

No Future Without Women: Gender Balances in Book Publishing

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1. Introduction

Female readers and buyers of books are most frequently targeted by book market strategies in all industrialised countries, in particular in Germany. Professions related to books and publishing are extremely popular with women. For decades, libraries and book shops have been work places with a very high share of female employment². Publishing offers a multitude of career options to women. It has not always been like this:

"From the early developments of a German language book market around 1770 until the middle of the 20th century, women were excluded from official independent professional careers; during the decisive developments and changes to the market they are invisible, at least to the outside. They are restricted to functions of internal support and assistance as widows, wives or daughters. There are very few sources on their history."

This is how Edda Ziegler summarises the history of women in an introduction to book science for students at the University of Munich. She lists examples of successful female publishers: Anna Vandenhoeck from Göttingen (1709-1787), Hedwig and Brigitte Fischer from Berlin (S. Fischer Verlag), the Kiepenheuer women before 1933, women around Eugen Diederichs (1900-1949), the powerful women of the *Ars Sacra / arsEdition* (1899-1979), Helen Wolff from New York, and Marguerite V. Schlüter (Limes Verlag Wiesbaden)³.

Today, women in the book sector have definitely stepped out of the shadow. "Books are planned, produced, designed, sold and, last but not least, made successful, by women," reads the announcement of the publication "Women Produce

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² See the results of the ZfKF-studies: *Frauen im Kultur- und Medienbetrieb. Fakten zur Berufssituation und Qualifizierung*. [Women in the Arts and Media Professions]. Bonn: ARCulture-Media, 1989, 1995 und 2001.

³ See description of seminars for the winter semester of 2001/02 at http://www.buchwissenschaft.uni-muenchen.de/_seminare/aufbauws01.html.

Books", edited by Gabriele Kalmbach in 2000 and including portraits of 40 female book producers. The fact that the majority of students who qualify for key positions in the book market are women occasionally even leads to the optimistic belief that career barriers for women have been all but overcome in the book sector. But is this really true? May the book and publishing sector be considered as a successful example of gender mainstreaming?

To answer this question, we need data to assess whether the glass walls (gender stereotyped choices of profession) or glass ceilings (horizontal barriers to the ascent on the career ladder), that are still affecting other economic and cultural fields⁴ play only a subordinate role for women in the book and publishing sector. Gendered data on professional training, employment and lobbying form the basis of this assessment.

Section 2 describes the German book market in general to create a background for the assessment of the national studies from Finland, Austria and Portugal. The production and distribution of books is embedded in an intricate network of different industries and other media forms. This study will concentrate on those areas that are concerned with content. The analysis of employment figures (see section 3) does not include authors or professions concerned with the purely commercial and technical aspects of printing and distributing. This does not imply that concentration and outsourcing processes in these areas have no influence on content and content-related career paths. On the contrary: globalisation, new forms of distribution like online book selling, broadening sales of used books, sale of texts for download, print-on-demand and the market domination by huge companies, also in the distribution area, all influence the scope of action for content decision makers in publishing houses and book stores⁵. This trend has also gender implications. Growing turnovers are mainly restricted to chain-stores while smaller shops with less than euro 1 million turnover per year suffer average losses of 4.2%⁶. As women tend to work in small and medium enterprises, this trend jeopardises the existence of comparatively more women than men⁷.

⁴ See Pasero, Ursula, Priddat, Birger P. (Ed.): *Organisationen und Netzwerke: Der Fall Gender* [Organisations and Networks. The Case of Gender]. Wiesbaden, 2004. See also the data provided by the IAB on employees liable to social security deductions in occupational group no. 751 "management, overall management, departmental management". Between 1999 and 2003, the share of women rose by less than one percentage point, from 20.4 to 21.3%. During the same period, the unemployment rate of women rose by 1.4% to 8.3% while it remained below the average of 7.2% for men.

⁵ See e.g. the exchange of experiences among four independent publishers on their business at the interfaces of art, trade and business in: *börsenblatt 22-2004*. p.13.

⁶ *das börsenblatt 22-2004*. p. 57.

⁷ There are no gendered data on turnover figures and ownership/management for the distributing book trade (except those included in section 5 of this study, based on the

At this point the question arises whether gender mainstreaming policies are generally accepted and applied in the free market sector with its rules of supply and demand. In the public sphere the balanced participation of women and men can be controlled and steered by legal regulations, e.g. through support measures in the film industry⁸. There are no similar legal regulations in place for the business sector. In Germany, government and business representatives agreed upon a "broad spectrum of measures in co-operation and business" in 2001. In a first positive resume in 2003, they stressed that "legal regulations in this field change little in business realities and may even have contra-productive effects⁹." Whether this is true remains to be seen in the future. An anti-discrimination-law in line with EU-regulations is long overdue in Germany. A legal framework will have to be created, but government and opposition are still in the middle of hot debates about the details¹⁰. According to Renate Schmidt, German Minister for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, the "debate on the anti-discrimination law (...)" will help women to claim and achieve their right to equal chances. The law is to

counting of selected bookshops with high turnovers). However, the history of the bookselling profession shows that especially during the 1980s and 1990s "many women (...) created their own places through the foundation of bookshops specialising on alternative trends, women and children." See Wegner, Bärbel. "Die Damen sind mechanisch tätig..." Zur Geschichte der Buchhändlerinnen ["The Ladies Concentrate on Mechanical Work..." On the History of Female Booksellers]. In: *Die Freundinnen der Bücher: Buchhändlerinnen* [The Female Book Friends. Female Booksellers]. Königstein, 2001. This hypothesis is confirmed for the producing book sector by an analysis of the handbook "International Literary Market Place 2005". 10% of all titles published annually and 14% of the total titles produced can be related to the gender balances in the respective top management positions. More than two fifth of the enterprises headed by women produced up to 10 titles per year, while about 44% of the enterprises headed by men produced between 11 and 50 titles per year.

⁸ A recent tender for a feasibility study on gender budgeting in relation to budget development and management of the Federal Republic of Germany (national level) by the German Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth shows that there is still room for the optimisation and development of steering instruments.

⁹ Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (Hrsg.): *Bilanz 2003 der Vereinbarung zwischen der Bundesregierung und den Spitzenverbänden der deutschen Wirtschaft zur Förderung der Chancengleichheit von Frauen und Männern in der Privatwirtschaft* [German Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (ed.): Results 2003 of the agreement between the Federal Government and umbrella organisations of the German business community for the promotion of equal chances of women and men in free market economy]. Bonn, 2003.

¹⁰ The law is to implement EU regulations. The draft under discussion goes further than the EU regulation in its civil law aspects. See <http://dip.bundestag.de/btd/15/045/1504538>.

come into force this year. Then a national office will reinforce all the things that today are a moral obligation to be implemented in everyday life¹¹."

