

## Part-time work: the co-production of a contested employment model for women in Austria and internationally, 1950s to 1980s

Veronika Helfert

**To cite this article:** Veronika Helfert (2023) Part-time work: the co-production of a contested employment model for women in Austria and internationally, 1950s to 1980s, Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe, 31:2, 363-383, DOI: [10.1080/25739638.2023.2227519](https://doi.org/10.1080/25739638.2023.2227519)

**To link to this article:** <https://doi.org/10.1080/25739638.2023.2227519>



© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.



Published online: 06 Jul 2023.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 79



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



## Part-time work: the co-production of a contested employment model for women in Austria and internationally, 1950s to 1980s

Veronika Helfert

Department of Gender Studies, Department of History, Central European University, Vienna, Austria

### ABSTRACT

In 2022, every second employed woman in Austria worked part-time, while only 12.6 percent of men did so. In more affluent countries, part-time work has evolved from a special form of employment to a gendered norm in the past six decades, whereas in state-socialist and post-state-socialist Europe, this model of women's employment played a much less pronounced role historically. Albeit contested, part-time work has been a concern of women trade unionists since the 1950s. This article examines the emergence and evolution of an important trend in the history of women's work from a multi-level perspective. It explores how women activists in the ICFTU, the ILO and in Austria dealt with part-time work as a method of harmonizing women's unpaid and paid work. Collaboration with the ILO played an important role in Austrian developments, and Austrian activists aimed to impact on international decision-making. Furthermore, the article shows the rather hidden role women civil servants played in generating knowledge on the topic. This analysis of the evolution of the gendered norm of part-time work and its contestation contributes to recent research on shifts in reproductive arrangements and gender relations in the second half of the twentieth century.

### KEYWORDS

Labour activism; Austria; part-time work; International Labour Organization (ILO); International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU); double burden

The most recent data on female employment in Austria reveals the existence of a gendered employment model: part-time work. In 2022, half of all employed women worked part-time, compared to only 12.6 percent of men (Statistik Austria 2022). In the 1960s, the percentage of all persons, men and women, engaged in part-time paid work was in the single digits, and the model was even more marginal before then. This article explores how this employment model came about and uses a transnational perspective to trace the development of debates on part-time work from the post-war period to the late 1980s. It was only between the late 1950s and 1970s that part-time work was established as a regular form of employment for women and subsequently gained ground. Consequently, this article focuses on this formative period.

**CONTACT** Veronika Helfert  [helfertv@ceu.edu](mailto:helfertv@ceu.edu)  Department of Gender Studies, Department of History, Central European University, Quellenstrasse 51, Vienna A-1100, Austria

© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

Analysing the phenomenon of part-time work also proves to be instructive because the topic is directly related to economic conditions and family-political notions. While this topic has received very little attention in historical scholarship to date, the case of part-time work has been addressed in the most recent scholarship on the history of gendered (paid and unpaid) labour relations (Betti et al. 2022; Cobble 2021; Berrebi-Hoffmann et al. 2019). This scholarship has confirmed the continuing dominance of a specific socio-economic gendered arrangement that preserves care work as the exclusive domain of women – despite growing efforts to promote part-time work as a gender-neutral alternative for working parents, which is in line with a similar trend of increased emphasis on equality in gender and labour arrangements rather than protective measures (Ricciardi 2019).

As I will show, from the 1950s onwards, trade union women, together with conservative and progressive parties alike, acknowledged that part-time employment for mothers allowed women to reconcile their paid labour with their unpaid domestic work. Attention to this aspect of the discussion enables us to move beyond the conceptualization of part-time work as an employment model only for middle-class married women who chose it because of their “desire to earn extra money” (von Oertzen 1999). Part-time work was part of a broader debate on household labour and its economic value already well before the 1970s, which are commonly understood as the crucial period when feminist activists were rethinking labour relations (e.g. Boris 2019b).

Using the case of Austria, this multilevel analysis explores not only how international and national developments in industrialized countries were intertwined but also reveals that the activism of some labour women played on multiple scales and, consequently, that they were closely involved in the production of this gendered employment relation. Women trade unionists and civil servants active on both the national and supranational levels played a key role in standardizing legislation and policies. Especially from the 1970s onwards, a decade marked by social democratic reform politics (Mesner 2020), women bureaucrats within the Austrian Ministry of Social Affairs exerted influence through the production of knowledge (e.g. through surveys) and their function as mediators between state institutions, international organizations, and the labour movement.

One result of this multilevel analysis, based on an extensive body of sources,<sup>1</sup> is a three-phase chronology of the development of part-time work, which is used to structure this article. In the first section, which focuses on the period from the end of the Second World War to the beginning of the 1960s, I show how part-time work as a model of employment for women, notably those with family responsibilities, became the subject of policies and sociological research on the international level. In the post-war period, but especially in the 1950s, industrialized countries contemplated adopting part-time work as a strategy to mobilize women to join the labour force. Their deliberations were mirrored in the first debates on part-time work that took place within the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). In the second section, I explore how the preparatory work for the 48th International Labour Conference in 1964 and the ILO Recommendation No. 123 “Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities)” in 1965 initiated an intensive phase of trade union, political, and sociological discussion in Austria, which primarily revolved around questions of standardization and the recognition of part-time work under labour and social security laws. This period was also characterized by the lobbying efforts of ICFTU women from the Joint

ICFTU/ITS (International Trade Secretariats) Consultative Committee on Women Workers' Questions (hereafter: ICFTU/ITS Women's Committee) in the ILO, as well as in-depth knowledge production concerning the issue on the international and national level.<sup>2</sup> In the final section, I cautiously outline how, beginning with the recession in the mid 1970s, part-time work was discussed primarily in connection with economic and social shifts. Trade union women on the national and international level interpreted the increasing numbers of women working part-time as the result of the economic crisis, which produced unwanted side effects including women's loss of the right to full-time employment – a right trade union women, especially those aligned with the social democratic labour movement, historically had put at the forefront of their agenda. Despite the outspoken opposition of many labour women within the ICFTU and the Austrian Trade Union Federation (ÖGB), part-time employment became an integral topic in debates on women's employment and work-life balance during the UN Decade of Women (1975–1985), highlighting its emerging significance on the global scale. Ultimately, the growing importance of women's part-time work triggered a second wave of legal instruments both in Austria and internationally, culminating in the ILO's Part-Time Work Convention No. 175 in 1994.

## **The invention of part-time work, C.A. 1945–1963**

### ***Part-time work as an emerging topic internationally***

Women's employment was one of the most pressing concerns of the post-war period. As Wobbe, Höroldt, and Bussmann (2019) have explained, the issue developed within a dramatically transformed global landscape in which women were an essential part of the labour force. For ILO and UN experts, the increasing share of married women in the labour market of Western industrialized countries led to discussions about part-time work as one of the most pressing issues, as illustrated by the UN Resolution "*Accès de la femme à la vie économique: travail à temps partiel pour les femmes*" (1952) (ILO 1956, 8–9). The attention to part-time employment as a new labour market policy instrument, especially in highly industrialized countries in Western Europe (de Groot 2022; von Oertzen 1999), was part of an overall preoccupation with wage-earning mothers (Zimmermann *Forthcoming*). Furthermore, as German historian Christine von Oertzen has stressed, after its "naturalization" in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it became "a central turning point in the immediate post-war period" (von Oertzen 2000, 82).

There was a tension between the ILO policies on the employment of women, demands for women's equality, and the need for special protections for working women (Boris 2019a, 1–14). For the most part, the position of women in the organization itself was marginal even though a Correspondence Committee on Women's Work had been established already in the 1930s. After World War Two, efforts to establish a panel on women's work in the ILO continued. Experts on women's work met throughout the 1950s (in 1951 and 1956), and the tripartite Panel of Consultants on Problems of Women Workers met for the first time in October 1959 (Neunsinger 2018, 128). The latter was a key player in formulating policies for the UN Commission on the Status of Women. The ICFTU/ITS Women's Committee, in turn, sought to influence votes within the ILO, as I will show regarding the instruments targeting labour

standards for part-time work. The history of the ICFTU/ITS Women's Committee's women's politics within the International Confederation of Trade Unions had a similar trajectory. An International Committee of Trade Union Women was established by the ICFTU's predecessor, the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) in 1924, but it was restrained by the IFTU leadership in 1937–1938 (Zimmermann 2021, Chpt. 11). Re-established in 1957, the ICFTU/ITS Women's Committee continued its work proposing policies ICFTU members could put forward in the ILO Workers' Group. It was a "powerfully knit group," according to Richards (2018, 150). One of the key players in this group was Rosa Weber, the head of the ÖGB women's department and a member of parliament. The Austrian trade unionist represented (women) workers' interests within ILO and ICFTU committees, notably in her capacity as Chair of the ILO Workers' Group in 1964.

