. However, a comparison between females and males could not be achieved, as this kind of information is difficult to access and probably not known for all ministers.

Secondly, I assumed that the hierarchical level of the accessible political institutions and a later political career are directly proportionally linked. However, this hypothesis had to be at least partly refuted, as the analysis showed that ministers from regional capitals were not stronger represented than ministers from the countryside. Overall, though, the great majority of the ministers stems from an urban background, especially from the capital Vienna. The easier accessibility of politics might thereby be one of many factors, which are favourable to a political career. Additionally, the investigation of the (party)political orientation of the politically interested family members or relatives as well as the fact that the occupations of the fathers largely mirrored the voters' structures of the parties led to the conclusion that the politicians chiefly followed the party-political orientation of their family.

As already outlined, the majority of the ministers stemmed from an urban background, especially from the capital Vienna. Thereby, more females than males grew up in cities. This discrepancy may be attributed to the more traditional sex/gender relations on the countryside, which hamper women to become politically active. The research on the regional representation of the ministers completed the picture on the socio-geographical structure of the ministers. Most of the ministers stemmed from Vienna, followed by Lower Austria, then Styria and Carinthia, and Upper Austria. The greatest differences between women and men applied to Lower Austria, which harbours the greatest gap as concerns female representation.

With respect to the educational structure, the research on the attended school types has shown that the ministers – females and males equally – attended Academic Secondary Schools for their largest part. The fact that more females attended Higher Technical and Vocational Colleges than men is probably negligible due to the fact that more of the males visited older school types and females were increasingly selected in the last few decades. The research clearly affirmed the sub-hypothesis that political leaders disproportionately pertain over high formal educational degrees. Women were slightly less educated and hence were in hold of less cultural capital in its institutionalized form than their male counterparts. Lastly, the hypothesis about the dominance of law graduates, which can be understood as a specific form of incorporated cultural capital, held true. Thereby, women were slightly less represented as law graduates. Both can be explained by the sexed/gendered structure of the educational system in the Austrian society. Apart from that, the university studies completed by females and males largely mirrored the sexed/gendered distribution of the fields of study in the Austrian society.

In the literature, a social bias as concerns occupation was pointed out. This sub-hypothesis can be affirmed here as well: Overall, professional jobs which are endowed with a high level of status dominate. The differences which were discernable between women and men largely reflect the sex/gender relations of the occupational structure in the population. Differences between women and men as concerns the status of occupation could not be identified. The sub-hypothesis of the dominance of the “talking professions”, which represents a specific form of incorporated cultural capital, was generally affirmed. It included more specifically civil servants, law graduates in general, researchers, but not teachers and journalists. As concerns sex/gender relations, it seemed that this dimension of incorporated cultural capital rather applied to men than to women.

It can be concluded from the educational and occupational structure that the level of cultural capital is generally high for the ministers. Thereby, women were in demand of a smaller amount compared to men: Females provided over less cultural capital in its institutionalized form (i.e. formal educational titles) and over less cultural capital in its incorporated form (i.e. as members of the talking professions, study of law). As already mentioned, this discrepancy can be attributed to the sexed/gendered educational and occupational structure in the Austrian society.

It can be concluded from the educational and occupational pathways of the politicians that they typically occupy a position in the social universe that is tied to high levels of cultural, economic and social capital. Conclusions about sex/gender relations as concerns this

dimension could not be drawn. Furthermore, the occupational structure of the ministers illustrated that the ministers have – in comparison to their family background operationalized by their fathers' jobs – socially arisen.

Lastly, the investigation of the family status – operationalized by the civil status, the number of people having children, and the average number of children – showed that the ministers disproportionately pertain over a family involving children. The differences between women and men were overwhelming, though: Whereas the largest part of the women was married as well (the only persons who were not married were females, however), significantly less females than males had children. The average number of children – referring to those who had children – was about equal for women and men.

To sum up, several criteria could not be evaluated as concerns their sex/gender implications, which includes the occupation of the father or the social background in the family, the accessibility of politics, differences in the occupational status, and the position in the wider social universe of the politicians themselves. The attendance of academic secondary schools applied to women and men about equally. For the other research criteria, differences between the sexes/genders could be identified, which applies to the sex belonging (of course), the age, the belonging to the nobility, the socio-geographical structure, the educational and the professional structure, and family. Especially as concerns the distribution of completed university studies and the professions, the distinctions largely mirrored societal conditions. Foremost, three things seem of special interest: Firstly, the sex/gender differences in the socio-geographical structure points to the conclusion that a rural background rather represents a hurdle for a further political involvement of women. Furthermore, the regional distribution of the ministers showed the effects that the low political participation of women in a region can have, as disproportionately fewer women than men are from the powerful region Lower Austria. Secondly, women dispose over less cultural capital than men. Namely, fewer females pertain over cultural capital in its institutionalized form, i.e. high formalized educational degrees, but also fewer women bring along specific forms of cultural capital dominating among the ministers such as a degree in law or the belonging to the so-called “talking professions”. This difference may be attributed to societal conditions that women acquired (and were able to acquire) less cultural capital than men as the share of female students, for example, surpassed the proportion of males only recently. Thus, the hypothesis that women and men differ in their provision over capital forms and resources applies for cultural capital here. The hypothesis

was already explored in Chapter 7; the according findings will be correlated and the hypothesis finally answered in the conclusions (Chapter 9). Thirdly, the huge discrepancies as concerns the family status are of interest.

9. Conclusion

(1) Main Findings

The leading research question for this thesis was how the unequal sex/gender relations of power manifest themselves in the political recruitment processes of the Austrian ministers and thus which sex/gender differences can be ascertained in the political recruitment of women and men.

In Chapter 3, the *differences between females and males in government* as concerns their quantitative and qualitative representation and their change were scrutinized. The political institution of government only became accessible for women since the late 1960s. In comparison, only a small percentage of females was represented in the National Assembly until that time. Overall, women are still underrepresented and men overrepresented as concerns their numerical presence in government. However, the inequalities have eased over the last few decades. Furthermore, the data analysis was able to show that there is a correlation between the availability of resources and the number of females present: The number of females was only augmented when the number of governmental posts was enlarged, too. Conversely, the downsizing of the available cabinet seats was usually accompanied by shrinking numbers of females. Hence, in times of low resources, women are *saved*. Additionally, women are rather selected for newly formed and thus precarious ministries in comparison to men.

With respect to the qualitative representation of women in government, i.e. their occupation of portfolios in terms of power, the research showed that the key ministries, which are endowed with the most capital among the portfolios, are chiefly male dominated. The existing inequalities between women and men as concerns this dimension have slightly eased over the years, though. Overall, women are pushed off to the fringes in the power relations and meet a glass ceiling *in* government: They dominate the portfolios, which represent weak positions. The equipment of the ministries with capital and the sex/gender attribution of the portfolios are interrelated: The most important portfolios concern areas which are traditionally seen as masculine and are largely attributed to men. Conversely, females are mainly selected for ministries that are traditionally connotated as feminine and have a low power status.

Finally, the link between female representation and party ideology was scrutinized: In the literature, it is assessed that leftist parties tend to have higher values of descriptive representation of females (cf. Norris/Lovenduski 1995, 15-21, 183-184; Mackay 2004, 103; Epstein 1981, 13; Kunovich/Paxton 2005, 506). This link has to be contested in this thesis, however: The other two parties, the FPÖ/BZÖ and the ÖVP, clearly outnumbered the SPÖ as concerns the numerical presence of women in government. In the FPÖ, the relatively high presence of women in cabinet during the governmental period in the 2000s also has to be seen in the context of a lack of apt personnel in the party and thus the low supply of potential governmental members. Also, as concerns the qualitative representation, it was rather the ÖVP and the FPÖ/BZÖ which broke through the glass ceiling for women in hitherto exclusively male dominated portfolios. This does not mirror the scale of female participation in the three parties, as the SPÖ clearly dominates as concerns the extent to which women are included on the different (party) political levels. However, the theoretical link between party ideology and female representation established in the literature still has to be contested.

Chapters 4 to 7 were dedicated to the *selectors* and to the *recruited or the political careers*. The first three chapters were occupied with political recruitment in the SPÖ, the ÖVP, and the FPÖ. Chapter 7 analyzed sexed/gendered structures of political recruitment for all parties and the partyless more broadly and embedded the research into the analytical model developed in the Theory Chapter more strongly.

The selection processes are mainly determined by the sexed/gendered relations of forces within the political parties: The party-internal agents are involved in a power game for the occupation of governmental seats, i.e. resources. In this structure of relations of forces, the party leader usually occupies the strongest position in all parties. It is he (sic!) who represents the central linchpin in the recruitment processes. However, he has to regard the pivotal party groups – according to the relations of power within the parties – in order to establish a certain power balance. If seminal party players are neglected in their representational interests in government, this can result in acts of revenges, a rather short-lived governmental time or even the turn-over of the party leader. The pivotal party groups are represented by the strong regional parties in all three parties. In the SPÖ and the ÖVP, the respective reach of the social partnership, hence the unions in the case of the SPÖ and the leagues (connected to the chambers) in the case of the ÖVP need to be considered. In the SPÖ, the women's organization also plays a role. The portfolios allocated to party

groups are staffed by people who *represent* the party group. This is how the career paths of the ministers reflect the party players they were selected by. It is also through the sexed/gendered analysis of the typical career paths that the sex/gender relations of the selectors became – at least partly – visible. Only the party leader selects ministers (as concerns their career paths) more freely.

The central party groups acting as selectors are chiefly represented by male individuals. Females are thus excluded from this side of the recruitment processes and are limited to be candidates only. Furthermore, the selection of women hence depends on the whims of men. Additionally problematic is that research (e.g. Caul 1999, 90; Sanbonmatsu 2006, 147; Kraus 2008) has shown that men tend to select men (even if unintentionally), also because they rather tend to know men than women.

The processes of selection have to be characterized as largely informal, which can aid female representation dependent on the attitude of the (male) party leader or can discriminate women by allowing for subjective beliefs about females and social network ties. The few informal rules that exist entail the permanence of the incumbents, which implies that successful government members tend to be selected for a further period, and the allocation of specific portfolios to specific party groups. As concerns the former, the research has shown that women are *less permanent* than men and thus spent fewer years in cabinet than males. Furthermore, selection processes are often very chaotic and the potential candidates have to decide on short notice, whether they are willing to take the job or not. This is an additional disadvantage for women, as they are not able – if they have familial obligations – to meet life-changing decisions so quickly. Indeed, the data analysis of the social structure of the ministers showed that significantly fewer women in government have children than men.

The demands of the selectors versus the potential candidates can be described as multi-dimensional: Many criteria have to be covered in the set-up of a cabinet. Most importantly, these include the representation of specific party groups and of several regions, certain capital forms and resources, a working social relation with the party leader, the inclusion of a certain number of females, but can also result from power struggles. The criterion to incorporate a specific number of women can be understood as a kind of “informal” quota. To be a woman was only added to the catalogue of criteria that need to be covered in the selection of governmental personnel. The female sex belonging alone does thereby not suffice; other requirements such as representing a party group have to be fulfilled by the

same person as well. Females have thus only been *added* to the male/masculine logic of political recruitment.

As concerns the recruited, the typical career paths of female and male politicians show huge differences. Whereas men have the whole spectrum of possible career ladders at their disposal, women are limited in their quantitative possibilities to perform an accession process. Many career paths can be characterized as male dominated or are even exclusively set up by male ministers. The career channels, which are exclusively female or are dominated by females, pertain over lower relevance compared to that.

Women are more likely to come through a career type, which has its nodal point in the party. Females were significantly less represented in the second career type, which was largely composed of the institutions of the social partnership. It seemed, though, that the few women who managed to make it through the second career type via the social partners needed additional backing as they tended to be represented in the party career type *as well*. The corporatist structures thus clearly disadvantage the inclusion of women in politics. Most of the institutions of the social partnership were composed of male ministers, exclusively. Women were only able to come through the unions and the Chamber of Labour, whereas the latter seemed to bring forward proportionally more women than men. The other institutions, the Chamber of Economy and the economic league ÖWB, the Chamber of Agriculture and the party-affiliated factions, the Association of Industrialists, the Chamber of Civil Law Notaries, and the social security agencies *only* brought forth males and *not a single woman*.

Within the career type revolving around the party, the women's organization (in the SPÖ and the ÖVP) was the only party group (of all career ladders) which only brought forward female politicians (for obvious reasons, as it is already laid down in their organizational definition). The career path via regional (party) politics was proportionally dominated by women, whereas the opposite applies for the national layer, contrary to the original hypothesis. This stands in contrast to the sex/gender relations of the political structures as proportionally more females are present in the national arena of politics than on the regional and local levels. Thus, this result indicates that the national level predominantly selects men and then tries to bring in females through other channels. It further underlines how women have been *added* to the male logic of recruitment. Thus, overall, regional (party) politics, the Chamber of Labour and the women's organization are the career paths,

which are dominated by women. This can be attributed to the fact that *not enough women* come through via the other career routes.

The fact that women are discriminated as concerns the career path via national (party) politics has further discriminatory consequences: Political experience on the national level is needed in order to survive in government. This is a resource, though, which women rather lack and which makes them hence *less survivable*. As already alluded, women were present in government for a *smaller period of time* than males, which has to be correlated to the different equipment of the sexes in terms of their political career paths and experiences.

Lastly, the research illustrated that the appeal of governmental offices has become disastrously low, which has to be contextualized into the major changes of the political field and a general disenchantment with politics and the political field. It is the low appeal of offices, which can explain the comparatively seen reasonable representation of females in the Austrian government.