Besides legal enforcement, business rationales could also be a strong motivation for a change of thought.

"Glass ceilings are inefficient as they prevent organisations from making optimal use of their most important resource, the human capital¹²." Such research findings from managing diversity approaches in the United States have found open ears in business companies since the mid 1990s. Such findings have found their way into the curricula for business studies not only in the United States. In Germany too business calculations that prove the profitability of family-friendly policies through cost-benefit-calculations¹³ have become common arguments in favour of gender mainstreaming.

Such economically motivated actions may bear opportunities, but there is a risk that development potentials that require the breaking up of traditional role models do not reach top positions, thus preventing change at the points most important for the breaking of glass ceilings.

The concept of "optimum utilisation of human capital" may also take a problematic turn. It may be a way of identifying typically female and typically male competences and lead to a further cementation of professional gender stereotypes. On the other hand, it may also identify qualifications that have proven to be especially helpful for leading positions and extract them from gender stereotypes as soft and hard skills which in the future women and men must be able to combine¹⁴.

In times of economic recession, re-orientations in this area are perceived as tasks for the future rather than as a motor for efficient economic restructuring¹⁵. The ex-

¹¹ Quoted after the Editorial of "Newsletter Gleichstellung" Nr. 01 | 2005 of the German Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth.

¹² Pasero, Ursula: *Gender Trouble in Organisationen und die Erreichbarkeit von Führung* [Gender Trouble in Organisations and Management Accessibility]. In: Pasero, Ursula, Priddat, Birger P. (Ed.), op.cit., 2004, p.155.

¹³ See Bundesministerium German Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (Ed.) in co-operation with the European Union: *Betriebswirtschaftliche Effekte familienfreundlicher Maßnahmen. Kosten-Nutzen-Analyse* [Economic Effects of Family-Friendly Measures. Cost-Benefit-Analysis]. Berlin, 2003.

¹⁴ Pasero, Ursula ibid. See also Priddat, Birger P.: *Vom Gender Trouble zur Gender-Kooperation* [From Gender Trouble to Gender Co-operation]. In: Pasero, Ursula, Priddat, Birger P. (ed.), op.cit., 2004, p.165 ff.

¹⁵ The report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions shows that in times of economic recession, the employment of women is jeopardised rather than strengthened: "The recent economic slowdown has slightly increased the EU 15 unemployment rate, with women still facing higher unemployment rates compared to men." COM [2004] 115 final, p. 3, accessed 27-03-05at http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/news/2004/feb/com_2004_115_en.pdf.

tremely low birth rate in Germany may lead to a lack of qualified labour within the foreseeable future and thus require a better reconciliation of career and family. However, a survey commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs in cooperation with German business associations revealed that about 70% of managing directors and personnel managers think that the issue is of rather low importance¹⁶.

But there are also concerned voices like that of the managing director of a publishing house, "Looking at the development of the population pyramid and the potential of leading positions in the next ten to fifteen years makes me feel a bit scared as a responsible manager. How are we going to fill these positions in the future? And I think no matter what your attitude towards the employment of women is today; in the future nothing will be running without women¹⁷."

Major companies have developed methods and strategies to keep women from losing contact to their company and their professional qualifications during their family break, e.g. through e-learning and part time work.

According to a study on "Women in the Media Industries" of 2002, most support measures were to be found in companies "where the representatives of the employees supported the interests of employees with families, or in companies who had a high percentage of female employees and were therefore interested in retaining women in the company after having given birth to children because they could not renounce their qualifications¹⁸."

However, the majority of women work in small and medium enterprises, where pregnancy and family breaks mean loss of job, or loss of a qualified staff member¹⁹.

Awareness raising campaigns on the side of the government, e.g. the organisation of competitions and the award of certificates to "family friendly companies", may sensitise people to gender questions. It remains open whether these policies can cause more than just scratches in the glass ceilings and whether they lead to visible changes in the hierarchies of companies.

Upon this background, the following chapter will analyse the situation of women in the book and publishing sector.

¹⁶ See http://www.bundesregierung.de/E-Magazines-/413.758020/e-magazine.htm?link=bpa_ezine.

¹⁷ Quoted after Rehberg, Frank; Stöger, Ursula; Sträter, Detlev: *Frauen in der Medienwirtschaft: Chancen und Hemmnisse für Frauenerwerbstätigkeit in einer prosperierenden Zukunftsbranche* [Women in Media Industries. Opportunities and Obstacles for the Employment of Women in a Prospering Industry]. Munich, 2002, p.176.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 190.

¹⁹ See e.g. <http://www.forumf.de/projekte/elternzeit.html> and IAB Kurzbericht: *Betriebe könnten noch mehr für die Chancengleichheit tun* [IAB Short Report: Companies could do more for equal chances, Issue no. 12 of 6-8-2003].

2. Background: Book Publishing and Book Trade in Germany²⁰

In 2003, German publishing houses produced 770 million books, 80 971 titles including 61 538 genuinely new publications. With these indicators Germany belongs to the leading book publishing nations in the world.

The List of Available Books [Verzeichnis Lieferbarer Bücher (VLB)] and the German Book Trade Directory produced by the German Book Trade Association [Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels] list more than 24 000 firms which can be regarded as "book-trade operations" in the widest sense of the word, more than two thirds of them publishers. The definition of "book-trade operations" used here is a very wide one. It includes many public bodies, university faculties, associations and institutions which issue publications only occasionally. The number of full-scale publishers or sellers of books and special academic journals is much smaller. There are probably around 6 500 book trade operations, i.e. companies whose primary objective is market participation, in Germany. They include 1 900 publishing houses, 4 500 bookstores and 70 book suppliers, i.e. wholesalers or publishers@suppliers. Almost all of these firms belong to the German Book Trade Association. This association of booksellers and publishers has a long tradition and represents the interests of 6 386 book trade operations (figures as of 30 April 2004). Most publishing companies (234) are based in Munich, the capital of German publishing. Berlin, Frankfurt am Main and Stuttgart are other major publishing centres.

The Book Trade in Germany

More than 5 000 bookstores supply literature to the population throughout the country. In any of these bookstores, around one million available titles can be bought or ordered. According to German law, no surcharges may be imposed on orders or special services such as compiling a bibliography or searching for titles that are difficult to find. It is the purpose of fixed prices for published products to guarantee that the purchaser of a book always pays the price fixed by the publisher no matter whether the product is bought at a large department store or a small bookshop. Thanks to fixed book prices, an outstanding range of titles and a great number of bookstores have been created in Germany since 1887. The cost is jointly borne by authors, publishers and bookstores; all democratic countries in the German-language area support the maintenance of fixed book prices.