While the ICFTU Women's Committee became active in tackling the issue of women's part-time work only in response to ILO initiatives (ICFTU 1957), the latter launched several studies on the issue to understand how widespread the phenomenon of women's part-time work was, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of this model of employment. "Combining Work and Home Life," it was noted during the first session of the ILO Panel of Consultants on Problems of Women Workers, and "helping them [women; VH] to make their best contribution to economic and family life, is perhaps the crux of the next phase of social policy related to women workers" (ILO 1959).<sup>3</sup> The first step to enact policies in the field was the production of solid and comprehensive knowledge, a position widely shared by many involved in labour politics at the time. The discussion during a meeting of experts on women's work that took place within the ILO in November 1956 provides insight into the main concerns, especially for workers' representatives. Primarily, they argued that it was necessary to explore different interpretations of part-time work to arrive at reliable figures and then be able to formulate a common standard. It was also necessary to understand why and under what conditions women would choose to take up part-time work, which also meant less wages, i.e. the need to explore the different motivations behind the decision to work part-time. The experts of the panel asserted that financial reasoning was behind women's choice to take up part-time work, including raising their family's standard of living (vacations, household items, cars) and providing better educational opportunities for their children. But the panel also noted occupational reasons such as the fear of losing skills and wasting professional qualifications while staying at home; married women's desire to be independent and create a professional life for themselves; or the need to escape from the monotony and isolation of housework (ILO 1956, 11–16). The panel's deliberations indicate that the idea that women's gainful employment generated supplementary or secondary income and the goal of mobilizing women who were not yet – or no longer – in the labour force stood at the core of debates.

The reasons for directing women to part-time jobs advanced by employers and economists included the limited availability of full-time jobs in certain professions, or the need to use part-time workers to cover irregular labour-intensive periods (ILO 1956, 11–16). Part-time work was understood as one way to mobilize the labour reserves booming post-war economies desperately needed; another would be the recruitment of migrant workers (Afonso 2019). This assessment was supported by an investigation the ICFTU/ITS Women's Committee undertook at the request of the ILO. Some organizations, such as the West German Trade Union Confederation (DGB), indeed highlighted the

increased demand for women to be engaged as part-time workers during the economic boom period (ICFTU 1961).

While the report of the 1956 ILO meeting detailed the advantages of part-time work for employees and employers alike, the feared disadvantages outlined by trade union women were numerous: a heightened dependence on part-time jobs brought with it the risk of these workers being the first to be terminated in periods of economic contraction (e.g. general economic downturns or off-season fluctuations); financial disadvantages (i.e. certain expenses such as travel costs are the same for full-time and part-time workers, while the latter's wages are lower; lower social benefits for part-time workers); and the elevated threat of workplace abuse and pressure (ILO 1956, 28–30). However, women trade unionists did not present a united front on the issue. Representatives of the ICFTU were critical of part-time work – they even expressed “violent” opposition (ILO 1956, 36), whereas the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions understood part-time or half-time work as a reasonable strategy to combine work and family, with the stipulation that working conditions should be strictly controlled to prevent full-time workers from having to meet unfair expectations uncritically adopted from the experience of part-time workers. As will be discussed further below, the Austrian case also shows how trade union women aligned with the conservative party in the late 1960s and 1970s supported part-time work as a suitable employment model for women and continuously urged the adoption of labour laws regulating part-time employment especially, but not exclusively, for white-collar jobs.

The meeting of experts concluded that in order to avoid the “creation of a special category of women workers with inferior working conditions,” the disadvantages for women should be reduced through the enactment of various legal measures and demanded that full-time positions should be protected, particularly in times of increased unemployment. Moreover, it was emphasized that a general reduction in working hours; the promotion of social measures to support women with children such as school canteens or state childcare; and the promotion of part-time work for women and men alike would be desirable (ILO 1956, 58–60).<sup>4</sup>

### ***International women's experts and international labour policies as triggers of the Austrian debate***

While part-time employment received considerable and increasing attention at the international level – although it was discussed predominantly in the context of Western labour politics, an analysis of debates among Austrian trade unionists reveals that the topic was fairly marginal in the 1950s. This can be explained by three contributing factors: Austrian women trade unionists were part of the decisions within the ICFTU and supported the latter's overall hesitation to treat part-time work as a pressing issue related to women's work; the share of women engaged in gainful employment was higher in Austria than in other West European countries, but their incomes were lower, which leads me to conclude that fewer women could afford to relinquish a part of their salary; and last but not least, the dominance of a specific Catholic-conservative model of family policies was shared by the conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) and the Socialist Party (SPÖ) alike, and they aimed to solve the “dilemma of child care and employment” by helping women with small children stay at home (Mesner 2006, 186). Measures such as the

relatively extensive – compared to other industrialized countries – maternity leave (previously employed women were paid a maternity allowance for one year since 1960) and child benefits bolstered these policies.

Very few labour women called for half-day employment for mothers to ease their workload. In this early period, part-time work was primarily discussed as an instrument to create better job opportunities for elderly women, a position possibly adapted from similar discussions at the ILO (e.g. ÖGB-Frauenabteilung 1955, motion no. 42). The asynchrony of attention paid to the topic becomes apparent when analysing the discussions at the women's congresses of the Austrian Trade Union Federation. It was mainly the international (West European) experts – but no trade union activists – invited to give keynote lectures who addressed part-time employment as one of the most pressing issues for modern working women. At a congress in 1959, A. J. Schellekens-Ligthart, a Dutch sociologist (University of Utrecht) and expert on women's work, emphasized the topicality of the issue: "Trade unions, for their part, will have to take this into account," she said, stressing that measures such as "half-day work, kindergartens, improved vacation arrangements and the like" would become more important to "married women" than conventional trade union demands such as "a high wage" or "a good pension scheme" (ÖGB-Frauenabteilung 1959, 111). Schellekens-Linhart drew on the debate within the Netherlands, a country with a low percentage of women employed and where – although also controversial – part-time work had been promoted among women since the 1950s (de Groot 2022).

In the years that followed, international experts researching women's work continued to initiate discussions on the topic of part-time work at congresses, notably the German educational scientist in 1963 (ÖGB-Frauenabteilung 1963); the Vienna-born, British sociologist Viola Klein in 1967 (ÖGB-Frauenabteilung 1967); and officer for Women's Affairs in the OECD Denise Lecoultre in 1975 (ÖGB-Frauenabteilung 1975). They shared their experiences in countries like Great Britain, Germany, and France and discussed part-time work as an attractive option to ease the challenges of everyday life. By doing so, they referred to their own and current research, most prominently the 1956 study published by Viola Klein and Swedish labour politician and sociologist Alva Myrdal entitled "Women's Two Roles: Home and Work," which became a bestseller and was translated into several languages (Mattes 2008, 217–218). Klein and Myrdal described three phases in the working life of women: a period of wage work was followed by a period of child rearing, and then a return to wage work in the third phase. Part-time employment in the second phase could, thus, not only compensate for financial hardship but also encourage women to choose sustainable vocational training in the first phase to ease problems re-entering the job market in the third (Klein and Myrdal 1956). With this theory, the two presented an alternative to the male employment biography, the latter of which had served as the model for legal frameworks and labour policies. However, this conceptualization of a specifically female employment biography did not fundamentally oppose the norm of the man as family breadwinner and the woman as the primary caregiver, relying on a network of family and friends and/or care facilities to look after the children during their (short) working hours.