Similarly to the sexed/gendered structure of the career paths, the networks also bear sex/gender-specific traits, whereas many networks can be characterized as old boys' clubs that discriminate women in their access to social capital. The extent of differences also depends on which party is involved, though: In the SPÖ, the male/masculine traits of the networks seem to be the least pronounced of all parties: Whereas several networks were dominated by males (for example, the *Club 45*, the freemasons, the attendance of elite schools or elite academies, or the Socialist Youth), others were set up by female and male ministers about equally and some were even slightly dominated by females (for example, the BSA or the Young Generation) or even seemed to favour women (among them foremost the Women's Organization). Overall, though, the male dominated networks bear a disproportionally greater relevance. In the ÖVP, the sex/gender-specific structure of the networks was much more strongly given than in the SPÖ: The attendance of elite schools or academies and the belonging to the students' parties, the *Reichsbund*, and the traditional Catholic student fraternities, for example, were only composed of male ministers. Females are mostly only organized in specifically female networks such as the Catholic student fraternities for females, the Women's Organization, or the female organizations in the *Katholische Aktion*. This is further corroborated by the fact that *not a single woman* in the ÖVP held any position in a network. In the FPÖ, the interpretation is the most difficult because of the low number of involved ministers. Overall, females were only part in three

of the eight relevant networks. At least, the *Bublerpartie*, the national student fraternities, and the attendance of elite schools have to be characterized as male organized.

The *social structure* of the ministers was dealt with in Chapter 8. The analysis showed that ministers are disproportionately male and about 50 years old, whereas females are slightly older than men – probably due to female caregiver responsibilities. At least almost half of the ministers stemmed from well-off family backgrounds and had fathers with professional jobs or who were occupied in business. About a third was rooted in a blue-collar-workers' background and 13 % grew up in the countryside with fathers as farmers, foresters or millers. The rest is constituted by fathers with occupations classified as miscellaneous. Whereas females equal men as concerns fathers with professional jobs, more women have fathers in business or with miscellaneous jobs, but fewer females have fathers with blue-collar jobs or as farmers, foresters or millers. A minimal proportion of the male ministers stemmed from the nobility. The majority of the ministers had politically involved family members and followed their family in their party-political orientation, whereby differences between females and males could not be assessed because the information is difficult to access and the data is probably not given for all ministers under scrutiny. The research showed that – in contrast to the initial hypothesis – the hierarchical level of the accessible political institutions and the chances to be recruited are not directly proportionally linked. Overall, though, the greatest part of the ministers had an urban background and predominantly stemmed from the capital Vienna. Thus, the possibilities to access political institutions during the childhood and youth may be of advantage, but there might be other factors that are linked to cities, which probably intervene as well, such as access to education. Interestingly, disproportionately many women (in comparison to men) grew up in cities, which allows for the inference that the still more traditional sex/gender relations on the countryside hamper women to become politically active and pursue a career in politics subsequently. Most ministers stemmed from Vienna, followed by Lower Austria and then Styria and Carinthia and – lastly – Upper Austria. The greatest gap as concerns the sexes could be identified for Lower Austria, which is a result of the fact that few women are *enabled* to be politically present in that region.

As concerns education, most of the ministers attended academic secondary schools and pertain over a high level of formal education. Thereby, women are slightly less educated than men, which reflects the sexed/gendered educational structure of the Austrian society and the *fewer possibilities* of women (at least until recently) to acquire this form of capital.

The completed university studies largely reflect the sexed/gendered attribution of the fields of studies in effect in society. As concerns the occupational structure, jobs with a high status prevail and the “talking professions” such as civil servants, law graduates more generally, and researchers are dominant in government. Differences as concerns the occupational status between women and men could not be assessed. The occupational structure showed sex/gender-specific structures, which reflect the distribution of job areas to women and men in society. Also, women were less present in the so-called talking professions. The educational and the occupational structure thus points to a high level of cultural capital and a very good position in the social space of the ministers in general. Furthermore, the majority of the governmental members have experienced social advancement in comparison to their original social background. Finally, the governmental members were married and had children for their greatest part. Interestingly, the only persons who were not married were two females. Overall, though, women were also predominantly married. The differences between women and men, however, as concerns having children are huge; significantly fewer women had children.

The hypothesis that women and men differ in the provision over capital forms typically demanded by the selectors took the most complex forms and was explored in Chapter 7 and 8. It was investigated with respect to delegated political, social, cultural capital and with respect to the career patterns, which mirror the potential of political capital that could have been acquired. Furthermore, the two developed types of politicians (loosely defined as two kinds of habitus) were analyzed with respect to sex/gender structures in the disposition over capital.

Women and men do not seem to differ as concerns delegated political capital. If at all, slightly more women were in hold of this capital form. Interestingly, networks seemed to be a differentiator: When the amount of delegated political capital was calculated including the executed positions in and the affiliations to networks, women disposed over slightly less capital than men. Conversely, when it was computed without the networks, the relation was reverse. This seems to mean that women rather invested or were able to invest into the party groups or the institutions of a political career per se, whereas men invested more into networks and thus the hybrid of social and delegated political capital. Furthermore, the research showed that women who pursued a career in the social partners tended to need additional delegated political capital by being affiliated to a party group *as well*. Finally, the career patterns, which reflect the possibilities to accumulate personal or delegated

political capital, did not differ between women and men. All these findings indicate that women and men did not differ in their provision over delegated political capital and that this capital form was very relevant to women's careers. However, women and men significantly differed in *where* they were able to acquire this capital form as the exploration of the typical career paths illustrated. Thereby, women are significantly discriminated in their access to this capital form.

Females and males differed as concerns the holding of social capital, whereas women were generally in hold of less social capital. Social capital was researched by belonging to, holding of positions in, and having affiliations to networks. Whereas women pertain over a considerable amount of social capital in terms of belonging to networks given the level of discrimination against women in many networks (difference of 7 %²²⁰ as concerns the number of females/males represented in networks; the average of networks women were involved in reached about two thirds of the sum of networks men were represented in), the shares of women incrementally decrease when it comes to executing positions in and having affiliations to networks (difference of 17 and 22 %). It is the latter, though, which means to have a network behind one's back as power base, which is hence significantly less accessible for women. Furthermore and similar to delegated political capital, women pertain over less possibilities than men to acquire social capital as the sexed/gendered structure of the representation in networks was able to show.

The holding of cultural capital was tackled by researching the competences of the candidates (specific knowledge, managerial abilities, political experience), the highest educational level, the presence in the talking professions, and working as expert for a party. If at all, women were in hold of less capital. The greatest differences thereby applied to a presence in the talking professions (difference of 5 to 17 %), followed by being an academic (difference of 10 %) and supplying over managerial abilities (difference of 8 %). The other distinctions are modest: Slightly less females pertained over specific knowledge (5 %), which is due to the fact that the female FPÖ-politicians that were included in this classification were not qualified. Furthermore, fewer women worked as experts for a party, which targets cultural as well as social capital. Interestingly, the values reached by women and men were similar as concerns political experience, which is tied to delegated political capital. The differences have to be tied to the sexed/gendered structures in society as

²²⁰ It has to be outlined that the percentage values are indicated for comparative means here and that it has to be kept in mind that they are partly based on low entities and have thus to be valued prudently.

concerns the holding of cultural capital and are – compared against the societal circumstances – not great.

Thus, overall, it seems that delegated political capital is indispensable for women's forthcoming as they dispose over – in spite of the discrimination of women – about the same amount of this capital form than men. The greatest differences seem to apply for social capital, followed by cultural capital. The analysis of the two types of politicians can further elucidate interesting trends in sex/gender differences, although partly low entities are involved. Both types were scrutinized for possible sex/gender differences with respect to delegated political, social and cultural capital. Social capital was operationalized here as the belonging to networks. Cultural capital was tackled by the highest educational status in both types and expert status in the second type.

The political professional is generally characterized by high levels of delegated political and social, but a low amount of cultural capital in terms of formal education. The female political professional thereby appears to dispose over similar volumes of delegated political and social capital, but seems to bring forth less cultural capital compared to men. The political alien, on the other hand, has a low amount of delegated political capital, social capital that is below average but considerable, and extinguished levels of cultural capital and symbolic capital acquired in another field. It appears that the female political alien does not differ with respect to delegated political capital compared to men. Females seem to dispose over less social capital than men, which allows for the inference that the personal ties to the (male) selectors were more important for females because this type of politician is predominantly selected by the national party leadership. Furthermore, women seem to bring in considerable less cultural capital in its incorporated form (as expertise), but slightly more cultural capital in its institutional form (as formal education) than men. The fact that fewer females appear to dispose over expert status points to the fact that expertise was *less demanded* by the selectors from women, as the educational structure proposes that there would have been *enough* female experts.

Overall, it can be concluded that the holding of delegated political and social capital (to about the same extent as men) was more relevant for the female political professional than cultural capital. For the female political alien, on the other hand, delegated political, formal education and personally knowing the selectors seems to be very relevant, whereas the expert status and the formal belonging to networks rather are not.

Finally, it can be concluded that the provision over capital by women and men are characterized by *sameness* and *differences* at the same time. The greatest differences

between women and men as concerns capital and resources are still the sexed/gendered possibilities to acquire these. Given the huge discrepancies between females and males in society to accumulate the discussed capital forms and resources, the differences are not great. Additionally, the research shows that *women rather have to live up* to the male/masculine standards set for a political career.

Lastly, it has to be outlined that I compared the provision over capital by factual data such as differences in the number of held positions, for example. Although this comparison is a very valuable endeavour, it has to be stressed that sex/gender differences in the *manner* of execution of those posts cannot be tackled by those empirical means. Thus, it may well be that women are demanded to and *accomplish more* in the holding of a position than men. These sex/gender differences may be tackled by a future research project.

(2) Females in Political Recruitment and Beyond

Overall, the sex/gender relations have clearly changed in the political field in the course of the Second Republic, as could be elucidated in this work for political recruitment. At the end of the 1970s, for example, Bruno Kreisky was the first Federal Chancellor to recruit five state secretaries at once. Although the women “only” represented state secretaries, it was a big shock at the time. At the end of the 1970s, female ministers were not a real possibility (IP 4). This is not imaginable anymore for today. *Why does it have to be a woman?* is not a question anymore, when a woman takes over a portfolio (IP 15). The change of the sex/gender relations has been one of the major changes in the practices of political recruitment in the course of the Second Republic, but to what extent? Has the structure of political recruitment considerably changed? A few explicitly female career paths and recruitment pools have established since the first woman was *allowed* access to the institution of the national government. This contains most prominently the women’s organizations of the SPÖ and the ÖVP and other recruitment pools like, for example, the Catholic student fraternities for females in the case of the ÖVP. Moreover, it has to be outlined that the number and the overall relevance of these exclusively female career paths is low. Apart from that, there are several career paths, which proportionally rather brought forward females than men. This applies to, for example, regional (party) politics. The influence of the regional parties as party players has not changed, though; they have been the most important players anyways. Hence, their significance has not improved through the bringing forward of women. More females are only selected there because they are

missing in other career paths. Another example is the Chamber of Labour in the case of the SPÖ, which has been composed of more females than males, proportionally seen.

Conversely, though, more males than females were recruited from the unions. The unions and the Chamber of Labour can be attributed to the same selector, namely the Social-Democratic Union's Faction (FSG). Hence, similar to the example of the regional party players, more women are only selected in the Chamber of Labour because they are not available in the unions to the same extent. To sum up, the career paths and recruitment pools may have shifted slightly due to the incremental inclusion of women, but not considerably. As concerns the structures of relations of forces and thus the selectors, only the women's organizations was (in the case of the SPÖ) added as player with little relevance. Overall, women have been largely *added* to the practices of political recruitment, which were established by and for men and follow a masculinist principle. This can be illustrated by the fact that a certain number of women need to be represented in government. Thus, to be a woman, i.e. the belonging to the female sex, has become *one* criterion of many, which need to be covered by the selectors in the personnel set-up of a government. Another example is that proportionally more men are recruited by the national party level and women are then only brought in via other channels, namely local and regional (party) politics, although a vaster pool of females would be available in the national arena. Furthermore, the critical positions of power are still held by men (IP 15). Overall, the increasing consideration of women in political recruitment has not considerably changed the structures of political recruitment or the political field.

In conclusion: "*Women have earned a foothold in the public sphere, but the majority live and work only on its edge.*" (Nowotny 1981, 149). Females can be understood as political out-group (among others) in the political field (see also: Chapman 1993, 10); their situation in the field and their selection for government has to be connected to *precarity*: The analysis of the sexed/gendered mechanisms of political recruitment in this work has brought forth several examples, which showed that women are predominantly recruited, when it becomes unattractive and precarious or the pool of resources becomes greater: For example, females are disproportionally selected for new and not-established portfolios. The selection of women is directly proportionally linked to the size of governmental jobs. The high number of women in the FPÖ during the 2000s has to be contextualized with a low supply of personnel in the party. And, even more generally, the relatively high proportion of women in the Austrian government has to be seen in the context of an increasingly unattractive job. Thus, feminization only takes place, when the traditional (male) positions

are not threatened, the concurrence for the jobs is small, or the positions are precarious and unattractive. The fact that the jobs as governmental officeholders have become so unattractive also illustrates that not the inclusion of women considerably changed the political field, but that the changes of the political field in a negative sense only made the access of a considerable number of women into government possible.

Overall, I think, I was able to show that the sex/gender relations in the political field are complex relations of power and domination, which are inconsistent and partly contradictory. The male/masculine structures, however, are extremely persistent in these. The argument that the problem of female underrepresentation will resolve with time as more women will hold posts on the lower ranks and therefore more females can be found in the pool of potential candidates (Sanbonmatsu 2006, 137-138), does not hold true, from my point of view. The analysis has already delivered a good example by showing that although more females are present in national politics than on the regional and local levels, females are *rather not recruited* by the national party. The only means to enhance the proportions of females present in positions of political power is pressure: from the political field itself, for example by interest groups, as well as pressure from society – by the media or by a women’s movement, for example. Otherwise, the scale of included women in government just *might remain static*. It can only be the power of a strong numerical presence of women in the field that can – with the force of a considerable numerical presence of new players – change the rules of the game and democratise the field.