Fixed book prices guarantee that books can be obtained at the same price throughout the country, thus contributing toward the equality of opportunities in

²⁰ The article is based largely on statistics of the yearbook: *Buch und Buchhandel in Zahlen* [Books and Book Trade in Figures]. produced by the German Book Trade Association, edition 2004.

the different regions. Fixed book prices also apply to books purchased from German suppliers via the Internet.

The book trade in Germany has probably the most advanced equipment of any retail sector. Practically all companies are computerized and have electronic access to book catalogues. The most important tool of the trade is the List of Available Books, which includes almost every title available in the German-speaking area, i.e. around one million titles. Each book wholesalers in Germany stocks more than 350 000 titles and is able to supply bookstores overnight. Thus, even the smallest bookstore performs the job of providing reading material efficiently.

However, books are not only sold in traditional bookstores, although they still have a market share of around 57 per cent. More and more Germans buy books via the Internet, which accounted for around 6.5 per cent of all book sales in 2003.

Over 3 000 bookstores have set up electronic branches on the Internet; their number is rising daily. It seems, however, that the Internet does not necessarily take away business from the traditional bookshops – they rather seem to complement each another. The future of the book trade lies in a combination of traditional bookstores with a broad range of titles and a wide choice, with extensive on-site storage and a competent service, and the opportunity to do research and order books on the Internet around the clock.

Book Market Trends

Every year, the German Book Trade Association produces a detailed analysis of current trends in the German book market. In 2003, Germany's book trade generated a total turnover of EUR 9.07 billion, including specialist / academic journals and audiovisual media. This is a slight drop of 1.7% compared with the previous year, reflecting the current weak state of the German economy. Despite the declining economic activities the number of published books increased by 2.6% in comparison to 2002, but did not reach the peak of the year 2001, when 85 088 titles had been produced.

Financial losses in book production since 2001 were counterbalanced by decreasing advertising budgets in the beginning, but since 2003, there has also been a cut in personnel expenditures²¹. Reduced employment figures due to cost saving measures became first visible in 2002.

²¹ See *börsenblatt* 28-2004, p. 67.

3. Employment Situation in the Publishing and Book Selling Sector

Paper, publishing and printing industries provided a total of 435 104 full time jobs and 50 485 part time jobs in 2003. 33% of full-time employees liable to social security deductions are women, among part-time employees their share is 77.5%²².

Total employment in this industry dropped by 5.2% in 2003 compared to the previous year. Women were more affected by these retrenchments than men: their share in employees liable to social security deductions decreased more than the average. The share of women dropped to 37.6% which is clearly below their share of 45.2% in overall employment in Germany.

A closer look at the situation of publishing houses, including data on book sales agents and book sellers shows a more positive trend for women.

Table 1 Share of Women among Employees in Publishing Companies*, 1985-2002

Year	T	%F
1985	120 738	52.8
1995	136 109	54.9
1998	155 045	54.9
2000	162 433	55.4
2002	160 577	55.3

Source: Arbeitsmarkt in Zahlen.

* Enterprises with more than 20 employees, including book, newspaper, magazines and other publishing companies. The statistical categories were revised in 1998; therefore the data are not directly comparable to earlier data of 1985 and 1995. Data reflect the status of June 30 of the respective year.

Although employment data for publishing houses show an overall downward trend²³, they are still above the level of 1998. The share of female workers²⁴ and clerks²⁵ in publishing houses amounted to 55% in 2002 and remained stable.

Different wage levels for women and men are still an important issue. Unfortunately, the respective figures are usually not broken down by job positions. According to the income statistics for the publishing industries provided by the Federal Statistical Office, women seem to fare better than men at first glance. This trend, which has been observed since 1997, is explained by the fact that there are fewer women (42.6%) in the low wage group of labourers while their share in the higher wage group of clerks

²² Employment statistics of the Federal Employment Agency of 31-12-2003.

²³ Book publishing houses are but a small part of this group. See *Buch und Buchhandel in Zahlen 2003*, p.91.

²⁴ 16.7% of all employees liable to social security deductions in publishing houses.

²⁵ 83.3% of all employees liable to social security deductions in publishing houses.

amounts to 57.7%. While female labourers – partly due to their very low share among skilled workers – earn less than their male colleagues, the differences between male and female clerks have been balanced since the end of the 1990s²⁶.

Other data sources for the analysis of gender trends in the occupational groups under review in this study are the social insurance and unemployment data compiled annually by the Institute for Employment Research (Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung, IAB). These statistics (see Table 2) show rising employment trends for publishing and book market occupations²⁷. According to the German Book Trade Association, book publishing houses in particular increased their staff generously during the prosperous years and decided only comparatively late that retrenchments would be necessary to meet the consequences of the economic crisis²⁸.

Table 2 Share of Women Among Publishers and Booksellers, 1992-2002

Employees	1992		1995		2002	
	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F
Publishers, Booksellers*	26 142	69.4	27 674	71.2	29 172	72.9

Source: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung (IAB).

Remarks: commercial clerks in publishing houses (incl. music publishing houses), at least 9 different occupational categories.

However, a look at the unemployment figures for these occupational groups shows that they have been affected by the economic changes. The number of unemployed persons has been rising constantly over the last ten years. In 1992, about 74% of all unemployed persons in publishing and book market occupations had been women; in 2002 this figure had dropped to 66%.

Table 3 Unemployment in the Publishing and Bookselling Sector, 1992-2002

Unemployment Figures	1992		1995		2002	
	T	%F	T	%F	T	%F
Publishers, Booksellers*	2 296	73.7	2 854	68.2	3 678	66.3

Source: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung (IAB).

Note: Sales agents in publishing houses (books, newspapers, magazines), music houses, at least 9 different occupational categories).

²⁶ See income statistics for the producing sector, publishing sector in particular, period 1996 to 2003, Federal Statistical Office, Wiesbaden, 2005.

²⁷ "However, this data collection refers to businesses of 20 or more employees – according to the standards of the trade these are medium and large houses. The employees of the numerous small publishing houses which are so important for the outside image of the book trade are not included in these data." (Buch und Buchhandel in Zahlen, Frankfurt 2003, S.91).

²⁸ Ibid. p. 92.

These data seem to indicate that women working in book market and publishing occupations²⁹ have been able to compete successfully with their male colleagues. This suspicion is backed up by a look at the age structure of this occupational group: during the last 5 years, the share of young people under 25 years of age decreased continuously among employees while their share in unemployment increased. Therefore, higher percentage shares of women are not caused by a generation change with qualified young women entering professional life, but this trend is mainly influenced by the age group of 35 years and above. This age group has the highest percentage share in employment, and their share has risen over-proportionally. Another overall trend in Germany maybe reflected here: One quarter of all women born in 1960 and almost one third of all women born in 1965 – those who are 35 to 45 years old today – remain childless. More than 40% of all female university graduates decide not to have children in favour of their careers³⁰.