The preoccupation with part-time work at the international level and in other countries triggered a more in-depth study of the topic in Austria. In line with the aforementioned need to acquire reliable data, and in preparation for what would be discussed under the

title “Women in a Changing World” at the 1964 International Labour Conference, in 1962 the ILO asked member countries to answer a questionnaire on the subject. The Ministry of Social Affairs in Vienna invited employers’ and employees’ associations to cooperate in responding to the questionnaire. Almost all the letters responding to the ministry’s request from different regional branches of ÖGB and the Chamber of Labour (Arbeiterkammer, AK) bemoaned the lack of statistical data available. Nevertheless, they estimated that service occupations such as hairdressers’ assistants and cleaning personnel working the early or the late shift were particularly affected by the emergence of part-time employment (AK 1962b). The Women’s Department of the Vienna Chamber of Labour rejected part-time work in very strong terms. It stated that women’s part-time work offered neither a genuine nor a sustainable solution to the problem of the double burden as women accepting part-time employment: “Are not interested in regular professional work and, in many cases, discredit women as workers, since they often have little work discipline or sense of solidarity with the rest of their colleagues and, moreover, are completely uninterested in the work itself” (AK 1962a). While such an attitude was also visible in ILO and ICFTU sources, it was more vigorously expressed by Austrian trade unionists.

At a meeting of the Social Policy Committee at the AK Vienna, however, the decision was made to not “take a strictly negative stance on part-time employment, but a more flexible one.” This transpired despite the problems expressed by women members of the committee as for example by textile unionist and Secretary of Women’s Affairs of the Social Democratic Party Gertrude Wondrack. The committee concluded that in some occupational categories especially within the production sector, trade union and Chamber of Labour representatives should insist on banning part-time work completely; in other sectors where it seemed appropriate, it should be regulated by contractual arrangements made in consultation with the relevant union (AK 1962b).

One of the unions that represented such an employment sector was the Union of Private Sector Employees (GPA). In 1962, Maria Gutberger, the head of the GPA women’s department, acknowledged that there was an increasing demand for half-day employment expressed by many women, and even though “opinions on the issue differed in trade union circles,” it needed to be addressed because the lack of any regulation made part-time workers vulnerable (GPA 1962, 4–5). This position was not dominant within the trade union movement, which became especially apparent at the 1963 ÖGB Women’s Congress. Maria Schleger from the Food and Beverage Workers Union warned against the harm done by “women half-day workers” who only work to “satisfy all kinds of personal needs” (ÖGB-Frauenabteilung 1963, 106). Herta Winkler, a delegate from the Styrian Women’s Committee, pointed out that part-time workers would drive up the piece rate. But it was not only in relation to industrial work that women trade unionists warned against giving legitimacy to part-time work. Winkler noted additionally, “female civil servants who pursue their profession for reasons of livelihood bear the heaviest concerns, especially with regard to opportunities for advancement” (ÖGB-Frauenabteilung 1963, 114). Indeed, the issue was a “hot potato” (*heißes Eisen*), as Rosa Weber had put it in her closing remarks – an issue she would have preferred to avoid had it not been triggered by the keynote lecture of Elfriede Höhn (ÖGB-Frauenabteilung 1963, 181). This was a strategy Weber and other trade union women already deployed unsuccessfully within the ICFTU. Nevertheless, the



ÖGB Women's Congress included a paragraph on part-time work in its resolution implicitly amplifying the decision of the Chamber of Labour from the previous year: "Collective agreements would also have to provide that part-time work does not jeopardize the labour law achievements of full-time workers and that part-time workers are assured social protection" (ÖGB-Frauenabteilung 1963, 255).

## **Struggles for and against the standardisation of part-time work, C.A. 1964–1975**

### ***Futile resistance on the national and international levels***

At the meetings of the ILO's Governing Body in the 1950s and early 1960s, part-time work was discussed as one of the wide range of problems faced by women in the labour market, and further research was encouraged – a conclusion that was drawn throughout the entire period of examination by nearly every organization involved (see, for instance, also ICFTU 1963). In 1964, the 48th Session of the International Labour Conference adopted resolutions that would shape the policies of the ILO and its member states in the years that followed.<sup>5</sup> This led to the adoption of ILO Recommendation No. 123, "Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities)" in 1965, which aimed to "encourage and facilitate the development of appropriate policies and services directed towards enabling women with family responsibilities who need or choose to work outside their homes to do so without being subject to discrimination" (ILO 1964, 18). Looking back at the 1965 conference in 1968, ILO women's officer Elizabeth Johnstone (1968, 103) came to the understanding that "clearly, the status of women in the economic field is closely related to their status in other fields," and that the political and social conditions of women with family responsibilities directly influenced their economic opportunities. Historians like Cobble (2021) have shown that the relatively prominent treatment of the specific problems of women workers in the ILO was a consequence of pressure and lobbying by women labour activists from both sides of the Iron Curtain. Although part-time work was discussed widely among women representatives at the ILO, Cobble (2021, 376) found that "the Committee on Women Workers bowed to the powerful Workers' Group" and did not include part-time work in Recommendation No. 123. US representative Esther Peterson denounced retaining the norm of full-time employment as a reflection of "old ways of thinking" (as quoted in Cobble 2021, 376). The Workers' Group's resistance to the inclusion of part-time work in a recommendation dealing with women's questions was, in fact, the result of the lobbying of the ICFTU/ITS Women's Committee. It urged ICFTU-affiliated organizations to send women to the ILO Conference in Geneva (ICFTU 1964b) and to support Rosa Weber and others as representatives of their position vis-à-vis part-time work. A memorandum to the Workers Group stated: "The Committee considers that the question of part-time work [. . .], should not be included in a recommendation on the employment of women with family responsibilities." Instead, it recommended adopting a resolution directed towards both men and women at a later time (ICFTU 1964a, 5).

Nevertheless, even though the ICFTU/ITS Women's Committee "was firmly opposed" to incorporating part-time work into the Recommendation No. 123 (ICFTU 1965, 1), it adopted a more flexible approach in the years to come, "to see if it can really contribute

to solving the problems of women with family responsibilities.” At the same time, the committee continued to draw attention “to the possible long-term consequences of the introduction or encouragement of any part-time work not backed by all the necessary guarantees” (ICFTU 1965, 2).

A similar conflict over the statutory recognition of part-time work played out in Austria, very likely triggered and influenced by the international debate. Leading Austrian trade union women like Rosa Weber were involved in ICFTU policy formulation and were able to wield considerable influence over decisions within the ICFTU/ITS Women’s Committee; moreover, the preparatory work for ILO instruments and their subsequent adoption fuelled activities within Austrian labour and state institutions, although social democratic trade unionists were reluctant to address and, even more so, to promote anything less than full-time employment (with paid maternity leave as an option). Austria had a higher proportion of women engaged in wage work than other industrialized countries. In 1960, for example, the share of employed women among all employed persons was 35.8 percent in Austria, only 33 percent in Western Europe, but 42 percent in Eastern Europe excluding the Soviet Union (as quoted in Zimmermann *Forthcoming*). By the 1960s, Austria began recruiting migrant labour and developing policies to draw even more women into the labour force. This was accompanied by a vigorous campaign for the recognition of part-time work and its legal regulation, which was launched by women trade unionists from the conservative trade union faction *Fraktion Christlicher Gewerkschafter* (FCG) and the conservative interest group of workers and employees *Österreichischer Arbeiter- und Angestelltenbund* (ÖAAB). Johanna Jamnegg, a long-standing member of the Styrian parliament for the ÖVP and a member of the FCG, emphasized the desire of many women to reduce the burden caused by gainful employment, declaring that “part-time work” was “a genuine need of women” (*ÖGB-Frauenabteilung* 1967, 86). This position became a central element of ÖVP politics, which stressed women’s freedom of choice: “This means that, on the one hand, the mother’s child-rearing function must be recognized by society and, on the other hand, appropriate facilities such as kindergartens and part-time employment must be available to a sufficient extent” (*Österreichische Volkspartei* 1972).