Appendix 1: Methods

In the following, the empirical endeavour will be presented. The different methods used and methodical means are ordered along their relevance for the project: the prosopography, the expert interviews, and then the statistical calculations, the case studies, and the data analysis of the cabinets.

I. Prosopography

(1) Introduction: What Is This?

As already explained in the section on the methodology in the introduction, the biographical analysis aims to identify sex/gender relations concerning the political career and the social structure of the ministers. Hence, factual information about the lives of the selected persons and not personal feelings and evaluations are targeted here.

(2) The Method? Prosopography

Prosopography is most commonly understood as a method of the science of history. It was first used in ancient history (Verboven/Carlier/Dumolyn 2007, 41). As concerns the method, there are quite different understandings: A prosopography in the narrow sense typically represents a thorough research of a group of persons as concerns social origin, family ties or careers for example. The reached database is the aim in itself. The attained information about the individuals is often publicized in systematic indices, which are mostly ordered alphabetically. This kind of method is often used in classic or ancient history, where it is strongly represented. The prosopography in the narrow sense has to be distinguished from the prosopography in the wider sense. Unfortunately, both forms are traded under the same name. The latter is employed in the science of history, as well as in other fields like the social sciences and is also referred to as “collective biography”, “group biography”, “career-path-” or “career-line analysis” (MacLeod/Nuvolari 2006, 759-760). Here, prosopography is a method that aims to uncover common characteristics of a certain group of persons by studying their biographies (Stone 1971, 46). The reached information about the individuals of the group is not an end in itself, but only a prerequisite in order to identify the significant variables and the possible correlations between them. In my study, the latter form of the method was used, to which I will refer in the following:

Prosopography is not interested in the subjective side of people’s lives, but targets factual data of a group of individuals according to a set of variables. It requires a comprehensive research about the individuals regarding those variables, often drawing on information from many types of sources. The data is consolidated by comparing the different sources with each other. The resulting database, a prosopography in the narrow sense, is a new source, a metasource, in which some of the defects of the original sources are remedied (Keats-Rohan 2003, 3). The aggregate form of the collected data of the individuals’ lives is systematically examined and researched for significant variables and, possibly, for correlations (Stone 1971, 46; Keats-Rohan 2003, 2). A prosopography therefore represents an analysis of the sum of data about many individuals. As Lawrence Stone writes in his classic article (1971, 46): “*The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied,*

and then to ask a set of uniform questions about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic position, place of residence, education, amount and source of personal wealth, occupation, religion, experience of office, and so on.”

Different scholars stress different aspects as concerns the definition of the method:

Variables, which affect the behaviours and actions of a certain group of people, are in focus by MacLeod/Nuvolari (2006, 760), for example. Keats-Rohan's (2003, 3) definition, on the other hand, stresses the individuals' belonging to networks and the different connexions between them.

There were two major contributors in the development of this method in the 1920s and 1930s (Stone 1971, 48):

The elitist school: Studies in this tradition usually focused on power elites such as the Roman- or US-senators and comprised relatively small numbers of people. Typically, the research included detailed case studies, which were underpinned by statistical findings only to a minor extent, in order to show the cohesion of that group as concerns common blood, social background, or economic interests, for example.

The mass school: This branch was more statistically oriented and was mostly occupied with large numbers of people. This school understands history as rather determined by the mass than by an elite and is more interested in social than in political events. Studies typically ask a wider, but more superficial set of questions than elitist studies and are very much concerned with testing correlations between the different variables (Stone 1971, 47-48).

A certain kind of prosopography has been undertaken by Pierre Bourdieu and his scholars since the 1970s. It typically includes a study of a group of individuals belonging to a certain field and aims at the exploration of the structure and the transformations of the field itself. According to Broady (2002), a Bourdieuan prosopography bears four traits: (1) It is a study of individuals belonging to the same field. (2) It requires a comprehensive collection of information as regards the variables under scrutiny, often representing hundreds of variables. Those target, for example, the social origins, educational backgrounds, trajectories, different resources, especially as regards the holding of symbolic capital, or the standpoints in important matters to the field. (3) The data should be collected for each individual and every variable, as far as possible. (4) The aim of the study is not the individuals but the structure of the field and its history. If the data is analyzed by means of quantitative or qualitative techniques is only of minor importance. Famous examples are Bourdieu's studies on the Parisian academic field (Bourdieu 1984) and on French top managers (Bourdieu/Saint Martin 1978) (Broady 2002).

There are no prosopographical studies which focus on the Austrian political field to which I could lean to in my study. Hence, I was basically on my own as concerns the whole design and execution of the biographical analysis. But, as Verboven/Carlier/Dumolyn (2007, 37) claimed, prosopography is “(...) *rather a research approach than a method sui generis; an attempt to bring together all relevant biographical data of groups of persons in a systematic and stereotypical way.*”

In the following, the different steps of the prosopography are presented as strictly delimited and in chronological order. However, the conduct of the analysis was a back-and-forth-process. Not only were most steps intertwined and carried out in parallel, they were also re-evaluated and adapted several times. The conduct of the analysis was quite an extensive endeavour. In the following, I would like to give a good overview of the research process, although it has to be understood that only the most important empirical problems, decisions or classifications can be ascertained.

(3) Research Selection

120 people were Austrian ministers between 1966 and 2006. Of these, the ministers who had been party leaders before their governmental participation were excluded, as those politicians only became ministers because of their positions as party leaders and the recruitment mechanisms for party leaders are different than those for ministers. However, most party leaders were recruited as ministers before their party leader position and are represented in the empirical selection anyways. Following this, four party leaders, namely Josef Klaus (ÖVP), Bruno Kreisky (SPÖ), Norbert Steger (FPÖ), and Ursula Haubner (FPÖ/BZÖ), were excluded from the research selection, which results into 116 politicians under scrutiny. In the following table, these 116 persons are represented along their party and sex belonging:

Table 68: Research Selection (in absolute numbers)

Party	Women	Men	Overall
ÖVP	9	31	40
SPÖ	10	43	53
FPÖ/BZÖ	3	10	13
Partyless	1	9	10
Overall	23	93	116

Source: Own compilation

With respect to several ministers, the party affiliation could not be unequivocally identified as it changed over time. For all those, the status at the first recruitment into government as minister was decisive. For example, Karl-Heinz Grassler first participated in government as FPÖ-member and was then a partyless minister: He was included in the FPÖ-selection. Or, Karin Gastinger started as partyless minister and later entered the BZÖ: She was considered in the analysis as partyless.

(4) The Research Criteria

The research criteria basically target biographical information concerning the social structure (like age, education or the professional life) and the political career (like the positions in a political career, the membership in networks or the governmental participation itself) in order to identify the sexed/gendered structures of political career paths, of the disposal over capital and resources, and of the social structure. As concerns capital, the disposition over cultural, social, and delegated political capital as well as over other forms of resources was directly researched. Economic and personal political capital was partly indirectly researched, by inferences about the disposal over other capital forms. As this thesis sheds light on how careers to the government look like, the biographical data was only researched and processed until the point of the first ministerial recruitment. The research criteria target hypotheses, e.g. about common characteristics of the ministers or typical career ladders, and other criteria of interest. They derive from the theoretical concept, the literature, the interviews, and the search for patterns or structures in the biographical empirical data itself. The research dimensions could apply to all ministers or the ministers of only one party or the partyless respectively. Overall, the conduct of the analysis was a strong back-and-forth-process that was characterized by an intensive involvement with the empirical data comparatively, i.e. across the different biographies: Not only the finally investigated research dimensions, also – for example – the *empirical* definition of the political career and the positions, which have to be counted in, was the result of a strong involvement with the literature, the results of the interviews, and the

search for patterns in the biographical data. Another example applies to the elite schools: Only through the research of several biographies, I came across several schools, which many politicians attended, but were not indicated as “elite institutions” in the literature. Following this, I amended the concerned schools as research dimensions and investigated the attendance of those. One example is the *Hietzinger Gymnasium*. Also, most of the qualitatively reached variables, for example, could only be attained after the executed positions of a person were known and certain knowledge about recruitment mechanisms and career advancements was reached.

The research criteria can be – according to their contents – divided into variables targeting the social structure and into variables targeting the political involvement in the political field. The data for the respective research criteria was partly quantitatively, partly qualitatively, and partly quantitatively and qualitatively reached. Double entries were possible, but only made if absolutely necessary. All of the data was *quantified in the end* and entered into the database accordingly.

4.1. Research Criteria as Concerns the Social Structure

The data for the research criteria as concerns the social background in the family, the accessibility of politics, the personal life or the family, the age, and the education was mainly quantitatively reached. Only the criterion of a private profession & a private career was chiefly qualitatively identified.

Sex Belonging and Age

The structure of sex belonging was depicted. As concerns age, the date of birth and the date of the first recruitment as a minister were researched in order to calculate the age at the first governmental participation.

Social Background in the Family

The social background in the family is operationalized by the occupation of the father. Additionally, a potential belonging to the nobility was researched. For the classification of the occupation of the father, the employment with the highest occupational status was taken. If two jobs were hierarchically even, the job which was executed during the largest part of the childhood of the respective minister, was employed. Only if the father was absent or dead, was the occupation of the childcarer used instead. The jobs were classified along the classificatory system used by Norris/Lovenduski (1995, 99). It separates jobs into “professional”, “business”, “miscellaneous”, and “manual workers” and was amended by the category “farmers, foresters and millers” in this thesis. The reason, why the mothers’ jobs were not researched and classified, lies in the unfortunate fact that the biographical material only provided information about the mothers’ occupational status very seldom. Also, the educational status or the income situation cannot be used in order to classify the social background in the family, as it is not known either.

Accessibility of Politics in the Family

The accessibility of politics is operationalized by two criteria: The political attitude in the family and the place of origin of the ministers:

The research criteria of the political attitude of the family did not necessarily target family members or relatives who were involved in (party) politics, but all those who were interested in politics. The criterion was indicated as positive for all those, for whom a political interest of a relative or political debates in the family or a (party)political commitment of a relative was indicated in the accessed empirical sources. Conversely, if family members or relatives were party members, but not politically interested at all, the variable was indicated as negative. This criterion aimed at the potential influence of the familial background to become politically interested. The assessment of the political attitude of the family members and the relatives, however, is difficult in so far as non-political relatives are usually not indicated in the sources.

The places of residence of the politicians during their childhood and adolescence were researched and classified. The classification had four groups: “countryside”, “city”, “regional capital” (“Landeshauptstadt”) and “capital”, i.e. Vienna. If the politicians had several residences during their childhood, the place of residence during the age from 14 to 18, which is the age assumed to be most important for the awakening of a potential political interest, was taken. Every place with more than 10,000 inhabitants (researched in 2009) was classified as a city, which follows the geographical, statistical definition of an Austrian city (Statistik Austria 2010a). This classification is not only of interest to identify the social origin of a politician as concerns the dichotomy countryside – city, but might also be meaningful as concerns the accessibility of politics: Regional capitals and the capital harbour the political levels of regional respectively national politics. It will be interesting to see whether politicians who grew up in regional capitals or the national capital experienced an easier access to politics because of that.

Territorial Representation

In order to make the sex/gender relations of the principle of regional representation in the political recruitment processes visible and to complete the analysis of the socio-geographical structure of the ministers, the sexed/gendered regional distribution of the ministers was researched: Only those regional parties that could be identified as affiliations²²¹ of the ministers were taken first. Double entries were hence possible for ministers who had affiliations to more than one regional party. For the ministries who did not have any entries in the category after this endeavour (because they did not have any affiliations to regional parties), the region of the place of residence during the childhood and youth (see above) was taken instead.

Education

The education of the politician after compulsory school (i.e. during the upper-secondary level) was researched and classified into academic secondary schools (“Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule”; AHS), higher technical and vocational colleges (“Berufsbildende Höhere Schule”; BHS), intermediate technical and vocational schools (“Berufsbildende Mittlere

²²¹ For the empirical classification of the affiliations, see page 318.

Schule”; BMS) or a vocational education, and other school types. The latter chiefly includes older school types, which have already been abolished.

The highest educational status represents institutionalized cultural capital and was classified into academics, divided again into doctoral or diploma degree, A-levels, intermediate technical and vocational schools or vocational training, and compulsory education.

The fields of (completed) university studies were classified along the classificatory system of ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education²²²) (BMBWK 2005, 268-270). Additionally, the field “social sciences, economy, and law” was further split into the disciplines “law” and “other” in order to evaluate the hypothesis that law students monopolize the state/the political field. Double entries were possible, but rare. It was also researched, whether politicians had dropped out of university.

The Private Profession & the Private Career

A job can represent cultural capital in its incorporated form – by specifically attained qualifications or capabilities. The knowledge about the educational and the occupational structure of the ministers is used to identify their position in the wider social universe. The non-political jobs were classified twice: according to the classification system of Norris/Lovenduski²²³ (1995, 99) amended by the category farmers, foresters, and millers and following the classificatory scheme of the economic activities ÖNACE²²⁴ (Statistik Austria 2008) into the 21 main categories, amended by the category “housework”. By the first classification, the attained values of the politicians (in Norris/Lovenduski’s classification) and the numbers reached by their fathers (by the very same classification system) can be compared, which allows for inferences about a potential social advancement of the ministers. The second classification following the economic activities also serves to assess the hypothesis that the political leaders are disproportionately composed of the “talking professions”, which involve, for example, civil servants or lawyers.