Conclusion: Positive Gender Trends at the Bottom of the Book Market Pyramid

The share of female employees in the publishing and book selling sector is above average compared to the general labour market and especially to other similar branches (see Table 2). Despite the downswing of the German book publishing industry, the share of female employees has been increasing over the last ten years, while the share of unemployed women is constantly decreasing.

To gain a more precise picture of the gender balances in the different occupations in the book and publishing industries, the annual handbook of the Frankfurt Book Fair ("Who's Who at the Frankfurt Book Fair") was analysed. The share of women across the different positions amounted to 44%, which is significantly below the figures provided by the labour market statistics. As this handbook serves as a guide for contacting publishing houses, it is mainly restricted to listing the key positions in the different departments; in many cases individual names are only listed for the very top positions. Since 1979 the female shares of professionals have im-

²⁹ Occupational group no. 683 according to the classification of the Federal Agency for Employment: Sales agents and booksellers, includes a total of nine occupational groups. These cannot be broken down into further detail:

6830 Publisher, sales agents in general

6831 Publishers of newspapers and journals

6832 Sales agents in newspaper and journal publishing houses

6833 Book publishers, sales agents in book publishing houses

6834 Booksellers

6835 Music publishers, sales agents in music publishing houses

6836 Music dealers

6838 Publishers of art and pictures, sales agents in publishing houses of art and pictures

6839 other publishers, sales agents in other publishing houses

³⁰ See <http://www.fast-4ward.de>.

proved in all areas of responsibility. Several professions are clearly feminised, e.g. the positions of press manager, rights manager and literary agent. For the representation of women in key decision making positions, see Table 9.

Table 4: Identifying Feminised Professions in Publishing, 2003

Area of responsibility	M	F	T	%F
Press Manager	75	308	383	80.4
Rights Manager	83	310	393	78.9
Assistant	9	32	41	78.0
Literary Agent	16	30	46	65.2
Commissioning Editor	11	19	30	63.3
Manager	67	115	182	63.2
Editor	249	329	578	56.9
Promotion Manager	72	87	159	54.7
Sales Manager	196	221	417	53.0
Agent	21	17	38	44.7
Editorial Director	206	163	369	44.2
Representative	104	79	183	43.2
Sales Director	266	195	461	42.3
Marketing Director	210	150	360	41.7
Production Manager	151	94	245	38.4
Director	289	118	407	29.0
Export Manager	30	10	40	25.0
Vice President	18	6	24	25.0
Chairman	59	14	73	19.2
President	111	25	136	18.4
Publisher	541	117	658	17.8
Managing Director	364	77	441	17.5
TOTAL	3 148	2 516	5 664	44.4

Source: Professionals in 1 355 companies exhibiting at the Frankfurt Book Fair listed in "Who's Who at the Frankfurt Book Fair 2003".

4. The Situation in Education and Training

4.1 Vocational Training

Vocational training has a long tradition in German book trade and publishing, dating back to the 19th century. In 1998, all federal countries (Bundesländer) issued regulations on the vocational training of book sellers, with focus on retail, publishing and antiquarian book selling, and on sales agents in the publishing sector spe-

cialising on newspapers, journals and books. Special classes in vocational training schools exist in several towns; training in the 5 Länder of the former GDR is the responsibility of the German Booksellers School (Deutsche Buchhändler-Lehranstalt) at Leipzig. The German Booksellers School at Frankfurt³¹ also functions as a vocational training school; here vocational training is offered in block courses. There is a variety of further training courses for graduates from these schools to specialise in book selling and publishing professions via the special school of the German book trade (Fachschule des Deutschen Buchhandels).

The number of trainees went down considerably around the mid 1990s and rose again until the economic crisis of 2001. Since 2002, the number of future book sellers has dropped again.

In 2002, there were 2 554 training contracts in book selling and 2 302 in publishing (including newspapers and journals). In book selling, this means a drop by 7.6% compared to the previous year, and a total of 100 less than in 1986³². Looking at new contracts only, this decline is still sharper: they dropped by 19%, meaning a lower level for the years to come³³.

A survey conducted in February 2003 by the training department of the German Book Trade Association among 368 trainees showed that 41% are trained in smaller book shops (up to a turnover of euro 1 million per year), 27% are trained in medium size book shops (EUR 1 to 2 million turnover per year) and 29% in large book shops³⁴. Small book shops bear the brunt of training future generations, but once the trainees have finished their training, they cannot provide employment for them.

Similar to the female share in overall employment, the share of female trainees is above average. During the last 10 years, an average of 82% of book sellers and 71% of sales agents in the book sectors were women.

On the one hand, fewer companies are ready to provide apprenticeships for young people, on the other hand, representatives of the industry complain of a lack of appropriate applicants in spite of rising numbers. Book selling and publishing seem to be perceived as professional fields that provide more inner satisfaction than financial rewards and career options. This image does not make it an attractive option for school leavers with strong career ambitions. To prevent a possible lack of expert staff in the future, some sections of the German Book Trade Association have started campaigns to improve their image and to inform about career

³¹ From 2005 onwards, all training activities of the German Book Trade Association will be concentrated in the hands of a Public Limited Company. The post of managing director will be advertised in the beginning of 2005 and has not yet been filled.

³² *börsenblatt* 6-2003. p.12.

³³ *Buch und Buchhandel in Zahlen* 2003. p.95.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 14.

opportunities. Advertising material of the Book Trade Association³⁵ presents portraits of "successful representatives of the trade" – "possible career opportunities with books". Three of the eleven representatives having reached successful positions are women: a branch manager, a self-employed publishing house representative and the owner of a book shop.

Why the majority of successful positions presented, in particular in publishing, had to be represented by men can only be explained by the assumption that the advertisement was meant to attract more male newcomers to this female domain. The campaign was obviously not aimed at motivating young women to emulate the successful careers of women in the book market professions. This is no exceptional case. The industry's weekly publication (*das börsenblatt*) uses portraits of people from the book market professions to advertise the association and its members. A random selection of 35 issues of this magazine in 2004 showed the following picture: A total of 28 individual and 7 group portraits (married couples or families) were introduced. 23 of these cases dealt with the career or professional achievements of a man. Only 5 cases presented the achievements of an individual woman. All female publishers presented had a strong (marriage) partner by their side; there was no case of an individual female portrait in the issues revised.

The special journal *BuchMarkt* (book market) has been granting the award "Publisher of the Year" since 1994. Only one out of ten award recipients was a woman – Monika Thaler in 2002.