In 1966, Grete Rehor, a distinguished FCG-trade unionist, became the minister of social affairs in the conservative ÖVP government (1966–1970). Among other things, Rehor tackled the passage of a separate act governing part-time employment, an important concern that she understood “in terms of both family and social policy” (AK 1968b). This effort was met with strong opposition from the SPÖ, social democratic trade union women, and the Chamber of Labour. In an internal report concerning a March 1968 meeting hosted by the Ministry of Social Affairs in preparation for the law, Edith Krebs, the long-time women’s officer of the Vienna Chamber of Labour, drew an extremely negative portrait of the proposed law (AK 1968a). AK and ÖGB continued to promote their position – in line with the ICFTU/ITS Women’s Committee – that issues related to part-time work should be regulated primarily through collective bargaining and isolated reforms focused on the implementation of labour and social safeguards recommended by the ILO. How seriously the Chamber of Labour took the issue can also be observed in the fact that the Women’s Department decided to investigate other countries’ experiences with part-time work. In October 1965, a study group, armed with a questionnaire,

travelled to England and the Federal Republic of Germany (Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Wien 1965, 327–328).

At the same time, individual unions tried to use the courts to take legal action against the practice of part-time contracts; for example, the Trade, Transport, and Traffic Union (HTV) lost a case against the food and coffee retailer Meinel before the Supreme Court in 1963. The court ruled that “no one can be forced to work normal hours” (AK 1964). Overall, by the 1960s it was no longer an outlier that part-time work was in demand among some women and also promoted by regional labour offices (e.g. Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Wien 1967, 307), which regularly caused problems for the courts. Is a typist who works part-time during the week subject to the Salaried Employees Act and, thus, entitled to the corresponding social benefits? Does the statutory minimum wage also apply to a domestic servant who lives in their employers’ household but performs other activities on the side? Is the cleaning woman who is employed for only a few hours a week entitled to a housing allowance? On what basis is the vacation pay of a textile worker who regularly works less than the normal working hours calculated? (BMfSA n.d.). Even though there was disagreement as to whether these problems had to be solved on a statutory basis or could be resolved through collective agreements, Grete Rehor’s initiative for a stand-alone law failed, and her party soon lost control of the government.

However, the ÖVP and their affiliated trade unionists continued to work on the issue. In 1971, a legislative initiative formulated by ÖVP MPs Marga Hubinek and Walter Schwimmer was introduced in the new SPÖ government. This proposal eventually led to negotiations between the two parties. This controversial debate about the question of the legal regulation of part-time work in Austria was reported back to the ILO, which emphasized the importance of the public’s awareness of the “statutory provision of part-time employment and for the conditions of part-time workers” (International Labour Office 1973, 26).

Despite objections from prominent female trade unionists such as Maria Metzker, the negotiations came to a head in 1974/75. “It is a tremendous imposition on women to say: work part-time, then it will be easier for you to take care of your family duties!” Metzker indignantly asserted in a parliamentary debate (ÖNR 1975, 14661). One of the objections she and her party colleagues expressed was the fear that adopting a stand-alone law would institutionalize the equation of part-time work with women’s work (ÖNR 1974). Part-time work was, as labour women argued, primarily chosen as a strategy to combine unpaid care work and wage labour. The demand for these kind of jobs, therefore, would decline if working women could rely on care facilities. This was the hope of the Chamber of Labour as well (AK 1972a, 6), which stressed that it would not object to any law “as long as part-time work is a form of work for both men and women and remains within certain limits [. . .] since it can often provide career continuity for women with young children” (AK 1972b).

The adoption of a “Law on the Inclusion of Part-Time Employees in the Salaried Employees Act” (Federal Law Gazette No. 418/1975) on 3 July 1975 fell short of what FCG-trade unionists and ÖVP women had hoped for as it was restricted to white collar workers. But it overhauled several regulations that disadvantaged part-time employees. It can be assumed that the SPÖ had given up its opposition in the case of white collar workers due to the position taken by the Union of Private Employees, which had, with reference to the ILO, asked for the inclusion of part-time workers in the Salaried Employees Act since 1966

(GPA 1966, 3): "It's not about whether we like part-time work or not [...] it's about dealing with the issue objectively and dealing with it in a way that is as fair as possible to both full-time workers and part-time workers" (GPA 1966).

### ***Knowledge production on part-time work as a subject related to national administration and governance***

One of the characteristics of social democratic reform policies that took shape in many European countries in the 1970s was the goal of pursuing progressive modernization policies from within the state (Fulla 2020). State institutions and governance became part of a social reform movement, thus, moving beyond a conceptualization of activism defined primarily as a movement from below directed against the state. The alliance between activists and "femocrats" was a characteristic of women's politics in many European countries, for example, France and Sweden (Neunsinger 2018; Östberg 2020), and it played an important role in the international arenas of the UN and the European Economic Community (Wobbe and Biermann 2009, Chpt. 4; Wobbe, Höroldt, and Bussmann 2019). The dealings around part-time work in Austria in the second half of the 1960s and the 1970s fit this broader interpretation, with the addendum that they already played an important role under the conservative Minister Grete Rehor, who as a former trade unionist, also gave part-time work and women's work an institutional framework in her ministry. The Ministry of Social Affairs – led by Rehor (1966–1970) and then by the Social Democratic trade unionist Rudolf Häuser (1970–1976) – served as a site where labour-related agendas were negotiated. Founded in 1968, the Committee for Questions of Women's Labour Market Participation (Unterausschuß für arbeitsmarktpolitische Angelegenheiten der Frauen) of the Advisory Council for Labour Market Policy served as a meeting point between civil servants (such as Irmgard Probst), officials in regional labour offices (for example, Ottilie Kritisch), representatives of the Chambers of Labour (Edith Krebs), Agricultural Labour (Ottilie Kreuzer) as well as Commerce, and, of course, trade unionists and members of parliament. Thus, in a meeting of the committee held in October 1969, measures to promote women's employment were negotiated, among them part-time work. To encourage part-time employment, there was a proposal to prepare a list of enterprises that already offered part-time jobs and make this list available to labour offices. Furthermore, some of the committee members reported on "interesting experiments," for example by the UNILEVER company in Lower Austria, which successfully employed "women on a daily and hourly basis according to their individual possibilities." Other companies "set up additional shifts for housewives from 5 to 10 p.m. to cover the labour shortage" (BMFSV 1970).

Another body, the Advisory Council of Economic Affairs, established a Working Group on Part-time Employment. It consisted of members of parliament, external experts unaffiliated with government agencies, and representatives of the labour movement. Among them were labour women active in the field of part-time work nationally and internationally: Chamber of Labour official Edith Krebs, and two social democratic trade unionists and members of parliament, namely Hertha Firnberg and Rosa Weber (Beirat für Wirtschaftsfragen 1968). The Working Group initiated two studies around 1967/68 through the Statistical Office of the Federal Chamber of Commerce and the Institute for Empirical Social Research (ifes, Institut

für empirische Sozialforschung). The study conducted by ifes was based on 1,777 interviews with women and 506 interviews with men. Among the interviewed women, 19 percent of those employed and 44 percent of non-employed women would accept part-time work; 7 percent had already worked part time. The men participating in the study were mostly opposed to the idea of their wives taking a job outside the home, with only 8 percent in favour of part-time work. The negative image of working mothers within society was mirrored in the responses of the men interviewed, but it was also a concern many women expressed. Besides that, respondents indicated that commute times of over half an hour would significantly reduce their willingness to take a part-time job (Beirat für Wirtschaftsfragen 1968; Report on Part-Time Employment 1968).

While the ifes study made valuable insights into the motivations behind and attitudes towards part-time employment (including the views of women related to when part-time employment is worthwhile in terms of practical and financial issues), studies in the late 1960s and 1970s lamented that reliable statistical conclusions were hard to come by. Similarly, the 1973 ILO survey underlined the unreliability of collected data and the blanks that could not be filled. For instance, there was only very limited data available concerning to what extent part-time employment meant double employment (ILO 1973, 6). The 1972 micro-census in Austria allowed for a more precise understanding of the situation (still without filling in all the blanks). Although only a few years had passed between the studies conducted in preparation for Grete Rehor's legislative initiative in 1968 and the micro-census in 1972, the share of part-time workers (especially women) in the economy had increased significantly: from 12.7 percent in 1969 to 15.5 percent in 1972 (AK 1974). This development was in line with overall trends in economically developed countries, as an ILO survey from 1973 revealed (International Labour Office 1973, 4–5).