I proceeded as follows in the classification of the occupations: If there were several private employments, jobs practiced less than three years were neglected. Then a weighting between the different occupations was carried out along three dimensions: length, date, and career. Longer performed positions outweighed shorter executed positions, occupations of late outweighed occupations longer ago, and employments, in which a career was successfully pursued, outweighed employments without career advancements. The dimensions of length, date and career were weighed against each other, if necessary. Occupations, which were executed during the years 1933 to 1945, were weighed less in comparison to other positions: Because of the political and economic turmoil, the executed posts are probably different than those taken over in times of peace and economic stability. Posts, which are counted as part of the political career (such as functions in the chambers, the unions, or the social security agencies), were excluded here in order not to classify

²²² The ISCED was developed by the UNESCO in order to classify different school types and school systems internationally. The ISCED classifies studies into the following fields: education; humanities and arts; social sciences, business and law; science; engineering; manufacturing and construction; agriculture; health and welfare; services; and not known or specified.

²²³ For further detail on this category system, please see the section on the social background in the family in this chapter.

²²⁴ NACE is the acronym for the French name “Nomenclature générale des Activités économiques dans les Communautés Européennes”. It is a classification system for economic activities in the European Community. ÖNACE is the Austrian version of the scheme. For further detail, see Chapter 8.

them twice. I tried to reach only one classification for each person; double entries were only made when two positions had about the same weight.

The criterion “private career” was only true for the ministers who had a classification of a private job at all and were subtracted by those, who filled the category housework or who only executed “private” activities less than four years. Although housework has – of course – to be considered as valuable occupation and hence as “private career”, it is not valued as such in an androcentric dominated field such as politics and is therefore excluded here.

Personal Life / Family

Family was operationalized by researching, whether the person was married or not, had children and, if so, how many. The biographical data was usually only collected until the point of the first ministerial recruitment. In the case of marriage and children, however, the data was processed inconsiderate of the date of marriage or the date of birth of the children. The reason for that lies therein, firstly, that these dates are mostly inaccessible and secondly, that the fact, whether the marriage or the birth of the child took place before the governmental recruitment or not is not as important as in the case of network memberships or the positions of a political career, for example. The reason why only marriages are used in order to tackle partnerships is because “informal” relationships are barely researchable. Also, it is only of minor importance, if the ministers were divorced later on or remarried, whereby this is not investigated.

4.2. Research Criteria as Concerns the Involvement in the Political Field

The data for the research criteria ascertained under “Definition of a Political Career”, the career patterns, the belonging to networks, other relevant factors, and the governmental participation was mainly quantitatively attained. The data as concerns the political affiliation to specific party groups, the represented regions, the competences of the recruited, and the status of being an expert was chiefly qualitatively reached.

The Definition of a Political Career & the Quantitative Calculation of Career Positions

Delegated political capital was operationalized as the number of ministers who had career positions at all and the sum of held career positions in the course of a political career. “Political career” describes a sequence of executed positions in an ascending manner. It targets the pathway to high(er) political positions, which is represented by the take-over of a ministry in our case. A political career comprises all positions, which can be of advantage in pursuing a political career and which are termed “career positions” in this thesis for pragmatic reasons. Those include, in the case of the Austrian political field, functions in institutions, which are not defined as “political” per se like, for example, the compulsory social security agencies or the chambers. The organizations, institutions or other organizational forms, in which “career positions” can be held, will be referred to as “career institutions” in this work for pragmatic reasons as well.

The definition of the political career positions has to follow the assumed understanding of the selectors, which is androcentric: The management of a household and several children are not assessed as a valuable ability in politics and are therefore not included here. Although every single position in the political field can be of advantage in pursuing a

political career, I had to limit the positions to be counted in a little for pragmatic reasons. The positions with little relevance were considered to be below the threshold and were cut out: Informal activities like helping to organize the party's election campaign or the mere involvement in a worker's council, for example, were not included. Positions in executive committees and chairpersonships were not considered, as these positions often constitute a doubling of another part- or full-time-position and are often not known for every person. Furthermore, the participation in committees and commissions or the position of a spokesperson – like for example in the National Assembly, the Chamber of Labour, or the state – were not regarded for the same reason. Occupations or activities in a sector of the public economy, which bear an affiliation to a party or the state, were also neglected as they are not relevant for a political career. Functions held during the Second World War were not considered because another political system was involved (National-socialism) and many individuals who later became politicians did not want to politically participate or were even persecuted. Overall, the sum of held posts is an approximate value. Foremost it is relevant to handle all the occurring information equally. This was assured by an extensive file, in which I thoroughly devised the handling of the data.

Finally, the counted executed functions before the date of the first recruitment as minister were classified into the following categories or career institutions: the state, the party, the women's organization, other party's sub-organizations, the academy of the party, party-specific union's movements, the unions and worker's councils, the Chamber of Labour, the Chamber of Economy, the Chamber of Agriculture, the Association of Industrialists, and the social security agencies. In the case of the ÖVP, the three leagues, ÖWB, ÖAAB, and ÖAAB, were also each represented. The women's organization was separately addressed in order to evaluate its power as female career booster in the respective party. Positions held in the different party-affiliated networks and on the university level were summed up in one category as "networks". Positions in networks represent a somewhat limit case, as those can be understood as part of a political career (typically, positions in networks are stepping stones for a further political career in other career institutions) and thus represent delegated political capital, but also a form of social capital more generally. Networks do not represent selectors and a full-time political career cannot be held in those. Hence, the sum of career positions was once calculated with and once without the networks. Party and state posts were each additionally differentiated by counting the sum of positions according to the territorial levels European, national, regional, and everything below that level (local levels).

Additionally, typical career positions were specifically scrutinized. These include the following research criteria or posts: delegates in the National or the Federal Assembly, state secretaries, (Vice-)Presidents of the National Assembly, regional governors, deputies of regional governors, members of regional governments, delegates of regional parliaments, and (Vice-)Presidents of regional parliaments.

Political Affiliations to Specific Party Groups

Most politicians fulfilled many positions in many different of the named career institutions. However, this is not valuable in identifying the main delegating power(s) behind a person or – respectively – the fulfilled representational interests of a party group by recruiting someone *belonging* to them into government. The major affiliation of a person to one or several party group(s)/institution(s) had to be qualitatively identified. Accordingly, delegated political capital was operationalized here by the number of people having an affiliation at all and by the sum of held affiliations.

The categories of the respective party groups were largely built according to the selecting agents in the respective party. Hence, the career paths *and* the recruiting party agents become visible through the classification. For example, the regional parties and the national party are the central players within a party. Hence, these two territorial layers were split. Furthermore, party and state positions in the national or the regional layers are typically knot to each other in the course of a career, whereby they are integrated into one category (national (party) politics and regional (party) politics). All positions below the regional layer (like district or town) were summarized into the regional category of (party) politics. Summed up, the affiliation to the following party groups was researched: the networks, national (party) politics, regional (party) politics, the women's organizations, other party's sub-organizations, the different leagues in the case of the ÖVP (ÖAAB, ÖWB, ÖBB), other full-time occupations in party-affiliated networks, each of the chambers (Chamber of Agriculture, of Economy, and of Labour), the unions, the party-specific union's movements, the social security agencies, and the Association of Industrialists. The networks are – again – summarized in one category. Only in the case of the FPÖ, for which the affiliated networks only included three organizations in the end (RFJ, RFS, ÖPR), the different organizations were indicated separately.

In the classification process, the most important branches, in which functions were executed, were identified first. This was accomplished by counting all branches, in which a person had executed at least three positions, a leading position, or a full-time job for five years. "Leading positions" include functions like the respective leading positions in an organization and its deputy positions in the regional government, the regional parliament, the office of the parliamentary group ("Klubsekretariat"), the central office of the parties ("Zentralsekretariat" or "Bundesgeschäftsführung"), or the personal assistants of the party leaders. The threshold of positions to be considered can be defined as follows: Party positions were considered beginning from the district level. Within the networks, "leading positions" only count beginning from the territorial level of a city. Chairmen of workers' councils were neglected. Positions in the National and the Federal Assembly as well as the European Parliament were only considered, if the respective person fulfilled other party or state positions on the same level as well. Otherwise, they were neglected: As different party-internal organizations – as the leagues in the case of the ÖVP, for example – bring in their candidates in these parliaments, the mere fulfilling of these jobs does not tell us anything about the actual affiliation to a party group. The state secretaries were also excluded, as they already represent a certain career advancement, whereas I was interested in the original power bases or affiliations. Also, positions fulfilled in the time between 1933 and 1945 were not considered because of the political and economic turmoil during this time.

Then, in a second step, I tried to undertake a weighting of the different branches in order to identify the most important power bases, according to the length, the quantity and the hierarchical level of the positions in a specific branch. However, I was very prudent in this undertaking. Mostly, only branches, which often appear in connection with other branches, were neglected, if one clearly prevailed. For example, positions in the Chamber of Labour are mostly accompanied by functions in the unions or the social security agencies. In this case, only the strongest branch was considered.

In the end, most politicians had several entries in this category. Hence, by this endeavour, the numerous positions most people fulfilled in the many different organizations and institutions are narrowed down to the essential ones. In this case, the affiliated party groups can be understood as power bases of the politicians, as they are rooted in these. A rather small proportion of the politicians did not fulfil any position, which applied to the criteria named above. Those often "only" held one or two (party) political functions overall. Hence, the concerned party groups do not figure as power bases for those politicians.

However, they can still work as delegating party group. Sonja Moser (ÖVP), for example, only held one position in a town council in Tyrol. Hence, she was not rooted in the party Tyrol; it did not represent a power base of hers. However, the regional party Tyrol indeed delegated her into government (IP 12). Hence, if none of the positions applied to the criteria laid down above, other functions were included in the classificatory process in order to identify the *affiliated* party group of the politician. In conclusion, the identified party group cannot be defined as power base, but only as *affiliation* for the ministers of the latter case. This is why the term *affiliation* is used in this thesis to designate the party groups identified by this classification process.

The qualitative classification of the affiliations was quantified. The sum of people who had affiliations at all and the sum of affiliations overall was calculated. The presentation of the affiliations was used in order to depict the career paths. In both means, the few affiliations that were neglected during the classification process were not considered.

The affiliations to networks represent a limit case – as mentioned before – as they are part of a political career and hence tackle delegated political capital, but can be understood as social capital more generally as well. A professional political career on a full-time basis cannot be held in these and networks do not represent selectors. Hence, firstly, the calculation of affiliations in order to compare the volume of delegated political capital was once computed with and once without the networks. Secondly, the networks were excluded in the depiction of the career paths. Thereby, the networks, in which full-time positions over a certain number of years were held, represent an exception and were considered as “affiliations to other party organizations” and as such as career paths and were not subsumed under the category of affiliations to networks. This in fact only applies to affiliations to the *Mietervereinigung* and the *Kinderfreunde* for two ministers.

The reached values were employed for further classifications (respectively calculations of these), such as the distribution of the ministers to different career types.

Career Patterns

The career patterns should elucidate the involvement in the political field according to the different levels of intensity and hence also reflect the delegated and personal political capital, which could have been potentially accumulated. The sum of executed positions – counted without the functions in networks²²⁵ – was the basis of the classification of the career patterns. The first step was a quantitative classification: All those who had none or only one career position before their governmental recruitment, were classified as “cross-over”. The politicians who had more than three previous achievements fell into the category of “seniority” or a long political career. The politicians who fulfilled neither of these two categories were categorized as “quickstarters”, i.e. a short political career. In a second step, the quantitative strictness was remedied by a qualitative examination of all classifications and re-classifying several borderline cases: For example, Hilde Hawlicek’s career (SPÖ) was originally classified as “quickstarter” because she had held a couple of positions which are defined to be below the threshold of counted functions. However, she had held several of them and had participated in politics for seventeen years. Hence, she does not fulfil the definition of a “quickstarter” in the form of a rather quick career and was re-classified as “seniority”. Conversely, Nikolaus Michalek (a partyless) had held four positions in the Austrian Chamber of Civil Law Notaries and thus first fell into the

²²⁵ Positions in networks can aid a political ascendancy very much and have to be regarded as part of a political career. However, they only represent a somewhat preliminary stage of a full-time political career per se and are hence excluded in this classification process.

category of “seniority”. This does not apply, wherefore he was re-categorized as a “quickstarter”.

Networks

Social capital was operationalized by belonging to, holding positions in, and having affiliations to the relevant researched party(-affiliated) networks. In all three research dimensions, the number of people for whom the criterion applies at all and the respective average sums were calculated. As already mentioned, functions in and affiliations to networks represent an exceptional case, as they represent delegated political capital and social capital more generally at the same time. As concerns the counting of affiliations, the full-time jobs that were considered as part of the political career paths were not considered here again. This applies in fact only to the *Mietervereinigung* and to the *Kinderfreunde*, in which two SPÖ-politicians had fulltime-jobs.

In Austria, there are many, many party-affiliated associations, organizations and networks for every purpose. Hence, only a selection of networks could be included in the research. Only those were incorporated, which are important for a political career in a specific party. Therefore, for example, organizations like the social-democratic fisher organization (“Verband Österreichischer Arbeiter-Fischereivereine”) were excluded. Also, Bartenstein’s (ÖVP) membership in the *Akademischer Turnverein Graz*, which is a student fraternity and can be aligned to the FPÖ, was not counted, as it is of not any significance in the ÖVP, for example. The selected networks were mostly identified by the literature, the expert interviews and by the frequency of their appearance in the collective biographical data itself. Additionally, any network, which was hypothesized as relevant was added to the selection. It has to be understood that only the *formal* belonging to mostly *formal* organizations could be targeted. Several informal networks could be researched, though. Hence, a “network” is defined as part of the party-specific organizations, leagues, informal or formal alliances or any other forms of associations. The belonging to a network is given by the alliance or membership *before* the ministerial recruitment. In case the date of entry into a network is unknown or uncertain, the membership was considered.