4.2 Courses at Universities and Colleges

Universities offer a variety of study courses leading to key positions in the book sector. A master's degree in book science, including economics of the book sector, is offered by the universities of Erlangen, Leipzig and Mainz; the University of Munich provides a Bachelor's degree and post-graduate courses.

All university courses have a high percentage of women, a trend that started before the 1990s and is clearly growing stronger in some areas³⁶.

In the winter semester of 2004/05, 83% of all students of book science at the University of Mainz were women – the corresponding figure for 1990/91 had been 60%

³⁵ Gros, Michael: *[bilder] buch karriere. Elf Beispiele, was man mit Büchern alles werden kann* [(Picture) Book Career. Eleven Examples of What You Can Become with Books]. Frankfurt/Main: German Book Trade Association, 2004.

³⁶ Due to the small overall number of students enrolled in Munich (20-25), the female shares fluctuate considerably and shows no clear trend. At Erlangen, student numbers rose from 38 in the winter semester of 1992/93 to 200. The share of women amounted to 76.8% in the winter semester of 1992/93 and 82.7% in the winter semester of 2002/03.

and for 1994/95 about 66%. Stefan Füssel, professor for book science at the Johannes Gutenberg University, sees very positive achievements for women:

"The number of female students has been growing considerably over the last 10 years, there is a clear rise in female students achieving excellent final grades within the prescribed study time, there has been a great increase in doctoral theses and two habilitations of female colleagues were received within the last two years. Habilitations by male colleagues are nowhere in sight. – Female graduates move swiftly into leading positions. Examples of this year's graduates: branch manager for a book shop chain as a first job position, managing director of a (larger) press agency after one year, leading positions in the editorial department of (large) publishing houses, and one male PhD graduate became top sales manager of a (large) publishing house within two years, etc."

Kirsten Steffen, trained book seller and holder of a PhD in German Studies, is the co-ordinator for diploma and post-graduate courses in "book science". She stresses that a percentage of 5 to 10% men is typical for the trade³⁷. However, the same is not true for the Advisory Council of the study course: 86% of its members are men.

The diploma course was founded in 1996/97 and combines book science and business studies. Students have usually undergone a previous vocational training in a publishing house or a book shop. Between 2000 and 2005, 137 female and 13 male students were enrolled in this course; this is a female share of 91.3%.

A one year post-graduate course follows the diploma course; it also includes internships in publishing houses. Data on the post-graduate course go back to 1989/90. Female shares oscillate around an average of 77.6% for this period.

Dietrich Kerlen, professor of book science at the Institute of Communication and Media Sciences also confirms that the ratio of male to female students is 7:3 and concludes, "This will get things moving in the publishing houses – in a medium term perspective – also in key positions!³⁸."

Colleges are more oriented towards industry needs and offer several diploma courses with a strong practical bias³⁹. Percentage shares of female students differ

³⁷ „Ein Pool von Kontakten. Hochschulausbildung. Buchwissenschaften studieren in München“ [A Pool of Contacts. University Studies. Study Book Science in Munich]. An interview with Kirsten Steffen, Ludwig-Maximilians-University. In: *börsenblatt* 26-2003, p. 51.

³⁸ Ten years of Book Science at Leipzig,
<http://www.uni-leipzig.de/%7Ebuchwiss/informationen/info.htm>.

³⁹ There are also training opportunities in Baden-Württemberg at the occupational academies, which offer academic courses in connection with practical training in a company. Data on the composition of the student body are not available.

depending on the courses offered; at the College of Printing and Media at Stuttgart, for example, female shares vary between 27 and 76% in the subjects of media publishing / economics of publishing, media and printing technologies and print media management⁴⁰.

Technically oriented courses are less popular with women, as shown by the examples of Stuttgart and Wuppertal (communication technology in printing). Female shares are rising in both cases, but they remain below 30%. The Technical College Berlin has a slightly higher female share of 35%, which increased to 42% in the winter semester of 2004/05. Exceptionally high female shares are achieved by the Leipzig College, where 66% of students of book production at the department of polygraphic technology are women. This course prepares for production, planning or marketing positions in publishing houses.

Courses with a commercial focus have female shares of above 80%, e.g. the course "book trade / economics of publishing" at the College for Technology, Economics and Culture, Leipzig or the Stuttgart College.

4.3 Further Training and Education for Employees, Newcomers and Freelances

There is a wide range of further training and education opportunities for trained book sellers, commercial clerks in publishing houses, experts and top managers for people who access the profession by a side entrance or return after a career break. Most book-related courses are offered by the schools of the German Book Trade and its regional associations, but there is also a multitude of courses in connection with digitalisation around the field of multi media, media production and management that may also be attended by members of the book market professions. The multitude of courses and providers makes it difficult to gain a structured overview. Centrally collected gendered data (comparable to the training data provided by the Chambers of Trade and Commerce) are not available in this area.

The Academy of the German Book Trade, seated in Munich, trains 1 800 students per year and is one of the big media academies in Germany. The Academy focuses on the professionalisation and qualification of managers; its main customers are general publishers, publishers of specialist books and publishers of specialist journals.

In 2004, 932 participants took part in special courses related to publishing and book selling; 68.3% of them were women. While the high percentage of women is not surprising, the gender distribution across the different study courses is quite interesting (see Table 5).

⁴⁰ Winter semester of 2002/03: Media publishing and economics of publishing: total 135, female share 75.9%; printing and media technology: total 219, female share 27.4%; Print-media-management: total 267, female share 42.7%.

Table 5 Participation in Courses at the Academy of the German Book Trade, Munich

	T	%F
Certificates Obtained in Part-Time Studies		
Publishing House Manager	148	43.9
Editing Departments	162	75.3
Independent Editing	143	90.2
Open Courses		
Management	50	48.0
Production and Layout	30	53.3
Marketing	80	62.5
Rights and Licenses	179	65.9
Communication and Self-Management	49	75.5
Distribution	24	79.2
Others	67	85.1
TOTAL	932	68.3

Source: Academy of German Book Trade, Munich.

The share of women in editing courses is very high, both in courses for editors at publishing departments and for free-lance editors. Among self-employed editors, the percentage of women participating in the courses is significantly higher than their share in the respective professional associations⁴¹. Most of the members of these associations are university graduates; many of them hold a doctor's degree. However, "editor" is neither an academic profession⁴² nor a registered defined occupation. The study courses provide free-lance editors with the necessary know-how to become independent, and the certificate is a well-established and widely recognised proof of qualification in the publishing branch. Course organisers indicated that many of the participants are women in their family phase who either want to build up a part-time career or develop their part-time work into self-employment. The higher shares of women in these courses in comparison to their membership in professional association could indicate that independent editing is a growing market segment where women in particular (are forced to) seek professional opportunities⁴³.