The Austrian micro-census defined part-time work as an activity that takes place during a freely agreed upon, regular, and weekly working time of between fourteen and thirty-six hours. Additionally, the micro-census provided good insight into occupational groups for which part-time employment played a particularly important role: teachers and educators, administrative auxiliary professions, housekeepers and domestic servants, and retail personnel. The occupational structure of employed women tells a similar story. While 28 percent of women working part time were employed in service professions, only 16 percent of women working full time could be found in the service sector. In contrast, while 24 percent of women who worked full time had a job in a production occupation, the percentage of women working in the sector part time was only 13 percent. Not surprisingly, the micro-census found that it was mostly women between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-four who worked part time, whereas women under twenty-four worked predominantly in full-time jobs (AK 1974). The age structure in Austria shows that part-time work was indeed a form of employment for women in what Klein and Myrdal (1956) defined as the second phase of women's working lives. But part-time work remained a significant factor for older women as well, which probably hints at the problems women confronted when re-entering the workforce after the phase of child-rearing had ended. This additionally illustrates the lack of good employment options for women above the age of fifty. It is no surprise that part-time employment played a far greater role in some occupational groups than in others. As a result, since the late 1960s, trade unions such as the Union of Private Sector Employees became much more active in

tackling issues related to part-time workers, while others such as the unions of metalworkers or textile workers have tended to emphasize the protection of full-time employment.

Knowledge production was a necessary instrument to prepare legislative innovations and enforce political programs. Enquiries on an international level had the potential to bring attention to the topic on the national level. They also provided insight into the “marked increase” (International Labour Office 1973, 4) of an employment model that trade union women aligned with the social democratic labour movement were quite conflicted about. Although it was still a phenomenon largely relegated to the industrialized countries of the West, the ILO report on part-time employment observed that state-socialist countries such as Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania made an “increased effort to enlarge part-time employment opportunities during the last ten years in order to meet the needs and desires of pensioners, students and women with young children” (International Labour Office 1973, 4).

### **Part-time work as a new alternative employment model, 1975 to the 1980s**

From the mid-1970s on, part-time work became *the* alternative gendered employment model for working mothers with small children in Austria and internationally. The UN Decade of Women gave the issue additional weight. On all scales of activism explored in the preceding pages, part-time work remained an ongoing issue of debate and negotiation, as various motions and reform proposals were repeatedly put forward in trade union meetings and in parliamentary work. Leading civil clerks, such as Dorothea Gaudart from the Women’s Department in the Ministry of Social Affairs, consistently participated as experts on the topic of women’s employment at meetings of the OECD and the International Industrial Relations Associations; they published papers for the Institute of Labour Studies and gave lectures on “Time Management” for the UN Economic Commission (BMfSV 1979; Gaudart and Greve 1980). Three characteristics, which I will discuss briefly, marked the international and national debates on part-time work that took place from the late 1970s to the early 1990s: the reduction of working hours, resistance to the flexibilization of working relations, and the attempt to decouple gender from part-time work.

First, most trade unionists aligned with social democracy and leftist parties discussed part-time work in connection with demands for reductions in working hours. One of the central demands of organized labour has focused on the hours worked during a so-called normal working week, which had been reduced over the decades in Austria and internationally until the 1970s (Hermann 2014). Workers’ representatives at the ILO continuously expressed the expectations that a progressive reduction of standard working hours would also reduce the challenges faced by working women with family responsibilities. During an ILO seminar in Turin, for instance, it was stressed that “the issue of a general reduction in working hours should take precedence over that of part-time work” (Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Wien 1974, 209). The ICFTU/ITS Women’s Committee (ICFTU 1974) and the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees (FIET) Working Group for Women Employees adopted similar positions (FIET 1977). This conflation came to a halt in the 1980s, not at least due to the resistance of industry. Representatives of employers at the ILO rejected the notion that “a general reduction of daily working

hours was a means of enhancing equal full-time employment opportunities for men and women and of reducing the concentration of women in part-time work” (ILO 1981, 3). Time and again, the ICFTU/ITS Women’s Committee stressed the importance of asserting their opposition to promoting part-time work “as the only way women can combine work and family responsibilities” within the ILO (ICFTU 1978, 2). Similarly, it was noted that during a preparatory meeting for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women in Copenhagen in 1980, the ICFTU “representative made a speech calling for the deletion of part-time work from the list of ‘desirable’ objectives to be reached during the second half of the Decade”; instead it would be “more important to achieve the reduction of daily working hours which would enable parents to harmonize their family and working life” (ICFTU 1979, 3). And indeed, the only objective declared in relation to part-time work at the conference in 1980 was the goal to ensure proportional wages and social security benefits (United Nations 1980, 30).

Second, triggered by economic crises and globalization, social and labour law safeguards were continuously questioned and dismantled in the 1980s. In Austria, too, unemployment increased in the 1980s – albeit at a comparably lower level than in other OECD-countries (Mesner 2020) – but it hit women and migrant workers first (Helfert *forthcoming*). Trends such as Job Sharing, *KAPOVAZ*—capacity-oriented variable working hours – flexibilization, and the precarisation of jobs were discussed (FIET 1980a; ICFTU 1985). Trade unionists argued that, especially in times of crisis, part-time work was used to save jobs, but it also passed the costs of this from employers and state institutions to working women (Internationaler Bund Freier Gewerkschaften 1983; FIET 1983; ICFTU 1976, 7). In the 1980s, the Vienna Chamber of Labour, for instance, regularly reported how many women were affected by the transformation of full-time jobs into part-time jobs (e.g. *Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Wien* 1984, 219). The labour women of the FIET feared that the intensified transition to self-service in food-related retail would result in an increase in part-time jobs and a decrease in full-time positions (FIET 1981, 13–14).

And third, criticism of the view that care work is naturally the task of women and, thus, that part-time work is a form of employment exclusively suitable for women has been increasingly voiced. Far more frequently than in earlier decades, trade union officials in Austria and internationally spoke of the need for part-time work to be open to all since child-rearing and housework were the responsibility of everybody in the household regardless of gender (e.g. AK 1990b). Representatives from Scandinavian countries had already incorporated this framing of the issue into Recommendation No. 123 of the ILO back in 1965 (Cobble 2021). In 1981, the ILO adopted the gender-neutral Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention (No. 156), and in 1980, the FIET Working Group on Women Employees not only sought to address the “problems of working women” but to reframe them as the “problems of working women and men with family responsibilities” in the FIET Action Program for Women Employees (FIET 1980b). Similarly, the proposed statutory entitlement to part-time employment for parents in Austria was one of several legal instruments introduced in the field of family policies (AK 1990a) advanced mainly by trade unionists aligned with the ÖVP (AK 1989a, 1989b). In general, it seems there was a shared sentiment among many trade union women on the international and national levels that the fact that women held the majority of part-time jobs generated undesirable side effects: “the Worker members felt there was an actual threat that both job opportunities in this sector were tending to be part time so that now and in the long term women

were increasingly offered part-time work” (ILO 1981, 3). Considering that the availability of part-time jobs expanded much more than did full-time jobs in many countries, it is no surprise that the notion of “involuntary part-time work” emerged in the 1970s (for, example OECD 1976).

## Conclusion

Reconstruction and economic growth after World War Two was based on, among other things, the increased (part-time) labour of women, who, especially when they had to care for young children, were burdened with the obligation to perform both unpaid and paid work. Nevertheless, economic conditions and governmental responses to the issue of the double burden differed. Zimmermann (Forthcoming), for instance, points out that within the ILO, state childcare – advanced by representatives of state-socialist countries – played less of a role in debates than did an emphasis on the free choice to stay at home with one’s children or to take up part-time employment. This article has shown that part-time work was (and continues to be) promoted as one possible, albeit contested, solution to the dilemma facing working mothers and was also directly linked to the availability of state childcare by (social democratic) trade unionists in Austria, for example.