For the SPÖ, the researched networks include the youth organizations (SJ, VSM, AKS, JG²²⁶), the students’ organization VSSTÖ, the association for academics, intellectuals, and artists BSA, the party’ sub-organizations (“Teilorganisationen”, which include the women’s organization, the economic association, the farmers’ association, and the retirees’ association), the involvement in the socialist union’s movement FSG or the union’s youth organization ÖGJ, the non-party organization *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring* (ÖBJR), the freemasons, the *Club 45*, the student fraternities, and party-affiliated interest groups of particular professions.

The selection of ÖVP-networks contain the *Schülerunion*, the Catholic student fraternities, the Catholic organizations of the *Katholische Aktion* (KJÖ, KJS, KHJ/KHG, KFB, KMB, KAV, KAB, KA itself), the leagues (ÖWB, ÖBB, ÖAAB), the party’ sub-organizations (“Teilorganisationen”; ÖFB, ÖSB, JVP), the conservative union’s movement (FCG) or the union’s youth organization, the conservative students’ parties, the academics’ organization (Ab), the *Reichsbund*, the non-party organization *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring* (ÖBJR), and party-affiliated interest groups of particular professions.

The networks in the FPÖ comprise the youth organization RFJ, the students’ organization RFS, the national student fraternities, the different employees’ organizations (FA, RFA,

²²⁶ I ask for understanding that the indication of the names of all the organizations is not possible here. Please see the List of Abbreviations or the party-specific chapters for further detail.

AUF), the economic association RFW, the farmers' association FBO, the different party-affiliated unions' factions like the *Freie Gewerkschaft Österreichs* (FGÖ) and the *Freie Exekutivgewerkschaft Österreichs* (FEG), the family association FFVÖ, the women's association IFF, the retirees' association ÖSR, the *Atterseekreis*, the *Straßburger Kreis*, the non-party organization *Österreichischer Bundesjugendring* (ÖBJR), the network around Jörg Haider *Bublerpartie*, and party-affiliated interest groups of particular professions. For the politicians of all parties, the attendance of schools during the upper-secondary level was researched in order to identify typical "elite schools" as the attendance of elite schools can work as networks as well. Additionally, the category "miscellaneous" in each party targeted the belonging to different relevant networks, which are each of minor relevance overall, though.

Other Relevant Factors

Apart from the execution of functions, there are other relevant factors, which could aid a political ascendancy and were researched by the following criteria: a relation of trust with the party leader, one was recruited by, a professional cooperation with the party leader (one was recruited by), a cooperation with a minister or a party leader one was not recruited by, the holding of positions in international organizations, counselling for the political parties as expert, and the participation in the party-affiliated expert groups *1400 Experts* (SPÖ), the *Aktion 20* (ÖVP), and the *Atterseekreis* (FPÖ). The criteria of the relation of trust and the professional cooperation with a party leader or a minister target social capital by knowing relevant actors. Counselling for parties or the belonging to expert groups target social capital – by being known to relevant players in the respective party – and cultural capital – by the status of being an expert. Also, the execution of posts in international organizations targets cultural capital by the specific knowledge acquired there, but could also represent a career path.

All of the named criteria always refer to the specific party a person was finally selected by. Hence, when a person nourished a relation of trust with a leader of a party, the person was not selected by, it was not counted, for example. In the case of the FPÖ, a relation of trust with the party leader in the 1980s, Norbert Steger, and with Jörg Haider who was mostly not party leader during the governmental participation of the FPÖ in the 2000s, but the centre of the party nevertheless, was investigated. A possible relation of trust is not known for all ministers. However, the research and analysis of this criterion might bear interesting insights. A relation of trust was only indicated as given, if it was indicated in the accessed sources or if the respective person directly worked in the staff of the recruiting party leader.

A professional cooperation with a party leader or a minister of the same party was counted as given, if the politician had worked for the party leader or for the minister, for example as assistant or councillor. State secretaries were also considered here, if they were attributed to ministers of the same party or to ministers who later became party leaders. It was also considered, when the state secretaries were located in the Federal Chancellery, when – in the case of the party leaders – the party leader was located there as well (as Vice or Federal Chancellor). This criterion aims to evaluate the importance of a personal relation – indicated by cooperation.

The category of counselling or expert activities for a minister or the party target external counselling of the parties by experts as well as expert activities in the form of a bureaucratic service.

Governmental Participation

The respective success in government was operationalized by the incumbency, which was computed to the exact month. Also, it was researched, whether politicians were recruited in another portfolio after the first governmental recruitment as these often represent further career advancements. Especially posts like the Vice or the Federal Chancellery are often attributed to politicians with ministerial experience. Hence, it will be interesting to see, whether further differences between females and males exist in their advancement *within* government. To apply to the criterion of a second or a third recruitment, however, the portfolio had to be *really different* than the one(s) before. For example, if the portfolio changed from “Science and Research” to “Education”, it did not apply. Also, the interim leading of a ministry was not considered.

The Represented Regions

The research criterion “territorial representation” (page 315) has already been ascertained. It is only indicated here again to underline that it not only targets the socio-geographical structure but also the sexed/gendered structure of the relevance of the regions in political recruitment processes in Austria.

The Competences of the Recruited

The competences of the recruited represent cultural capital in its incorporated form. Their definition and differentiation into several relevant dimensions was achieved by the involvement with the topic in general, but foremost by the evaluations of the respondents. The competences of the recruited can be split into specific knowledge for the portfolio, managerial abilities and political experience. The latter criterion is also tied to delegated political capital as by executing (party) political positions delegated political capital as well as political experience (i.e. cultural capital) is accumulated.

Specific Knowledge for the Portfolio

Specific knowledge was researched for the first portfolio taken over. The respective areas were identified by the actual name of the portfolios. If a portfolio was composed of several responsibilities, the major one was considered as the relevant one. For example, as concerns Transport, Innovation and Technology, specific knowledge for Transport was demanded. If the portfolio had several responsibilities, which pertained over about the same weight – such as concerns “Environment and Health” or “Family and Youth” – specific knowledge for one component sufficed to fulfil the criterion. The Vice Chancellors do not apply to the criterion: They do not need specific knowledge for their portfolio and were subtracted from the overall entities. The minor responsibilities, the Vice Chancellors are often attributed to, were not regarded.

Some portfolios are coined by a certain party group: In the SPÖ, for example, the ministers for Women’s Affairs all stem from the women’s organization and the ministers of Social Affairs are selected by the unions. In the ÖVP, this applies for the farmers’ league ÖBB and the Chamber of Agriculture and the economic league ÖWB and the Chamber of Economy for the respective ministries. The specific knowledge of those ministers is

secured by their involvement in the party group. For other ministries, the content-related qualification can be attained by an according education or by an involvement in the area of the portfolio in a private occupation or in politics. As concerns political activities, an involvement in a specific committee in the political arena or in a party or the more general commitment to the specific area of the portfolio were relevant conditions to fulfil the criterion. If one of the attained biographical sources or one of the interviewees characterized a person as an expert for the field (of the portfolio), this was valued as such. For the portfolio of Internal Affairs, an involvement in one of the areas, which constitute the Internal Affairs, was qualified as specific knowledge. This includes defence, questions of civil servants, and justice.

The problem as concerns the research of this criterion is that several things are not known, which especially pertains to a potential (informal) involvement in a topic. However, it is sufficiently covered, which is underlined by the fact that the great majority of the ministers could be qualified as pertaining over specific knowledge.

Managerial Abilities

For the qualification of managerial abilities, leading positions in a private occupation or in politics were relevant. As concerns private jobs, attorneys with their own law firm and physicians with their own medical practice were also included in the definition. In the political field, members of regional governments, leading secretaries in the national party, or heads of the cabinet fulfilled the criterion. State secretaries (cf. Müller/Philipp/Steininger 1988, 159), leading positions in youth organizations, and (party) political positions on district and town levels were excluded, though, as these functions are located below the threshold.

There were two limit cases: Michael Ausserwinkler was deputy mayor, chairperson of the parliamentary club of a town, and specialist for internal medicine. Ausserwinkler was finally qualified as pertaining over managerial abilities: Although each of the positions did not fulfil the criteria named above, the specific mixture of those qualified Ausserwinkler for this criterion. Stephan Koren was state secretary; as such he also led the economic section, though, which qualified him with respect to managerial abilities as well.

Political Experience

All politicians who had held more than one career position (apart from the networks) or had been delegates in the National Assembly prior to their governmental recruitment fulfilled the criterion.

Expert Knowledge

The politicians, who fall into the career patterns of cross-over and quickstarters (the politician type of the political alien or top dog), were specifically analyzed. Those were recruited because of their expert knowledge (which represents cultural capital), according to the literature. Hence, this had to be empirically researched, although the assessment of an expert status is difficult to conduct. First, the disposal over specific knowledge for the respective portfolio was investigated (see above). If the politicians did not fulfil the criterion of specific knowledge, they were not classified as experts either. The differentiation between “only” pertaining over specific knowledge and the status as an

expert was more difficult, in which case I proceeded as follows: If the specific knowledge was “only” acquired by a political involvement in the field and not by an according education or vocation, the expert status was denied. This applies to Christa Krammer (SPÖ), for example, who was Minister of Health, Sports and Consumer Protection: Krammer was employed as teacher and director in a school and was later member of a regional government with the responsibilities culture, health, and social affairs. Therefore, Krammer was classified as pertaining over specific knowledge, but was empirically denied the status of an expert. Rudolf Scholten (SPÖ) represents another case; he studied economics and occupied a leading position in the bank sector. Scholten was selected for the portfolio Education and Art. Although he was economic and cultural advisor in the cabinet and worked for two years as general secretary of the Federal Theatres, he would be an expert for economics, but not for arts or educational affairs. Sonja Moser (ÖVP) is the third example: She was a teacher as well and part of the town council in Tyrol, where she was involved in the areas school, culture, and family issues. She was recruited into the portfolio Youth and Family and can be hardly considered an expert. Finally, borderline cases were valued as experts.

(5) Organization of the Data: The Databases

For each party and the partyless, an excel database containing the respective ministers was set up. In the database, the biographical data for each minister was collected according to the researched variables. The four different databases differed in so far as the affiliated organizations of the respective parties or the party-internal structures and the hypotheses about the respective party or the partyless differed. The set-up of the databases can be described as a learning-by-doing process. The databases were continually changed and the final databases were products of a cumbersome and slow process. For each party I proceeded as follows: First, the general set of variables was adapted to the respective party or the partyless by amending hypotheses or dimensions of interests and by adapting the respective structure of the party. Then, the usefulness of every database was tested by filling in the biographical information of several persons and the database was changed accordingly.

The database contained a research dimension in each row, attributing zero (dimension not fulfilled) or one (dimension fulfilled) to each person. The respective value for each dimension was summed up at the end of the row. The sums of the values for each variable were collected and entered for the females, the males, and both sexes together, separately, in a new table. Additionally, there were also rows for notes as concerns, for example, not processed information like the occupation of the mother or the social class of the family. Hence, the databases did not only aim at the quantitative depiction of the (quantitatively and qualitatively reached) variables, but also presents a thorough biographical database.

(6) Classification System of the Data

As already mentioned before, it is crucial that the biographical information is classified in the same way for all persons under research. Hence, a systematic scheme as regards the classification of the empirical data was elaborated and devised in an extensive file. This concerns questions like which organizational functions should be counted or how social class should be determined. Reality is incredibly complex and confronted me with classificatory problems. Examples are the (past) structure of a specific organization or the existence of school forms in the past. These problems were solved by further research.

Among the sources were books and online sources, but also phone interviews or emails (e.g.: telephone interview with Oberstleutnant Kerschbaumer; telephone interview with Mr. Donner). Several things like the number of inhabitants of a certain place or the structure of the university studies was classified according to the relations today. The classification of the data was checked several times.

(7) Sources

The biographical data was mostly drawn from publicly attainable information. The first step was a thorough search of potential sources online, in libraries, archives, or other institutions like the ministries, in order to get an overview of where valuable data could be attained. The research strategy was twofold and comprehended a search for data as concerns specific persons (individual biographical information), as well as information as concerns specific variables – for data that was difficult to access – like, for example, regarding the membership in specific networks. If there was a case of conflicting information in two different sources, I either believed the qualitatively higher ranked source or conducted a further research concerning that specific information.

7.1. Individual Biographical Information

The core sources which were in use for all ministers are online sources and include the *Munzinger-Archiv Online*, *Hübners Who is Who in Austria*, the database on the website of the Austrian parliament containing the biographies of the Austrian MPs (Österreichisches Parlament), and – for the SPÖ-ministers – the *Lexikon of the Wiener Sozialdemokratie* (2005). Furthermore, individual web searches were carried out for all ministers, in which the name of a specific person was tied to the different terms biography, curriculum vitae and portrait²²⁷. Also, all entries in wikipedia, the database WBIS (World Biographical Information System Online), and in the online catalogue of the German National Library (“Deutsche Nationalbibliothek”) were looked up, as they contained literature references for many of the politicians.

Further biographical sources included analogue and digital sources and did not contain entries for all ministers. These represented (auto)biographies (e.g.: Stimmer 1996; Zilk 2007), (auto)biographical articles in books (e.g.: Bader 2004; Feigl 2000; Pelinka 2001; Weiß/Federspiel 1988; Rösslhumer/Appelt 2001; Schausberger 1995b) or edited books (e.g.: Dachs/Gerlich/Müller 1995b; Mahlich/Schwediwy 2008; Czernin 2004), and entries in biographical lexica or databases (e.g.: Ackerl/Weissensteiner 1992; Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie Online; Bayrische Akademie der Wissenschaften – Neue Deutsche Biographie; Amt der Oberösterreichischen Landesregierung; Landesmuseum Niederösterreich). Moreover, information about specific persons attained in the interviews was incorporated.