⁴¹ <http://www.lektorat.de>, 72.8% of a total of 338 members are women (as of 7-10-2004). 285 members, 77% of them women, are listed on the membership roll of the Association of Independent Editors (*Verband der Freien Lektorinnen und Lektoren e.V.*) on the Internet (<http://www.vfill.de>).

⁴² On the university level, new opportunities for further training have developed, e.g. the post-graduate course "Editorial Sciences" at the University of Oldenburg.

⁴³ The higher share of women among self-employed editors and their lower share in employment at editing departments of publishing houses could indicate that women are more often affected by outsourcing processes in publishing houses.

Courses for editors at editing departments are more tailored towards the changing functions of this profession, especially "lifelong learning". In departmental editing, there has been a paradigm change away from strategies focused on authors and production towards a focus on marketing and readers⁴⁴. Today, the "good nose for new discoveries"⁴⁵ is not as important any more as it used to be in editing, required are skills like the "interpretation of calculations, observation of sales cycles of books, an understanding of cost-benefit-calculation, the definition and fixation of target groups⁴⁶."

The participation of women in training programmes for professionals in key positions is important with respect to the representation of women in key positions. The lowest female shares are to be found in those courses expressly addressed to leading managers and designed as compact part-time courses to attain a certificate (44%). Do publishers and book traders prefer to invest in male careers? This suspicion is further nurtured by the fact that there are more women in full-time courses preparing for key positions than in part-time courses attended by professionals who are delegated and funded by their respective companies to improve their professional qualification. There are no data on the delegation of employees in private companies for further training. Studies on the motivation for further training show that women "emphasize different aspects regarding their learning motivations than men. Less women than men said that advancement on the career ladder was the decisive motivation for their further training⁴⁷."

Structural differences in the further training situation of women and men disappear if only full-time employees are considered. Women in part-time employment, who form an above average share among employees liable to social security deductions also in the book and publishing sector, have more difficulties to participate in further training measures than their full-time colleagues. Women in part-time positions indicate significantly less often that their professional opportunities

⁴⁴ Göbel, Wolfram: *Produktmanager, Ghostwriter oder Macher. Die Funktionsveränderungen im Verlagslektorat* [Product Manager, Ghost Writer or Organiser. Changing Functions in the Editing Profession]. In: Schneider, Ute (ed.): *Das Lektorat – eine Bestandsaufnahme* [The Editing Department – an Inventory]. Wiesbaden, 1996, p. 17.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Kuwan, Helmut: *Berufliche Weiterbildung von Frauen in Deutschland* [Further Training Opportunities for Women in Germany]. Munich 2001, available at http://www.anstosszumaufstieg.de/Dateien/KUFA_Schluss.pdf (no page numbers). Between 1993 and 1999, Infratest Social Research conducted four subsequent research projects on "opportunities to improve the professional promotion and career opportunities of women" ("*Möglichkeiten zur Verbesserung der beruflichen Aufstiegs- und Karrierechancen von Frauen*"). Some findings of these research studies are published at the Internet address mentioned above.

were improved by further training measures than their full-time employed female colleagues⁴⁸.

5. Representation of Women in Key Decision Making Positions

Data on gender balances in key positions do not just reflect the status quo - they always have implications for the future from an education perspective. Both aspects will be taken in account in the data analysis below. The importance of role models was already pointed out in connection with "occupations around the book". Parents⁴⁹, teachers and trainers are important role models that form the development of young people's professional career paths and strategies.

The obvious imbalance between a very high share of female students and a low share of female lecturers was confirmed by interviews that the Centre for Cultural Research (ZfKf) conducted with students. However, there was no awareness on the side of the interviewees that the lack of women in top positions is an indicator for the phenomenon that has been described as glass ceilings, meaning that certain positions are difficult or even impossible to achieve for women. Female students at the beginning of their professional career seem to find it inconceivable that women pursuing a career still meet with obstacles today. Reasons for the lack of women in top positions are mostly seen as the women's own fault, e.g., "This is certainly so because a lot of women decide later on to have children, and then they do not concentrate on their careers and miss their opportunities." The reconcilability of career and family is not doubted, which is also reconfirmed by the following figures, although there is a much higher share of women than have been expected in view of the numbers of female graduates.

A glance into the Internet pages of the respective colleges and universities shows that in book or publishing related studies relatively few female professors are to be found. The situation here is not much different from the general picture at German universities and colleges. One of the four university undergraduate courses is headed by a woman⁵⁰. The average share of 14.3% female professors is even below the overall average in "Linguistics and Cultural Studies" that was established in 2002 (19.7%). As the last 10 years saw an increase especially of the most prestigious C4 professorships (the female share doubled from 7.1 to 14.3%), a comparison to the most up to date data would probably show an even greater discrepancy⁵¹.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ See also Nissen, Ursula; Keddi, Barbara; Pfeil, Patrica: *Beruffindungsprozesse von Mädchen und jungen Frauen. Erklärungsansätze und empirische Befunde* [Career Finding Processes of Girls and Young Women. Explanation Attempts and Empirical Findings]. Opladen: 2003, p. 101 ff.

⁵⁰ University of Erlangen, Prof. Dr. Ursula Rautenberg.

⁵¹ See: *Frauen in Führungspositionen an Hochschulen und außerhochschulischen Forschungs-*

The share of women among scientific and artistic personnel and lecturers in "Linguistics and Cultural Studies" rose from 38.9 to 45.2% between 1992 and 2002. These figures are similar to those in the book market and publishing related study courses and further training courses (see Table 5): here an average of 40% and 38% of all lecturers were women.

Table 6 Female Shares Among Course Supervisors, 2005

Teaching Staff	T	%F
Schools of German Book Trade Association and Associated Regional Offices	239	35.6
Academy of the German Book Trade	91	43.9
Total	330	37.9

Source: List of lecturers, January 2005, available at <http://www.fortbildung-buchhandel.com>, Jahresprogramm 2005 der Akademie des Deutschen Buchhandels München (Annual Programme 2004 of the Academy of the German Book Trade, Munich).

Further training through a mentoring programme exclusively for women is offered by the association "Netzwerk BücherFrauen e.V." [Network BookWomen]. The nation-wide network is organised in city groups. An experienced female mentor accompanies a younger qualified professional ("mentee") over a period of one year, advising her on professional questions and supporting her development. The programme has been running for five years in various places in Germany and is sponsored by publishing houses. Hanne Knickmann, press officer of the network, describes the mentor as

"a colleague who is at least two steps ahead of the mentee on the career ladder, most of them women with a very busy schedule who participate in the programme on a voluntary basis. They usually meet their mentee once per month to discuss professional questions. The mentees apply for the programme; they are usually not at the very beginning of their professional career⁵²."