Not least because of the link between the rising employment of (married) women and the increasing numbers of women working part-time jobs, Austrian representatives from employers’ associations, ÖVP government (1966–1970), and FCG trade unionists interpreted the growth of part-time work as a sign of (belated) progress and the modernization of working relations. Social democratic trade unionists, however, opposed the normalization of poorly paid part-time or short-term work and understood this phenomenon as women’s loss of the right to gainful employment. As Reichel (2014) has shown, women’s employment and related policies like maternity leave played an important role in the social and labour policies of countries in the European Economic Community in the 1960s, although they had the ambivalent effect of stabilizing the male breadwinner model. Part-time work can be understood as part of this trend.

Analysis of the struggle for a part-time work law in Austria, which took place from the late 1960s until the 1980s, also shows that ÖVP and FCG trade unionists such as Grete Rehor, Marga Hubinek, and Johanna Jamnegg successfully fought for years for the legal and trade union recognition of the part-time work model. Like the ban on night work for women, the social democratic-aligned majority in the trade unions and the Chambers of Labour saw the solution in special regulations, company agreements, or the like – that is, solutions that did not alter the status of standard working hours. While research on Great Britain, for example, emphasizes that it was the influence of socialist feminists in the 1970s and 1980s that made it possible for part-time workers to be accepted by trade unions (Heery and Conley 2016), the situation for Austria is certainly much different. Even though social democratic trade unionists and functionaries of the Chamber of Labour were consistently critical of part-time work, the issue nevertheless became a lively arena of trade union activity, especially in the trade unions of private employees (GPA), municipal employees, and the public sector.

The political and trade union clashes over part-time work reveal the international interconnectedness of workers’ and women’s movements in the twentieth century and highlight the importance of considering the scale of labour activism. Not only



were studies and legislative projects initiated by international organizations; terminologies, ideas, and experiences were also shared through networks, congresses, publications, informational discussions, and trade union action in Austria and internationally. Austrian labour activists such as Rosa Weber in the 1950s and 1960s and Edith Krebs in the 1970s and 1980s advanced their ideas on the national and international levels. The same is true for female civil servants like Dorothea Gaudart, who was part of a circle of internationally recognized female bureaucrats advising on and promoting global labour and gender policies during the UN Decade of Women.

Finally, the discussion about part-time work for women was part of a debate about paid and unpaid work that changed during the course of the second half of the twentieth century. Whereas in German-speaking countries attempts were made by women political functionaries (including trade unionists), employers, or the state to relieve the burdens on women by means such as housekeeping days (Sachse 2002), trade unions soon pushed for a general reduction in working hours, paid maternity leave, and state childcare as strategies to address the challenges working women faced. Part-time work as an alternative began to gain acceptance in the 1960s as a means of reconciling work and family life, albeit under protest. The fact that this model was able to prevail instead of a general further reduction in working hours shows not only the changed bargaining power of the labour movement but also the persistence of a specific socio-economic gendered arrangement that preserves care work as the exclusive domain of women.

## Notes

1. This study is based on the following groups of sources related to national and international organizations: the minutes of the women's congresses of the Austrian Trade Union Federation (ÖGB) as well as their reports; archival material from the Institute for Historical Social Research held at the Vienna Chamber of Labour (Arbeiterkammer Wien), which includes minutes of sub-committees including the Social Committee and the Women's Committee, as well as files on different bills seeking to regulate part-time work, and the document collection of the women's department of the Union of Private Sector Employees (GPA) as well as selected minutes of International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees (FIET); archival material from the Austrian Federal Ministry of Social Affairs including files on bills regulating part-time employment, minutes from the Advisory Board for Labour Market Policy Issues and its subcommittee on women's issues as well as materials on its interactions with several international organizations concerned with women's work such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), the UN, and the OECD held at the Austrian State Archive; minutes from the ICFTU/ITS Women's Committee housed at the Institute for Social History in Amsterdam; and reports and minutes from the International Labour Office.
2. Another important scale of activism would be the European Economic Community, which could not be included in the analysis as a point of comparison (Austria did not become a member in the now-European Union until 1995) due to time constraints; the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is also not explored here for the same reasons. Regarding the question of equal pay for equal work, the work of Theresa Wobbe (2014) should be mentioned here as an example.
3. I thank Susan Zimmermann for sharing the archival source material with me.

4. Incidentally, another form of often precarious employment was discussed together with part-time work as a potential solution to ease the double-burden of working women, namely (industrial) work that could be performed in the comfort of one's home during hours when children were asleep or otherwise occupied. Trade union women in the early 1960s were wary of home-based work due to the risk of exploitation; in contrast, part-time work was met with a different set of concerns because it was perceived as a solution only available to some – well-off – women in more economically developed nations (ICFTU 1963).
5. Resolutions adopted were: The Employment and Maternity Protection Resolution, the Resolution Concerning the Economic and Social Advancement of Women in Developing Countries, the Resolution Concerning Part-Time Employment, and the Resolution Concerning Women Workers in a Changing World.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Funding

This work has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement No. 833691).

## Notes on contributor

**Veronika Helfert** is a research affiliate at Central European University Budapest/Vienna and was a postdoctoral researcher in the ZARAH project (2020–2023). She holds a PhD in History from the University of Vienna and was an Assistant Professor (pre-doctoral) in Modern History/Women's and Gender History and a Researcher (2018/19) at the University of Vienna. Her research interests include women's and gender history, and the history of protest and revolution, public administration, women's suffrage, and labour in the twentieth century. Her most recent book (in German) is *Women, Stand up! A Women's and Gender History of the Austrian Revolution and Council Movement, 1916–1924* (2021).

## References

- Afonso, A. 2019. "Migrant Workers or Working Women? Comparing Labour Supply Policies in Post-War Europe." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 21 (3): 251–269. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13876988.2018.1527584>.
- AK. 1962a. = Letter, Women's Department to the Social Policy Department of the Chamber of Labour, Vienna, 3 July 1962: Concerns Questionnaire on Part-Time Employment. Box "U AC/SV/2.2.2.1/BAK/Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976" (Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976 in the following). Vienna, Institut für Historische Sozialforschung (=IHSF in the following).
- AK. 1962b. = Summary Minutes, Meeting of the Social Policy Committee, 11 July 1962. Box "Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976". Vienna, IHSF.
- AK. 1964. = Minutes, AK Women's Department Dr. Krebs/Jaksch, Vienna, 17 December 1964: Meeting on Part-Time Work 16 December 1964. Box "Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976". Vienna, IHSF.
- AK. 1968a. = AK Women's Department, Dr. Krebs, Vienna, 6 March 1968: Report on the Enquete [Inquiry] on Part-Time Work Held at the Federal Ministry for Social Affairs, 4 March 1968. Box "Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976". Vienna, IHSF.