After this biographical research, the data basis was satisfying for 39 persons, which was decided by the quality of the attained sources. For the remaining 77 persons, a further biographical research was conducted. For these, the personal files, which contain collections of media articles of particular persons, were accessed (“Personenmappen”) from the Viennese library *Wien-Bibliothek*. For persons for whom the data was still considered as insufficient or for whom no files existed, information was searched in the

²²⁷ The search was carried out in German and the original terms were “Biographie”, “Lebenslauf” and “Porträt”.

database *Wiso Praxis / Presse*, containing media articles, the database *AOMWeb* of the Austrian Press Agency (APA), comprising media articles and party's press releases since the 1950s, and the *Österreichischer Amtskalender* (2007/2008; 2008/2010), holding the names of all office holders in the Second Republic. Lastly, lacking information concerning specific variables such as for example the marital status of a person was searched in the database *AOMWeb*, in the database *Wiso Praxis / Presse* and in a general online search.

7.2. Information Concerning Specific Variables

The research of information concerning specific variables largely appertains to a potential belonging to or the execution of functions in the networks under scrutiny, to attended elite schools or academies, and to a participation in the party-affiliated expert groups *1400 Experts* (SPÖ) or *Aktion 20* (ÖVP). Most of the accessed sources were related to potential memberships and the holding of positions in the researched networks. As concerns the latter, several research strategies were followed:

(1) All of the selected networks were directly addressed by email with a list of the ministers, asking them to identify the members and the past holders of positions in their organizations. Luckily, many of the organizations followed the request (e.g.: email-information of the ÖAAB 2009; email-information of the RFS 2009).

(2) Additional sources were accessed. These included books (Oberleitner 1981), articles in the journal *Acta Studentica* (1970-2009), articles in other journals or newspapers (e.g.: Piringner 2009), homepages, brochures, booklets or books occupied with the history of a specific organization, which also contained names of functionaries and members (e.g.: Toth 2001; Netzl 1993; Homepage of the BSA; Österreichischer Akademikerbund 2003), and online sources (e.g.: Steirischer Cartellverband 2007).

(3) The names of all persons were linked to each of the most important party-specific networks in an online search.

I was especially persistent in getting data about potential belongings to the most important networks for a political career. In the SPÖ, these include the students' organization VSSTÖ, the association for academics, intellectuals, and artists BSA, and the socialist union's movement FSG. In the case of the ÖVP, I was most interested in memberships in the Catholic student fraternities, the leagues (ÖWB, ÖBB, ÖAAB) and in the organizations of the *Katholische Aktion*, especially the Catholic students' organization KHJ/KHG. In the case of the FPÖ, these are the youth organization RFJ and the students' organization RFS²²⁸.

As concerns the elite schools and academies, the data about the attendance of schools during the upper-secondary level was completed by researching several elite schools specifically. Those elite schools were identified by the search for patterns in the biographical material (by researching the attendance of the upper-secondary level) and by the most relevant elite schools cited in the literature. Finally, the researched elite schools included: the *Schottengymnasium*, the *Kollegium Kalksburg*, the *Akademisches Gymnasium* (with its different locations), the *Theresianum*, the *Lycée Français*, the *Stiftsgymnasium Kremsmünster*, the *Stiftsgymnasium Seitenstetten*, the *Piaristengymnasium*, the *Hietzinger Gymnasium*, the *Jesuitenkolleg Maria Schein*, and the *Jesuitenkolleg Stella Matutina*. The attendance of two academies, the military academy *Theresianische Militärakademie* and the Diplomatic Academy, were also researched as they serve as "elite institutions" as well. Examples of valuable sources are an index of

²²⁸ Again, I ask for understanding, that I do not indicate all the organizations with their specific names. Please see the List of Abbreviations or the party-specific chapters for further detail.

graduates on a school's homepage (e.g.: Akademisches Gymnasium Salzburg 2009a; 2009b) or a school's anniversary book listing the prominent persons among the graduates (e.g.: Jung et al. 1997). For most elite schools, any sources were not available. Those schools were directly addressed by email, asking them to identify their graduates among the ministers. Most of them provided me with the requested data (e.g. email-information of the Altkalksburger Vereinigung 2009; email-information of the Theresianum Wien 2009). An example of a useful source with respect to the expert groups is Stockinger (1982), who refers to persons' names active in the ÖVP-expert group *Aktion 20*.

Overall, the data basis has to be considered as very good. The data as concerns several research dimensions like for example the information about the portfolio, the incumbency, the age, or the highest educational status are perfect. The data with regards to other research dimensions is assessed as very good. This concerns for example the marital status, the number of children or the occupation of the father, which were researchable for the great majority of the ministers. As concerns these variables, the missing cases were subtracted from the entities and the percentages values only refer to the number of known cases.

As concerns the holding of positions, the missing data is considered to be quite low. Also, I suppose that the higher positions held are rather known than functions in the lower ranks. Hence, the defects of the data as concerns the career positions are remedied through the qualitative classification of affiliations to party groups.

I suppose that most defects in the data represent positions and memberships in the researched networks. The investigation of those was a difficult endeavour and represents the major weakness. This weakness was specifically tackled by researching very thoroughly and persistently. By the strategy to address networks directly and/or to search for additional sources, it was possible to access many data sources. However, not every organization could be tackled with this strategy: Some organizations did not even have the requested information at their disposal or were unwilling to share it. For others, any publicly attainable information about their members and functionaries was not available. After all, researching memberships in networks is always a difficult endeavour and would have been difficult to access in personal surveys or interviews as well, as many people tend to be hesitant to pass this kind of information. After all, the data concerning the networks is very good, but still has to be assessed prudently.

The criteria political attitude of the family members and a potential relation of trust with the party leader are difficult to evaluate in so far, as non-political relatives or the non-existence of a relation of personal trust are not indicated in sources. The data concerning these two variables is surely not complete, but can indicate interesting trends.

Overall, it has to be outlined that information is lacking in the publicly attainable biographical information about the ministers. However, I tried to keep the missing data as low as possible by a very thorough research. In conclusion, the research strategy is valuable for the following reasons: (1) The decision to attain – mostly – publicly attainable information had the advantage of containing information for *all* ministers. Whereas, for example, biographical interviews would have only been possible with ministers who are still alive, which only applies to 78 of the 116 persons under scrutiny (representing about 67 %), *and* who would have been willing to give an interview (also considering the quite advanced age of many persons). (2) Due to the thorough research, the missing data quota is as low to be negligible in the comparative analysis of aggregate data between women and men. Moreover, (3) the minor chinks as concerns political positions are annihilated by the qualitative classification of political careers, in which only the most important positions of the respective persons are considered. (4) It perfectly serves the aim of the analysis,

namely identifying patterns and regularities in the comparison of aggregate data between women and men. (5) The quantity and quality of information is equal for both groups to be compared, women and men. (6) The data situation will be openly revealed and considered in the course of the interpretation. Overall, I think, this empirical undertaking is a very valuable contribution to the research field.

(8) Control

At last, I went through all the copied and compiled biographical information again and checked the data I had filled in, the indicated dates of the respective incumbencies, the classifications that had been made and the further handling of the data in the databases.

(9) The Final Analysis

After the biographical research was completed, a mostly quantitative analysis of the aggregate data followed: As already ascertained, the quantitatively as well as the qualitatively attained variables were entered into the database in a quantitative way. The respective sums as concerns the research variables attained by females, males and both together were presented according to the respective party or the partyless and for all ministers altogether in according tables. The employed percentage values always referred to the specific entity under scrutiny (e.g. all females of a party, all males of a party, or both together), in order to detect the differences and similarities of the different groups in the aggregate data.

Although the involved entities for the specific parties are partly low (for example, only 13 persons overall were analyzed for the FPÖ), the percentage values are needed in order to comparatively analyze females and males. I tackled this problem with two strategies: Firstly, whenever low entities are involved, the nominal values are presented in the text or in a table as well. Secondly, the percentage values were only prudently interpreted. The percentage values almost always refer to the entity of all persons in the group and not only to those, for which the criteria applied. For example, the distribution of fields of studies refers to all ministers and not only to the students of the party. This is because, firstly, the analysis aimed to show the proportion of *all* ministers, for which a specific criterion applies, and secondly, the comparison between the different parties would have become too complicated, otherwise. The percentage values are rounded off, which is why the percentage values do not always sum up to 100 %.

A qualitative analysis amended the research: For example, the common traits of the quickstarters or the cross-over recruitments were qualitatively analyzed on the basis of the extensive biographical database.

II. Expert Interviews

(1) Why Interviews?

Literature about sex/gender differences in political recruitment in Austria is practically non-existent and literature about recruitment processes to the Austrian government in

general is scarce and, for a large part, already quite old. Hence, interviews with party experts were useful in order to get knowledge and personal evaluations about these processes in general and were more specifically used to map the (sexed/gendered) power relations (i.e. the holding of political capital and the structure of relations of forces) between the different agents within each party.

(2) Literature Review

There is a lot of literature on interviews, but very few works that were really helpful for the research process. Meuser/Nagel's work on expert interviews (2005/2002) is one of them. I followed their recommendations for the most part. Apart from that, the classic book of Dexter (2006/1970) on elite interviews and in that book, especially the article of Dean/Whyte (2006/1970) proved to be useful. Burnham et al. (2004) delivered a good book as well, especially the chapter about "Elite Interviewing", which includes pragmatic considerations like the number of interviews, dressing or the time needed for transcribing. In the branch of elite interviews, Lilleker (2003) provides for a very pragmatic, useful account, also. Lastly, Flick (2007/1995) and Mayer (2002) supplied for good, more general insights.

(3) Qualitative Expert Interviews with Episodic Elements

In this work, semi-structured qualitative expert interviews with episodic elements were conducted. An episodic interview is a combination of a semi-structured and a narrative interview, which invites a number of shorter stories. This interview form presumes that interviewees have two kinds of knowledge: narrative-episodic knowledge with memories of specific events and knowledge about patterns and typical features, which is a generalization of individual experiences. Hence, this type of interview is a combination of abstract knowledge and narrative stories (Lamnek 2005, 362). As the narrative elements in the conducted interviews took a minor part in comparison to the expert knowledge, I named the used interview form "qualitative expert interviews with episodic elements". An interview can be fully structured/standardized, semi-structured or unstructured. A strongly structured interview comprises formulated questions asked in a strict chronology, whereas an unstandardized interview is only based upon a few formulated topics and completely free in its order (Burnham et al. 2004, 205). A semi-structured qualitative interview contains a questionnaire with formulated questions or topics (Mayer 2002, 36). According to Burnham et al. (2004, 212), semi-structured interviews do not have any common format, but vary very much in their degree of structure. Nevertheless, Burnham et al. (2004, 212-213) make three propositions: First of all, the questionnaire should contain a list of topics that shall be covered in the interview. Secondly, these topics need to be prioritized. And thirdly, the interviewer should not impose too rigid a framework on the interview, as qualitative interviewing requires listening carefully in order to understand the worlds of the interviewees.

The aim of expert interviews is not an individual analysis but the comparison of different evaluations and different "*pictures of the world of the informants*" (Dean/Whyte 2006/1970, 101). The shared and antagonistic opinions of the experts are depicted and illustrated by typical quotes (Meuser/Nagel 2005/2002, 80). Interviewees are less interesting as individuals with personal, subjective biographies, but as persons in specific functions or positions with specific knowledge (Mayer 2002, 37).

All interviews were “open”, which is a premise, according to Mayer (2002, 36-37): Probing by the interviewer is allowed and the topics of the questionnaire can be covered in a non-chronological manner (Mayer 2002, 36). The interviewer shall not stick too strongly to the questionnaire and shall not cut off the remarks and narrations of the interviewees in the wrong moment, but guide the interviewee back to the area of interest, if necessary. It has to be acknowledged that an interview is a process of communication and a social relation between two persons, which determines the attained results for a large part (Lamnek 2005, 335). According to Meuser/Nagel (2005/2002, 78), it is the questionnaire that secures the openness of the interview. Because the interviewer knows the subjects of interests, (s)he can lead an open, loose conversation and gently gear the conversation around the topics of interests. Hence, the questionnaire serves as a tool for orientation in the interviews (Mayer 2002, 36) and secures the comparability of the interviews at the same time (Dean/Whyte 2006/1970, 101).

(4) The Number of Interviews & Identifying the Interviewees

Burnham et al. (2004, 208) recommend 20 to 30 interviews, if interviewing is the principal method, which is not the case in this work. Kronberger (2009) recommends 15 to 25 interviews for single researchers. In this work, 15 interviews with 16 interviewees were conducted.

As statistical representativity and sampling, which is in the foreground in quantitative research, do not buy in qualitative research, the strategy of selection was to purposefully select experts (Bauer 2009) according to the following criteria:

(1) *Expert knowledge*: Firstly, party leaders were considered as persons with the most valuable expert knowledge, as they are the angle point in recruitment processes and decisive for these in all three parties. Hence, it was tried to interview all party leaders of those still alive except for the latter governmental period of the FPÖ because Haider was the central angle point in the recruitment processes. Secondly, ministers were addressed. To secure that only ministers with valuable knowledge were approached, I proceeded as follows: All partyless ministers were excluded. Then, all ministers who were part of more than two governmental periods as ministers or state secretaries were classified as “highly interesting”; those who experienced two cabinets were categorized as “interesting”; the rest was excluded as potential interviewees. Thirdly, all interviewees were asked to identify further experts (snowballing) (Burnham et al. 2004, 207); their expert knowledge is secured by the naming of other experts.