Owners or department managers of bookshops are usually the main resource persons for trainees. The majority of trainees or apprentices learn their trade in

einrichtungen. Achte Fortschreibung des Datenmaterials durch die Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsförderung [Women in Leading Positions in Universities and Non-University Research Institutions. Eighth Continuation of the Data Material by the Bund-Länder Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion].

⁵² Interview with Hanne Knickmann, press officer of *BücherFrauen*, at the Frankfurt Book Fair, 9-10-2004.

small or medium size book shops (68%), most of them family enterprises. Often, ownership and management stay within the family. As a rule, trainees cannot be employed by these businesses when they finish their vocational training. Then opening up one's own business or searching employment with a larger book store are the options for advancement on the career ladder.

What are the chances for women to access the top management levels at present? The representation of women in the sections of the book market with the highest turnover figures is a suitable indicator for this question. Most of the market-dominating German book stores with an annual turnover between euro 3.5 million and euro 382 million and a staff of 15 to 1 949 are headed by men. Women are underrepresented among owners (14.7%) as well as among executive directors (12.6%).

Table 7 Share of Women among Owners and Executive Directors of Book Stores with more than 3.5 million euro Turnover, 2004

	Owners		Executive Director	
	T	%F	T	%F
Book Stores	88	14.7%	132	12.6%

Note: Data of 2003, overview of the 100 "most successful" (highest turn over) book stores in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. 55 German enterprises were identified, 50% were owned by families, incorporated societies or publishing houses. The directors' names were fully listed.

Source: Calculated by the Centre for Cultural Research (ZfKF) on the basis of buchreport, Issue 35, no. 3, March 2004.

A similar analysis was done for market-dominating publishing houses. The classification of publishing houses turnover reveals interesting results (see Table 7): There is a clear connection between the size of a company and the share of women in top positions and other key management positions. High turnover figures are related to low percentages of women at the top of the company and in other leading management positions.

Table 8 Share of Women among Owners and Executive Directors of Publishing Houses, 2004

NACE 4.2.1.1 Publishing Houses	Executive Director		Other Leading Positions	
	T	%F	T	%F
With more than euro 100 million Turnover (n=16)	36	11.1 %	31	12.9%
With euro 20 to 100 million Turnover (n=49)	119	11.8%	99	36.4
With less then euro 20 million Turnover (n=30)	54	14.8%	84	46.4%
Total	209	12.4%	214	36.9%

Source: Calculated by ZfKf on the basis of buchreport, issue 35, no 4, March 2004.

Note: Data of 2003, overview of the 100 "most successful" (highest turn over) publishing houses in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. 95 German enterprises were identified. Executive directors were listed for the most enterprises, while "other leading positions" were only listed in 2/3 of all enterprises.

A breakdown by business areas in the publishing sector does not lead to new insights into gender balances – the magnitude of turnover remains the main determining factor. Specialist book publishers as the market leaders with turnovers of up to euro 530 million only have the occasional woman among their top management, the female share here amounts to just 4.8%.

Table 9 Gender Balances in Leading Publishing Houses, 2004

Publishing Houses	Executive Director		Other Leading Positions	
	T	%F	T	%F
The 10 most Successful Paper Back Publishing Houses (Between 20 to 77 million euro Turnover)	27	14.8%	23	39.2%
The 10 most Successful Belletrist Publishing Houses (Between 51 and 193 million euro Turnover)	26	7.7%	18	20%
The 10 most Successful Specialist Publishers (Between 97 and 530 million euro Turnover)	21	4.8%	26	15.4%

Source: calculated by ZfKf on the basis of buchreport, issue35, no. 4, March 2004.

Longitudinal comparisons of the representation of women at different management levels in book trade and publishing are not available. Overall, the share of women in leading administrative positions in the German media industries rose from 19.2% in 1987 to 29.9% in 1999. Figures for publishing in Bavaria, where the share of media industries in the overall economy is above average, indicate that the development in this part of the media industries is still more positive for women

than e.g. in the printing industry or in broadcasting. The share of women in the Bavarian publishing business rose from 18.2% in 1987 to 33.5% in 1999.

The Centre for Cultural Research (ZfKf) compared today's posting of top positions to the situation in the past decades using two editions of "Who is Who at the Frankfurt Book Fair" (see Tables 8 and 9), providing an orientation frame work to assess the up to date development. However, these figures are not strictly comparable. The data bases changed after the German re-unification, and the self-portraits of the publishing houses in the up to date issues provide much more detailed information.

Table 10 Trends in the Share of Women Among Publishing Professionals in 1979 and 2003

Year	1979		2003	
	T	%F	T	%F
Area of Responsibility				
Rights Manager	127	50.4	393	78.9
Assistant	3	33.3	41	78.0
Literary Agent			46	65.2
Commissioning Editor			30	63.3
Manager	159	29.6	182	63.2
Editor	338	29.9	578	56.9
Promotion Manager	188	25.5	159	54.7
Sales Manager	381	22.8	417	53.0
Agent	7	14.3	38	44.7
Editorial Director			369	44.2
Representative	129	16.3	183	43.2
Sales Director			461	42.3
Marketing Director	8	0	360	41.7
Production Manager	107	11.2	245	38.4
Executive	16	6.3	3	33.3
Director	348	9.5	407	29.0
Export Manager	9	44.4	40	25.0
Vice President			24	25.0
Chairman	18	0.0	73	19.2
President			136	18.4
Publisher	622	14.5	658	17.8
Managing Director	1	0	441	17.5
TOTAL	2 462	20.7	5 664	44.4

Source: Number of publishing houses listed in the Who's Who: 1979: n = 734; 2003: n=1.355.

The total number of publishing houses and the number of individuals listed in the "Who's Who at the Frankfurt Book Fair" has doubled between 1979 and 2003. New professions in the publishing business have been added to the handbook; some of them are totally new professional profiles which came up within the last decade. Trends can only be assessed for those positions which belong to the standard information provided by the handbook over the total period under review (in Table 10, these positions are shaded in grey).

Comparing the data over the years, there are some trends which can be seen as indicators for the development of the German book market in general, e.g. the ongoing concentration process in the book market. While the number of publishing houses has doubled, the number of publishers has hardly increased.

The share of female owners of publishing houses amounts to 17.8% and remains small. Compared to the 1979 figures, the share has grown by three percentage points.