- AK. 1968b. = Result of the Meeting with Federal Minister Rehor Concerning the Creation of a Part-Time Work Act, 21 October 1968. Box "Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976". Vienna, IHSF.
- AK. 1972a. = Letter, Österreichischer Arbeiterkammertag to Federal Chancellery, Department for Family Policy, 17 May 1972. Box "Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976". Vienna, IHSF.
- AK. 1972b. = Letter, Österreichischer Arbeiterkammertag to Federal Minister for Social Affairs, 4 December 1972. Box "Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976". Vienna, IHSF.
- AK. 1974 = Report, Teilzeitarbeit 1974. Box "Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976," IHSF, Vienna.
- AK. 1989a. = Minutes, Committee for Women's Work and Family Policy, Vienna Chamber of Labour, 4 April 1989. Box "Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976". Vienna, IHSF.
- AK. 1989b. = Position Paper of the Women's Department, Vienna Chamber of Labour, 17 August 1989: "Vereinbarkeit von Beruf und Familie." Box "Ausschuss für Frauenarbeit und Frauenschutz 1989–1990". Vienna, IHSF.
- AK. 1990a. = Minutes, Committee for Women's Work and Family Policy, Vienna Chamber of Labour 22 May 1990. Box "Ausschuss für Frauenarbeit und Frauenschutz 1989–1990". Vienna, IHSF.
- AK. 1990b. = Minutes, Committee for Women's Work and Family Policy, Vienna Chamber of Labour, 4 October 1990. Box "Ausschuss für Frauenarbeit und Frauenschutz 1989–1990". Vienna, IHSF.
- Beirat für Wirtschaftsfragen. 1968. *Bericht über die Teilzeitbeschäftigung*. Vienna, Austria: Ueberreuter.
- Berrebi-Hoffmann, I., O. Giraud, L. Renard, and T. Wobbe, eds. 2019. *Categories in Context: Gender and Work in France and Germany, 1900–Present*. New York: Berghahn. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv12pns7v>
- Betti, E., L. Papastefanaki, M. Tolomelli, and S. Zimmermann, eds. 2022. *Women, Work, and Activism: Chapters of an Inclusive History of Labor in the Long Twentieth Century*. New York: Central European University Press.
- BMfSA. n.d. = Judicial decisions on problems of part-time employment. Fond Bundesministerium für Soziales und Arbeit. "Handaktensammlung SC Prof. Dr. Martinek, Box 125. Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Archiv der Republik (= ÖSTA, AdR in the following).
- BMfSV. 1970. = GZ 39.500/2-21/1970: "Maßnahmen und Methoden zur Förderung der Frauenbeschäftigung". Fond "Bundesministerium für Soziale Verwaltung (= BMfSV in the following), Sektion III, 1971", Box 38. Vienna, ÖSTA, AdR.
- BMfSV. 1979. = GZ 38.717/71-V/4/79: "OECD-Komitee für Arbeitskräfte und Soziale Angelegenheiten; Hochrangige Konferenz über die Beschäftigung von Frauen". Fond "BMfSV, Sektion V, 1979", Box 37. Vienna, ÖSTA, AdR.
- Boris, E. 2019a. *Making the Woman Worker: Precarious Labor and the Fight for Global Standards, 1919–2019*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Boris, E. 2019b. "Reproduction as Production: Thinking with the ILO to Move Beyond Dichotomy." *Journal of Labor and Society* 22 (2): 283–298. <https://doi.org/10.1111/wusa.12423>.
- Cobble, D. S. 2021. *For the Many: American Feminists and the Global Fight for Democratic Equality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- de Groot, T. J. 2022. "Part-Time Employment in the Breadwinner Era: Dutch Employers' Initiatives to Control Female Labor Force Participation, 1945–1970." *Enterprise & Society* 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1017/eso.2022.12>.
- FIET. 1977. = Results of the 4th Meeting of the FIET Working Group for Women Employees Held in Vienna, 25–26 January 1977. Box "FIET-AG Frauen, 20./21.03.1980, Hamburg". Vienna, IHSF, GPA-Archives.
- FIET. 1980a. = Gisela Kiesau (Report): "Die Auswirkungen neuer Technologien auf Frauenarbeitsplätze im Dienstleistungsbereich." 5th Meeting of the EURO-FIET, Luxembourg, 17–18 September 1980. Box "FIET-AG Frauen, 20./21.03.1980, Hamburg". Vienna, IHSF, GPA-Archives.
- FIET. 1980b. = Resolutions of the Working Group Meeting for Women Employees, Hamburg, 20–21 March 1980. Box "FIET-AG Frauen, 20./21.03.1980, Hamburg". Vienna, IHSF, GPA-Archives.
- FIET. 1981. = FIET Survey "Technology and Employment in the Retail Sector." Box "FIET-AG Frauen, 29.–30.1.1981". Vienna, IHSF, GPA-Archives.

- FIET. 1983. = 20th FIET World Congress, 21–25 November 1983, Tokyo. Resolution No. 17 “Teilzeitarbeit/Neue Arbeitszeitsysteme”. Box “FIET-AG Frauen, 10.1984, Brüssel”. Vienna, IHSF, GPA-Archives.
- Fulla, M. 2020. “Socialists and Civil Servants. Introduction to Part II.” In *European Socialists and the State in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries*, edited by M. Fulla and M. Lazar, 121–127. Cham, Germany: Springer International Publishing.
- Gaudart, D., and R. M. Greve. 1980. *Women and Industrial Relations: Framework Paper and Analysis of the Discussion of an International Symposium (Vienna. September 1978)*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation (International Institute for Labour Studies).
- GPA. 1962. = Gewerkschaft der Privatangestellten, “2. Frauenzentalkonferenz,” 25–26 November 1962: “GPA-Frauenreferentin Maria Gutberger. Mündliche Ergänzungen zum Tätigkeitsbericht”. Vienna, IHSF, GPA-Archives.
- GPA. 1966. = Gewerkschaft der Privatangestellten, “3. Frauenzentalkonferenz 1966”: “Bericht der Frauenabteilung, Redemanuskript”. Vienna, IHSF, GPA-Archives.
- Heery, E., and H. Conley. 2016. “Frame Extension in a Mature Social Movement: British Trade Unions and Part-Time Work, 1967–2000.” *Journal of Industrial Relations* 49 (1): 5–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002218560707223>.
- Helfert, V. Forthcoming. “A ‘Special Category of Women’ in Austria and Internationally. Migrant Women Workers, Trade Union Activists, and the Textile Industry, 1960s to 1980s.” In *Migrant Actors Worldwide. Capitalist Interests, State Regulations, and Left-Wing Strategies*, edited by D. Hoerder and L. Neissl. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Hermann, C. 2014. *Capitalism and the Political Economy of Work Time*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- ICFTU. 1957. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions. First Meeting of the Sub-Committee, Brussels, 3–4 December 1957. ICFTU Collection, Box 1528. Amsterdam, International Institute of Social History (= IISH in the following).
- ICFTU. 1961. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions, 6th Session, Brussels, 9–10 October 1961. Agenda Item 3: Enquiry on Discrimination in Employment against Married Women. ICFTU Collection, Box 1532. Amsterdam, IISH.
- ICFTU. 1963. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions, 9th Session, Brussels, 16–17 July 1963. Agenda Item 4: Programme in Favor of Women Workers. ICFTU Collection, Box 1535. Amsterdam, IISH.
- ICFTU. 1964a. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions, 11th Session, Brussels, 14–15 May 1964. Agenda Item 3: Women Workers in a Changing Work. Memorandum for the Members of the Workers Group of the ILO. ICFTU Collection, Box 1537. Amsterdam, IISH.
- ICFTU. 1964b. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions, 12th Session, Brussels, 5–6 November 1964. Agenda Item 2: Report on Activities. ICFTU Collection, Box 1538. Amsterdam, IISH.
- ICFTU. 1965. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions, 14th Session, Brussels, 21–22 October 1965. Agenda Item 5: Part-time Work. ICFTU Collection, Box 1540. Amsterdam, IISH.
- ICFTU. 1974. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions, 30th Session, Brussels, 4–5 April 1974. ICFTU Collection, Box 1558. Amsterdam, IISH.
- ICFTU. 1976. = ICFTU Executive Board, Brussels, 24–26 November 1976. Agenda Item 16: Women Workers’ Questions. ICFTU Collection, Box 1560. Amsterdam, IISH.
- ICFTU. 1978. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions, 38th Session, Brussels, 5–6 October 1978. Agenda Item 4: Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities. ICFTU Collection, Box 1564. Amsterdam, IISH.
- ICFTU. 1979. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions, 40th Session, Brussels, 4–5 October 1979. Agenda Item 2: Report on Activities. ICFTU Collection, Box 1567. Amsterdam, IISH.
- ICFTU. 1985. = ICFTU/ITS Consultative Committee on Women Workers’ Questions, 51st Meeting, Brussels, 31 January–February 1985. ICFTU Women’s Bureau, Organisation of Working Time and its Effect on Women’s Employment, Report. ICFTU Collection, Box 1577. Amsterdam, IISH.