(2) *To equally cover the different party leaders during the governmental periods of the parties*: The party leaders are crucial for the recruitment processes. Hence, at least two persons with expert knowledge should be interviewed for each party leadership. This includes, in the case of the SPÖ, the governmental periods under Kreisky (1970-1983), Sinowatz (1983-1986²²⁹), Vranitzky (1986-1997), and Klima (1997-2000). For the ÖVP, it applies to the governmental participation under Klaus (1966-1970), Mock (1979-1989), Riegler (1989-1991), Busek (1991-1995), and Schüssel (1995-2007). The FPÖ had a frequent change of party leaders during its governmental participation in the 2000s. However, its focal point was still its former party leader Haider. Hence, Steger (1980-1986) and Haider (2000-2006) shall be covered for the governmental participation of the FPÖ. All (potential) interviewees were clustered along their expert knowledge for the

²²⁹ Although Sinowatz was party leader until 1988, he was not Federal Chancellor anymore since 1986, but Vranitzky. It was Vranitzky who was the central angle point in the recruitment processes in these years, which is why it is indicated here accordingly.

different party leaderships. The time-specificity of their expert knowledge was secured by specifically asking them in the interviews.

(3) People disposing over *expert knowledge for several party leaderships* were preferred to people having expert knowledge for only one party leadership.

(4) Of all the interviewed experts for a party, *at least one woman* should be interviewed.

(5) Contacting the Interviewees

The first interviewees were contacted in written form, either by letter or email. The text contained a short description of my research, the request for an interview and my contact details. The private or business addresses or email addresses of the interviewees were researched via google. Where nothing was found, the party offices were approached and asked for contact information or to forward the request. One interviewee was approached at a book presentation. The experts identified by snowballing were mostly approached by phone and by email. Most interviewees had to be contacted in different ways and several times. The majority responded to it and were willing to give an interview.

(6) The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was created in November 2008. Its formulation was guided by the hitherto understanding, the hypotheses, and the topics of interest (Meuser/Nagel 2005/2002, 82). I tried to avoid too long a questionnaire, as it leads to too long interview times, to too much empirical data, and encloses the risk to only quickly run through the interview (Mayer 2002, 43). The questions were formulated in an open, not closed way (Flick 2007/1995, 222). I set up one principal questionnaire, which was altered to the specific parties and to the specific party leaderships, the interviewees should be interviewed. A colleague checked the final version. To secure expert knowledge, all experts were only asked about their own party. However, if they passed on knowledge about other parties, it was evaluated as such as well.

After the first interview, several things in the questionnaire were changed. I worked out the questions more clearly once again and amended several ones. However, after the second interview, I realized that the questionnaire was too long and hence shortened it. After the third interview, finally, I reorganized the sequence of the topics without changing any of the content. The topics were now ordered in a prioritized way: The questions in the beginning were classified as “indispensable”, those in the end as “desirable”. Hence, after the third interview a finalized version of the questionnaire existed. Nevertheless, several minor things were changed again over the course of the following interviews. When interviewees brought things up that interested me, I asked for them in the following interviews as well.

The questionnaire primarily contained questions targeting expert knowledge. Only the first question aimed at an episodic element: When the interviewees had been ministers before, they were asked about the events of their own selection as (state secretary and as) minister. This question proved to be a good opener for the interview situation, really. The other episodic elements of the interviews were not specifically targeted: The interviewees were confronted with questions, targeting their expert knowledge. The interviewees communicated their knowledge and evaluations and most of them illustrated their statements with specific examples of recruited ministers.

The final version of the questionnaire (in German) is enclosed in Appendix 2. The major structure of the questionnaire roughly was as follows:

- How was your own selection? [in case, the respondent was minister her- or himself]
- For which governmental periods do you have expert knowledge?
- How do the recruitment processes in the party work?
- Which party-internal agents and typical recruitment pools can be identified? How can the power distribution between the party-internal groups be characterized? Has this changed?
- Can you identify differences between the recruitment practices of the different party leaders? If so, which? Have the party leaders fulfilled their role in the recruitment process differently?
- Can you locate external influences on the recruitment processes like the media or the coalition partner? Has this changed?
- Can you identify changes in the recruitment processes from 1966 to 2006?
- Portfolios:
 - Which are the most important portfolios? Has this changed?
 - Do recruitment processes for more and less important portfolios differ?
 - Do recruitment processes for the various portfolios differ?
 - Are there differences as concerns the involved agents for the recruitment of different portfolios?
 - Are the recruitment mechanisms for the staffing at the beginning of a governmental period distinct from the filling of a ministerial job in the middle of a governmental period?
- Over which resources should a candidate dispose? What are the recruiters looking for when considering different candidates? Has this changed?
- Sex/gender:
 - Which are the biggest hurdles in becoming a female minister?
 - Does sex/gender play a role in recruitment?
 - Which differences can be identified for the staffing of men and women?
 - On which factors does it depend, if women are purposefully selected?

(7) The Conduct of the Interviews

There is a plethora of books on the proper conduct of interviews. In my case, Burnham et al. (2004) and Hermanns (2003/2000) have proved as very useful works as concerns pragmatic considerations. All interviews were conducted by me and were held in German. The interview duration was between 30 and 90 minutes. I set up a date and a location with the interviewees – mostly by phone, sometimes by email. Most of the time, the interviewees named a location, mostly their current office or a café. If the interviewees wished so, I sent them the questionnaire by email in advance. Before the interview, I took a quick look at the CV and a photo of the interviewees, if possible.

At the beginning of the meeting I shortly explained my PhD topic. All respondents agreed to recording the interview and most of them gave their approval to be personally named and quoted in the thesis. Several interviewees asked for different things: Some wanted to see the transcript; others just wanted to approve “their” quotes in cases where they were quoted by name, whereas others were interested in the finished report. I tried to comply with all the met agreements. All interviewees were willing to meet again, if further questions arose. Contact details – mostly the telephone numbers and sometimes email-addresses – were exchanged.

For the first interviews, I memorized the questionnaire by heart. It served as a tool for orientation to know what really interested *me*, and to make me feel *safe* during the first interviews: If I was nervous or had a complete black out, I had something to look on for the next topic. But normally, as I had learnt the questionnaire by heart, I knew exactly, which topics still had to be covered and could thereby gently gear the interview. The questionnaire was followed in a non-chronological way. For the first two questions I tried to stimulate narration and open the interview situation for the interviewee in a pleasant way. Indeed, especially the first question proved to be a good introductory question, with which the interviewees were at ease. If possible, questions were rather asked in an open than in a closed manner, Yes-or-No-questions were rather avoided and I tried to use a clear language (Hermanns 2003/2000). I showed interest by verbal and non-verbal gestures to stimulate the person to talk (Lamnek 2005, 340). Foremost, I listened well. Also, probing was employed: If something seemed of interest, I posed further questions. Sometimes I summarized the respondent's view to check whether I had understood the respondent's view correctly (Hermanns 2003/2000). At the end of each interview, all respondents were asked if there are any important aspects of the topic, which have not been discussed so far (Burnham et al. 2004, 215). After the interviews, I took notes about the success of the interview and about other things that came to my mind. In some interviews, I was under time pressure because of the schedule of the interviewees. Nevertheless, all of them gave me forty minutes at least, which was *enough*. All interviews were successful in the sense that the conversation evolved around the topics of interest (Flick 2007/1995, 217). Only one interviewee declared not to be an expert in the beginning, but finally had valuable things to tell and knowledge to share. Overall, all interviews went really well.

(8) Transcription

As concerns the system of transcription, I followed Meuser/Nagel (2005/2002), who state that a complex transcription system is not necessary for expert interviews. In the beginning of the document, the interviewee, the date, and the location were noted. Not the whole interview is transcribed, but only the useful passages. Only what was said was put into words. Hence, pauses, the pitch of voices or non-verbal or paralinguistic attributes were not transcribed, as they are not the object of the analysis (Meuser/Nagel 2005/2002, 83). If the respondent and the interviewer briefly talked simultaneously, the spoken words were depicted in their logical order. Utterances like "mhm" or "ähm" were not regarded in the transcription. The different accents of the respondents were not considered, everything was written down in "Classical German" ("Hochdeutsch") as opposed to the interviewees' dialects, except for specific words, which cannot be easily "translated" into German. The punctuation was conventionally used. The **questions** posed or the topics were represented bold. Names were underlined and looked up later. (Remarks) were put into brackets, underlined and introduced with the note "remark". [Incomprehensible words] were either put into special brackets or into (normal) ones and represented underlined. If a paragraph was not transcribed or paraphrased, the covered topic was briefly summarized and underlined. If whole sentences were omitted in the transcription of a paragraph, this was depicted by this sign: [...]. If only words were omitted, this sign (...) was used. Sentences, which seemed to be good quotes, were outlined as **bold**. If a certain word was emphasized and if it seemed important contentswise, it was represented in CAPITAL LETTERS. Numbers were put down following the common sense. If the sentence was faded out, this was depicted with three dots: ...

(9) Interpretation of the Interviews

For the interpretation of the interviews, I employed Meuser/Nagel's (2005/2002) method and only modified it in minor details. It is suitable for the interpretation of 20 to 30 interviews (Meuser/Nagel 2005/2002, 71-72). The aim of the comparison of the interviews is to draw up the shared and antagonistic views of the experts (Mayer 2002, 46) concerning one topic, which are dispersed in different passages of the interviews (Meuser/Nagel 2005/2002, 81). The analysis was conducted in German; only the finalized interpretation was translated into English. The whole interpretation process was carried out in Word.

At the beginning, the interpretation process concerns the single interviews: The first step is the transcription of the interviews. The second step is paraphrasing as the first measure to condense the material: The content is summarized in one's own words. What the interviewee felt, thought, judged, etc is written down. The decision, which passages of the interview are transcribed and which are paraphrased results from the research question(s). The aim is to reproduce the contents of the interview in its chronological course by relying on common sense. The length of the respective paraphrase depends on its relevance. I transcribed most parts of the interviews first and paraphrased only some passages. When the transcript was finalized, the irrelevant passages were deleted and most transcribed passages were paraphrased in order to shorten and condense the text. The third step is to create headlines for the paraphrased passages, alluding to the treated topics. One passage can be supplied with different headlines or topics at the same time. The headlines should be formulated close to the interviewees' words. The chronological sequence within paraphrased passages can be broken up. Then the order of the conversation is broken up and reorganized: Passages with the same or similar topics are pieced together. For those, a headline is formulated, which summarizes the contents of all of the subsumed passages. The system of topics and sub-topics evolved from the interviews. Nevertheless, it was quite similar to the topics of the questionnaire, which only means that the interviews were successful in the sense that the respondents spoke about the topics they were asked about. If it seemed necessary, the paraphrases were controlled against the original transcript before breaking up the chronological sequence. Passages which were unclear to me in their context were listened to again on the tape.

The fourth step is the comparison across the interviews for the specific parties. Before the texts were pieced together, the individual interviews were referenced. Passages of different interviews treating the same or similar topics were put together. The shared and antagonistic views concerning one theme were carved out. The headlines were harmonized. The attribution of the interview passages to different topics was continually controlled. Then, I went through the document again and again, shortened the text, reordered the passages or attributed them to different headlines, created new headlines and deleted others in order to condense the text as much as possible. Following this, I went through the document in order to consider the time frames of the expert knowledge of the different persons. Mostly, though, the interviewees spoke about the time frame they had expert knowledge for.

After having finished this step of piecing together the interview passages for the different parties, I set up a document in which all interview passages were compiled that dealt with matters concerning all parties. This step was not included in Meuser/Nagel's (2005/2002) procedure and represents the fifth one. In this stage, I repeated the fourth step for the "all-party-matters" and additionally compared the party-specific results against each other to carve out the more general traits of political recruitment.

The sixth step includes the sociological conceptualization: Only now a detachment of the texts and of the terminology of the interviewees takes place: The different views

concerning one topic are put in the formulation of a category. The interviews are linked to sociological terms and theories. The seventh step concerns the theoretical generalization; the categories are linked to theoretical concepts and directed into theory building (cf. Meuser/Nagel 2005/2002, 83-86, 88-90).

After the interpretation process of the interviews was finished, the passages were translated into English, the translation was controlled against the German version, and then the interview passages were incorporated into the specific chapters.

As references, the respondents are almost always referred to under the specific numbers, which were allocated to each person (e.g. IP 6). Only in case the identity of the interviewee could have been guessed anyway, the concerned passage was supplied with the real name of the interviewee and – in case the respective respondent had wished so – authorized.

III. Statistical Calculations

A part of the attained biographical quantitative data was further processed by several statistical calculations in SPSS.

(1) Concerning the Political Career

In order to help me identify which career positions or which career institutions are typically correlated in the course of a party-specific career and form typical career paths, I carried out several statistical calculations in SPSS: For each party, the number of held career positions in the respective career institutions was used to perform a factor analysis and a bivariate correlation (using the correlation coefficient Kendall tau-b).

Additionally, a dichotomic record indicating, whether a person had positions in a party-specific career institution (attributed with value “1”) or not (value “0”) was used to calculate a second correlation (using the correlation coefficient Phi and Cramér’s V) for every party. The investigated variables included all career institutions, in which the ministers of the respective party had held functions. The results of the different calculations helped me to pre-structure, which positions are typically interwoven in the course of a party-specific political career, and were tied to the interview results and the findings in the literature to carve out career types.

(2) Concerning the Social Structure

Several variables of the social structure, namely the attained education during the upper-secondary level, the highest educational attainment, and the number of children were correlated with the sex belonging of all ministers in SPSS by using the correlation coefficient Pearson.

IV. Case Studies

The case studies are used to illustrate each career path in the different parties with a female and a male example – if any females respectively males are among them – in a qualitative

manner. They depict individual biographies and are thus selected that they represent typical features of the whole group.