- ILO. 1956. = Bureau international du Travail, Réunion d'experts sur le travail féminin, Genève, 5–10 novembre 1956. Première question à l'ordre du jour: Le travail à temps partiel. ILO–MEW/II/1956/1.
- ILO. 1959. = Panel of Consultants on the Problems of Women Workers, Composition. First Session 1959, and Meeting, 1965. WN 2-1003. Geneva, ILOA.
- ILO. 1964. = International Labour Office. 1964. International Labour Conference, 49th Session 1965. Fifth Item on the Agenda. The Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities. Report. Geneva.
- ILO. 1981. = ILO, Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers (Eighth Session, Geneva, January 1981). Box "FIET-AG Frauen, 29./30.1.1981". Vienna, IHSF, GPA-Archives. Internationaler Bund Freier Gewerkschaften. 1983. *Neue Technologie und Beschäftigung der Frauen*. Geneva.
- International Labour Office. 1973. *Part-Time Employment: An International Survey*. Geneva.
- Johnstone, E. 1968. "Women in Economic Life: Rights and Opportunities." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 375 (1): 102–114. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271626837500116>.
- Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Wien. 1965. *Jahrbuch der Arbeiterkammer für Wien*. Vienna, Austria: Verlag der Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte für Wien.
- Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Wien. 1967. *Jahrbuch der Arbeiterkammer für Wien*. Vienna, Austria: Verlag der Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte für Wien.
- Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Wien. 1974. *Jahrbuch der Arbeiterkammer für Wien*. Vienna, Austria: Verlag der Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Wien.
- Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte Wien. 1984. *Jahrbuch der Arbeiterkammer für Wien*. Vienna, Austria: Verlag der Kammer für Arbeiter und Angestellte.
- Klein, V., and A. Myrdal. 1956. *Women's Two Roles: Home and Work*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Mattes, M. 2008. "Ambivalente Aufbrüche: Frauen, Familie und Arbeitsmarkt zwischen Konjunktur und Krise." In *Das Ende der Zuversicht? Die siebziger Jahre als Geschichte*, edited by K. H. Jarausch, 215–228. Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666361531.215>.
- Mesner, M. 2006. "Mother-Families, Family Mothers: Policies on Having Children in Austria." In *The Policies of Reproduction at the Turn of the 21st Century: The Cases of Finland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Austria, And the US*, edited by M. Mesner, H. Niederkofler, and G. Wolfgruber, 181–198. Innsbruck, Austria: StudienVerlag.
- Mesner, M. 2020. "'K. U. K. Social Democracy" Reloaded: Austria's SPÖ and the State After 1945." In *European Socialists and the State in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries*, edited by M. Fulla and M. Lazar, 303–321. Cham, Germany: Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41540-2\\_17](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41540-2_17).
- United Nations. 1980. *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14 to 30 July 1980*. New York.
- Neunsinger, S. 2018. "The Unobtainable Magic of Numbers: Equal Remuneration, the ILO and the International Trade Union Movement 1950s–1980s." In *Women's ILO: Transnational Networks, Global Labour Standards, and Gender Equity, 1919 to Present*, edited by E. Boris, D. Hoehtker, and S. Zimmermann, 121–148. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004360433\\_007](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004360433_007).
- OECD. 1976 = GZ. AV.34.461/54-V/4/76: "Beirat für Arbeitsmarktpolitik, Hier: Erstellung eines amp. Konzeptes für Frauen", OECD, Paris, 15 June 1976. Working Party No 6 on the Role of Women in Economy. The Impact of the 1974–75 Crisis on the Employment Situation of Women in Some of the OECD Countries. Fond BMFSV, Sektion V, 1976, Box 06. Vienna, ÖSTA, AdR.
- ÖGB-Frauenabteilung. 1955. *Stenographisches Protokoll: Frauenkongreß des Österreichischen Gewerkschaftsbundes*. Vienna, Austria: ÖGB-Verlag.
- ÖGB-Frauenabteilung. 1959. *Stenographisches Protokoll: Frauenkongreß des Österreichischen Gewerkschaftsbundes*. Vienna: ÖGB-Verlag.
- ÖGB-Frauenabteilung. 1963. *Stenographisches Protokoll: Frauenkongreß des Österreichischen Gewerkschaftsbundes*. Vienna: ÖGB-Verlag.

- ÖGB-Frauenabteilung. 1967. *Stenographisches Protokoll: Frauenkongreß des Österreichischen Gewerkschaftsbundes*. Vienna: ÖGB-Verlag.
- ÖGB-Frauenabteilung. 1975. *Stenographisches Protokoll: Frauenkongreß des Österreichischen Gewerkschaftsbundes*. Vienna: ÖGB-Verlag.
- ÖNR. 1974. = Minutes of the First Meeting of the Parliamentary Subcommittee Dealing with the Initiative Motion of the ÖVP Parliamentary Group Concerning the Creation of a Part-Time Employment Law on 8 November 1974.
- ÖNR. 1975. = Minutes of the 150th Session of the National Assembly, XIII GP, 3 July 1975.
- Östberg, K. 2020. "The Swedish Social Democracy: Civil Servants, Social Engineers and Welfare Bureaucrats." In *European Socialists and the State in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries*, edited by M. Fulla and M. Lazar, 207–222. Cham, Germany: Springer International Publishing.
- Österreichische Volkspartei. 1972. *Salzburger Programm 1972*. Accessed June 12, 2023. [https://austria-forum.org/af/AEIOU/Österreichische\\_Volkspartei%2C\\_ÖVP/Salzburger\\_Programm](https://austria-forum.org/af/AEIOU/Österreichische_Volkspartei%2C_ÖVP/Salzburger_Programm).
- Reichel, K. 2014. *Dimensionen der (Un-)Gleichheit: Geschlechtsspezifische Ungleichheiten in den sozial- und beschäftigungspolitischen Debatten der EWG in den 1960er Jahren*. Stuttgart, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag. <https://doi.org/10.25162/9783515107785>.
- Report on Part-Time Employment. 1968. Manuscript. Box "Teilzeitbeschäftigung 1966–1976". Vienna, IHSF.
- Ricciardi, F. 2019. "Negotiating the Boundaries of Equality at Work: Tensions About a Gendered Employment Norm in France and in the European Community, 1914–2014." In *Categories in Context: Gender and Work in France and Germany, 1900–Present*, edited by I. Berrebi-Hoffmann, O. Giraud, L. Renard, and T. Wobbe, 247–270. New York: Berghahn Books. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv12pns7v.15>.
- Richards, Y. 2018. "Transnational Links and Constraints: Women's Work, the ILO and the ICFTU in Africa, 1950s–1980s." In *Women's ILO: Transnational Networks, Global Labour Standards, and Gender Equity, 1919 to Present*, edited by E. Boris, D. Hoehltker, and S. Zimmermann, 149–175. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004360433\\_008](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004360433_008).
- Sachse, C. 2002. *Der Hausarbeitstag: Gerechtigkeit und Gleichberechtigung in Ost und West 1939–1994*. Göttingen, Germany: Wallstein.
- Statistik Austria. 2022. *Mikrozensus-Arbeitskräfteerhebung (AKE)*. Accessed June 10, 2023. <https://www.statistik.at/statistiken/arbeitsmarkt/arbeitszeit/teilzeitarbeit-teilzeitquote>.
- von Oertzen, C. 1999. *Die Teilzeitarbeit und die Lust am Zuverdienenden. Geschlechterpolitik und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Westdeutschland 1945–1965*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- von Oertzen, C. 2000. "Abschied vom Normalarbeitstag." *L'Homme Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft ZFG*. 11 (1): 65–82.
- Wobbe, T., and I. Biermann. 2009. *Von Rom nach Amsterdam: Die Metamorphosen des Geschlechts in der Europäischen Union*. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Wobbe, T., C. Höroldt, and M. Bussmann. 2019. "From Particular Protection to Universal Principles: Shifting Classifications of Employment Rights in the ILO, the EU and German Labour Law, 1919–1988." In *Categories in Context: Gender and Work in France and Germany, 1900–Present*, edited by I. Berrebi-Hoffmann, O. Giraud, L. Renard, and T. Wobbe, 223–246. New York: Berghahn. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv12pns7v.14>.
- Zimmermann, S. 2021. *Frauenpolitik und Männergewerkschaft: Internationale Gewerkschaftspolitik, IGB-Gewerkschafterinnen und die Arbeiter- und Frauenbewegungen der Zwischenkriegszeit*. Vienna, Austria: Löcker.
- Zimmermann, S. **Forthcoming** "Shifting the Scene: The Changing Politics of Women's Work and the Making of Extended Childcare Leave in State-socialist Hungary, Europe, and Internationally." In *Life Course, Work and Labour: Historical, Sociological and Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by J. Ehmer and C. Lentz. Berlin: De Gruyter.