The selection of the examples was as follows: From all the females and males who followed the career path in question, the case studies were selected according to the following criteria: (1) The entities were narrowed down to the interesting and “typical” examples. (2) The case studies should cover all party leaders in about the proportion to their own governmental time. For example, party leaders who were in government twenty years and selected thirty ministers should be represented with more examples than party leaders in office for two years who recruited four governmental members. (3) Lastly, the disposal over interesting material was a criterion.

The sources of the case studies built the biographical data base, which was also supplied with notes as for example about the social background. Parallel to the biographical research process, I collected notes, interesting quotes from the literature, and the episodic passages of the interviews for every person in party-specific files.

The case studies are presented in a rather short manner. Hence, the biographical data is of course a selection. Also, it has to be outlined that only biographical information until the first governmental recruitment of the ministers was of interest and collected. Therefore, the data presented in the case studies also follows this logic. The information given in the case studies was controlled.

V. Data Analysis of the Cabinets

The data analysis of the cabinets was employed in order to analyze and depict the state and the development of the representation of females and males in government and to evaluate several hypotheses. The analysis is depicted in Chapter 3.

The starting point of the data analysis of the Austrian governments was a database set up in excel, containing the information about all ministers and state secretaries of each cabinet since 1945 as concerns the name, the party belonging, the sex, the portfolio, the position (as minister or state secretary), and the terms of office. The researched time frame of this thesis covers the period of time between 1966 and 2006. However, the data sets in with 1945 in order to be able to convey the representation of females and males in government during the Second Republic. Several sources (Österreichischer Amtskalender 2007/2008; Müller 2006e, 170; Bundeskanzleramt Österreich 2004-2009; Österreichisches Parlament 2008a; Österreich Journal 2002) were employed for the set-up of the database. This database was the basis for the subsequent calculations and overviews.

The empirical endeavour employed largely quantitative, but also qualitative means. It will be differentiated in the following according to whether the quantitative representation of females and males or the sexed/gendered distribution of portfolios was analyzed.

(1) The Analysis of the Quantitative Representation of Females and Males

(1) First of all, all female and male ministers from 1945 to 2006 were counted per cabinet (and specified according to party belonging for later purposes) in order to analyze the quantitative representation of females and males and their change.

(2) The thus reached values of female quantitative representation were compared against the shares of females represented in the National Assembly from 1945 to 2006. The numbers concerning the female MPs are available on the homepage of the Austrian parliament (Österreichisches Parlament 2008b). The target date always was the beginning

of a legislative period. In order to be able to compare the proportions of females in the National Assembly and in government, I proceeded as follows: In years with a new government but without elections and, hence, without a “new” parliament, I took the female proportion of the “former” parliament *again*. Hence, the numbers for the National Assembly are “doubled” in some years; they are represented with grey shading in the according table (Table 2).

(3) Then, I counted all female and male ministers and state secretaries per cabinet from 1966 to 2006. I proceeded as such to be able to analyze the development of female representation as concerns ministers and state secretaries as a whole. More importantly, though, I wanted to explore the hypothesis that the availability of governmental posts and the representation of females are directly proportionally linked. The number of governmental posts was only low as concerns the ministerial positions, though. Hence, the enhanced values through the inclusion of the state secretaries improved the data basis, on which the exploration of the hypothesis relied: I subsequently explored whether the share of females present in government was positively linked to, firstly, minority and majority governments, and, secondly, directly proportionally linked to the size of governmental positions.

(4) Furthermore, the shares of females and males were analyzed for each party in a cabinet- and a person-oriented approach to compare the scale of female representation between the parties: The former presents the party-specific proportions of females and males per cabinet and thus represents the party-specific version of the counting method already explained under point (1) here. The latter considers all females and males who were part of the government between 1966 and 2006 only once – even if they were governmental members several times.

Thus, whereas the person-oriented counting approach was only subject here under point (4), the cabinet-oriented approach was used in all points. For this counting method, the following things have to be clarified:

- The federal and vice chancellors were counted as ministerial positions.
- The holding of two ministries or the redistribution of portfolios on the same level (as minister or state secretary *again*) with the *same* person were not regarded.
- For the entity of “ministers and state secretaries”, the “double appearance” of persons as ministers and state secretaries was rectified. Hence, the numbers do not represent simple sums of “ministers” and “state secretaries”.
- In the provisional cabinet of Renner (1945), the “state secretaries” correspond to ministerial positions and the “under state secretaries” correspond to the positions of state secretaries today and are counted as such.
- All values were rounded off.

Although the nominal values of the entities are sometimes low, percentage values are employed because they are needed in order to depict the state and the development of female and male representation in government and in the different political parties. This problem was thus tackled that (1) the nominal values are always indicated as well, (2) the interpretation of the percentage values was very carefully handled, and (3) the state secretaries were included for the exploration of a hypothesis in order to enlarge the concerned entities.

(2) The Analysis of the Sexed/Gendered Distribution of the Portfolios

The portfolio allocation to females and males between 1966 and 2006 was analyzed in order (1) to evaluate whether women are disadvantaged as concerns the qualitative representation, i.e. the attribution to portfolios in terms of power, and whether the typical attribution of a portfolio to a specific sex, its traditional sexed/gendered definition, and its power status are linked (“the weak female/feminine ministries”, for example), (2) to establish differences in the qualitative representation of females between the different political parties, and (3) to evaluate whether women are rather recruited into newly built ministries.

As concerns the first and second endeavour, the analysis of the portfolio allocation followed the rules below: (1) The composition of the ministries was identified by the actual given name. (2) The take-over of a portfolio for only a short period of time – i.e. interim – was not considered. (3) When the responsibilities of the portfolio were reordered and the ministry was thus renamed shortly after the beginning of the governmental period, the original responsibilities were not regarded.

Then, the evaluations of the interviewees as concerns the power status of the portfolios were interpreted and summarized in order to identify the sexed/gendered structures of portfolio allocation in terms of power.

Appendix 2: The Interview Questionnaire²³⁰

[Wenn die/der Befragte selbst MinisterIn war:] GESCHICHTE DER EIGENEN REKRUTIERUNG

Würden Sie bitte die Geschichte Ihrer eigenen Rekrutierung als Minister erzählen?

ABFRAGE DES EXPERTENWISSENS

Welche Regierungsperioden können Sie im Detail überblicken?

EINSTIEGSFRAGE

Wie funktionieren **Entscheidungsprozesse für die Besetzung von Ministerien in der ...** [jeweilige Partei abfragen], wie laufen sie ab?

AKTEURE / MACHTVERTEILUNG

Wer bzw. welche **Parteigruppen/-gliederungen oder Akteure** müssen bei Personalentscheidungen für die Ministerämter in der Partei berücksichtigt werden? Wer hat in diesen Entscheidungsprozessen etwas zu sagen und wer nicht? Inwiefern? Hat es Ihrer Meinung nach **Veränderungen** bei den beteiligten Akteuren bzw. bei der Machtverteilung in der Partei? Wenn ja, welche?

- Gibt es ihrer Meinung nach **typische Rekrutierungsschienen**?
- Gibt es ihrer Meinung nach **Seilschaften** in der Partei, in denen eine Mitgliedschaft für eine spätere Rekrutierung förderlich ist?
- Wie ist die **Machtverteilung unter den Landesorganisationen** bei der Rekrutierung?

SPEZIFISCHE REKRUTIERUNGEN UNTER DEN PARTEIVORSITZENDEN

- Können Sie für die Minister-Rekrutierungen unter den verschiedenen Parteivorsitzenden bestimmte **Rekrutierungsmuster** identifizieren?
- Wie haben die jeweiligen Parteivorsitzenden ihre **Rolle** in den Postenbesetzungs-Diskussionen ausgefüllt?
- Wie wurden die jeweiligen Parteivorsitzenden jeweils **rekrutiert**?

KONTEXT

- Gibt es auch **externe Faktoren**, die Entscheidungsprozesse beeinflussen können? Wenn ja, welche? (z.B. Medien, Koalitionspartner etc.)

VERÄNDERUNGEN

- Sind Ihrer Meinung nach **Veränderungen** bei den Entscheidungsprozessen für die Besetzungen von Bundesregierungen feststellbar? Wenn ja, welche? Warum?

RESSORTS

- Gibt es **Unterschiede**, wie die Entscheidungsprozesse für die **unterschiedlichen Ressorts** ablaufen? Wenn ja, welche?
Hat sich das verändert? Wenn ja, inwiefern?
- Gibt es **Unterschiede** zwischen den Ressorts was die **beteiligten Akteure** und Parteigruppen betrifft, die mitentscheiden? Wenn ja, welche? Warum?
Hat sich das verändert? Wenn ja, inwiefern? Warum?
- Was sind Ihrer Meinung nach die **zentralsten Ressorts**?

²³⁰ The interview questionnaire was revised several times. This is the final version.

- Gibt es Ihrer Meinung nach **Unterschiede bei Rekrutierungen für machtzentralere und machtf fernere Ressorts**? Wenn ja, welche?

NEUBESETZUNG / NACHBESETZUNG

Gibt es **Unterschiede** bei den Entscheidungsprozessen für eine Besetzung eines Ministeriums zu Beginn einer Bundesregierung, also eine **Neubesetzung**, und einer **Nachbesetzung** in der laufenden Legislaturperiode? Wenn ja, welche?

RESSOURCEN DER KANDIDATINNEN

Was ist Ihrer Meinung nach **für eine Rekrutierung in ein Ministeramt besonders förderlich**? Welche Ressourcen sollte ein Kandidat mitbringen?

GESCHLECHT

- Spielt die **Geschlechtszugehörigkeit** Ihrer Meinung nach eine Rolle in den Personalentscheidungen für die Ministerien? Sehen Sie **Unterschiede** in den Personalentscheidungen zwischen Männern und Frauen? Wenn ja, welche?
- Wovon hängt Ihrer Meinung nach ab, ob **gezielt Frauen** in die Regierung geholt werden?
- Wo würden Sie sagen, liegen die **größten Hindernisse für Frauen** für eine Rekrutierung in ein Ministeramt?

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English Abstract

This thesis examines the sex/gender relations in the political recruitment processes of females and males to the Austrian government from 1966 to 2006. These are clearly characterized by inequality, setting women at a disadvantage. Through the (methodical) comparison of females and males, the unequal sex/gender relations of power that are inherent in the political field and also manifest themselves in political recruitment processes can be carved out. Political recruitment processes are analytically differentiated into the perspective of the selectors and of the recruited: The processes of selection are mainly determined – as is argued – by the power relations within each party, which harbour sexed/gendered structures. As concerns the recruited, the (sexed/gendered) disposition over capital and other forms of resources is relevant and thus analyzed. Additionally, the social structure of the female and male ministers as well as the sex/gender-specific structure *in* government is explored. The latter concerns the quantitative and qualitative representation of females and males in government, whereby the qualitative representation refers to the attribution of the portfolios, which differ in terms of power, to females and males. In the analysis, every dimension of political recruitment is scrutinized with respect to sex/gender relations in order to identify the differences between females and males in political recruitment processes.

To investigate the named dimensions, several methods were employed: A biographical analysis (a prosopography) was undertaken to compare the biographical data of the female and male ministers. Expert interviews, several calculations in SPSS, a data analysis of the Austrian governments in the selected timeframe, and selected case studies complement the array of the methodical tools used.

German Abstract

Diese Dissertation befasst sich mit Geschlechterverhältnissen in den Rekrutierungsprozessen von Frauen und Männern in die österreichische Regierung von 1966 bis 2006. Diese sind durch Ungleichheit charakterisiert, die Frauen strukturell benachteiligen. Durch den (methodischen) Vergleich von Frauen und Männern können diese geschlechtsspezifischen Machtstrukturen, die dem politischen Feld inhärent sind und sich auch in politischen Rekrutierungsprozessen manifestieren, aufgedeckt werden. Politische Rekrutierungsprozesse werden analytisch in die Perspektive der Selektoren und der Rekrutierten getrennt: Die Selektionsprozesse sind hauptsächlich – wie in der Arbeit argumentiert wird – durch die Machtverhältnisse in den Parteien charakterisiert, die geschlechtsspezifische Strukturen aufweisen. Der Begriff der Kapitalien kommt vor allem auf der Seite der Rekrutierten zu tragen: Die (geschlechtsspezifische) Disposition über Kapitalien und andere Ressourcen ist für eine politische Karriere relevant und wird analysiert. Außerdem werden die Sozialstruktur der weiblichen und männlichen MinisterInnen und die geschlechtsspezifischen Strukturen *in* der Regierung untersucht. Die letzte Dimension rekurriert auf die quantitative und qualitative Repräsentation von Frauen und Männern in der Regierung, wobei die qualitative Repräsentation auf die Verteilung der Ministerien, die sich in ihrer Machtposition unterscheiden, auf Frauen und Männer zielt. In der Analyse wird jede Dimension von politischer Rekrutierung auf ihre geschlechtsspezifischen Strukturen hin durchleuchtet, um die Unterschiede zwischen Frauen und Männern in politischen Rekrutierungsprozessen herauszuarbeiten. Um die genannten Dimensionen zu analysieren, gelangten einige Methoden zur Anwendung: Eine biographische Analyse (eine Prosopographie) wurde unternommen, um die biographischen Daten von weiblichen und männlichen Ministern zu vergleichen. ExpertInneninterviews, einige Kalkulationen in SPSS, eine Datenanalyse zu den österreichischen Regierungen und selektierte Fallstudien ergänzen das Spektrum an verwendeten methodischen Werkzeugen.

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- 2002/03 *Julius-Raab-Stipendium der Österreichischen Wirtschaftskammer*

sprachen

Deutsch: in Wort und Schrift, ausgezeichnet

Englisch: in Wort und Schrift, ausgezeichnet

Französisch: in Wort und Schrift, sehr gut

software

Microsoft Office

SPSS

Atlas.ti

Nvivo