Table 11 Share of Women as Top Executives in Publishing Companies, 2003

Area of Responsibility	M	F	T	%F
Publisher	541	117	658	17.8
President	111	25	136	18.4
Vice President	18	6	24	25.0
Chairman	59	14	73	19.2
Chairperson / President	188	45	233	19.3
Director	289	118	407	29.0
Editorial Director	206	163	369	44.2
Sales Director	266	195	461	42.3
Marketing Director	210	150	360	41.7
Managing Director	364	77	441	17.5
Board of Directors	1 335	703	2 038	34.5
Manager	67	115	182	63.2
Press Manager	75	308	383	80.4
Rights Manager	83	310	393	78.9
Promotion Manager	72	87	159	54.7
Sales Manager	196	221	417	53.0
Production Manager	151	94	245	38.4
Export Manager	30	10	40	25.0
Editor	249	329	578	56.9
Management Level	923	1 474	2 397	61.5
Commissioning Editor	11	19	30	63.3
Representative	104	79	183	43.2
Literary Agent	16	30	46	65.2
Agent	21	17	38	44.7
Freelancers	152	145	297	48.8
Assistant	9	32	41	78.0
TOTAL	3 148	2 516	5 664	44.4

Source: Professionals in 1 355 companies exhibiting at the Frankfurt Book Fair, listed in "Who's Who at the Frankfurt Book Fair 2003".

In an earlier evaluation of all registered German publishing houses, the Centre for Cultural Research had registered a different trend. The share of female owners of publishing houses had dropped from about one third in 1986 to 18.7% in 1998. There were slight fluctuations in the female share in the top positions in publishing houses, but they were all in the range of about 13%⁵³.

⁵³ See *Frauen im Kultur- und Medienbetrieb* (2000), p.87 (figure 87). The evaluation was based on the standard handbook of German publishing: Curt Vinz/ Günter Olzog:

A recent evaluation of the 2004 edition of the ILMP handbook⁵⁴ confirms the trend that the share of female publishers and owners of publishing houses remains below the figure of one third established in 1986. The share of women among 3 319 management positions in 1 479 German publishing houses all ranged below the share established from "Who is Who at the Frankfurt Book Fair". Publishers are the only exception, with an above average female share of 23.8%.

Another trend could be established on the basis of this survey. The ILMP handbook lists a total of 94 owners of publishing houses, 20% of them are women. A breakdown by year of foundation shows that only 9.5% of all publishing houses founded before 1979 were owned by women, a much lower figure than for publishing houses founded later than 1970. The number of female owners has tripled since then and amounts to a share of 30.4% in "younger" publishing houses.

Fewer women than men decide to become self-employed. According to the KfW founding-monitor, 16% of all men but only 7.4% of all women can imagine to start their own business.

The share of women in business start-ups amounts to 28%; about every fourth business in Germany is founded by a woman. Start-ups with a more technological bias show a female share of only 10 to 15%⁵⁵.

Asked about the engagement of women in start-ups in the publishing sector, Hanne Knickman, press officer of the "BücherFrauen"⁵⁶, states that many female professionals prefer this career path as it provides an alternative to being subject to the hierarchical structures of an employment contract. The most important motivation (of women and men) to become self-employed, however, is a certain pioneer spirit in publishing, the wish to create one's own content programme, and the wish to initiate social and political changes.

From the 1970s until the late 1980s, many women became independent publishers specialising in literature for women and by women. However, this gap in the market was soon be recognised by the big publishers as well. The boom of women's books – meanwhile most of these series and special editions either do not exist any more or serve the entire spectrum of the market – was also an expression

Dokumentation deutschsprachiger Verlage [Inventory of German Language Publishing Houses]. A new edition is to be issued soon. As the descriptors remained the same in all previous editions of the handbook, it may be expected that a new evaluation will lead to a reliable assessment of development trends.

⁵⁴ International Literary Market Place. The Directory of the International Book Publishing Industry, Medford NJ 2004.

⁵⁵ KfW-Bankengruppe (ed.): *KfW-Gründungsmonitor. Untersuchung zu Gründungen im Voll- und Nebenerwerb*. [KfW Start-up Monitor. Study on Full-Time and Part-Time Start-Ups]. Frankfurt, 2004.

⁵⁶ Interview at the Frankfurt Book Fair, 9-10-2005.

of changes in society. These developments brought positive trends for women in the list of best-selling books. In an analysis of the lists of best-selling books from 1969 to 2001, Karina Liebenstein states,

"For a long time, male authors produced the majority of titles in the annual lists of best-selling books in belletristic literature. But the number of titles written by women increased steadily over the years. 1989 was the first year when more books on the list of best-selling titles were written by women than by men. During the last decade under review (1991 to 2001), the gender ratio became balanced⁵⁷." Such positive conclusions cannot be drawn in all areas, e.g. "female authors on the list of best-selling non-fictional books are still a minority, although the number of titles written by women increased during the period under review⁵⁸."

When established publishing houses developed special programmes for a female target group, this was the end of many feminist publishing houses and book shops. A number of female publishers remained in the market; some of them shifted their thematic focus. One example is the Antje Kunstmann Verlag, another the Ulrike Helmer Verlag with a programme that "gives books a chance that focus on the female perception of the world, be it in the area of science or in the area of belletristic literature. Her feminist engagement is a contribution towards a more gender-balanced, humane society⁵⁹." Hanne Knickmann comments on the present situation of start-ups:

"At present, business start-ups go through an interesting phase; there is usually a high amount of professional experience behind the start-ups, not just becoming self-employed for want of a better solution after graduation from university, when people storm into freedom and then fail because they lack experience. No, no, I have realised that over the last one or two years renowned women from the book branch chose the way into independence. It will be interesting to see what it means for the trade."

In contrast to the situation in other sectors of the culture and media industries, self-employment in the publishing business was rather an exceptional phenomenon until the end of the 1980s. Outsourcing processes in the editing departments⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Liebenstein, Karina: *Bestsellerlisten 1962 – 2001. Eine statistische Analyse. Unveröffentlichtes Manuskript* [Lists of Best-Selling Books, 1962-2001. A statistical analysis. Unpublished manuscript]. p.82, available soon at: <http://www.phil.uni-erlangen.de/~p1bbk/AllesBuch/StudienStartNeu.htm>.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Excerpt from the speech given at the occasion of awarding the "Dr-Gabriele-Strecker-Prize" to Ulrike Helmer in 2004.

⁶⁰ See e.g. Schneider, Ute: „Die Konstante in der Beziehung: Autor-Verlag“ [The

initiated new developments, e.g. the founding of literary agencies⁶¹ (see also Table 8). Literary agents are a professional group with strong gate-keeper functions for the visibility and sale of (literary) products. Both professional areas offer career alternatives to employment with a publishing house or a book shop for professionals from the fields of bookselling and publishing. In his introduction to a publication titled "Literary Agents – Secret Rulers of Literary Life?", Ernst Fischer states:

"Meanwhile, it is said that 85% of all literary successes are due to the work of agents. The last decade or the last five years saw a veritable founding fever in the agency business. How many agencies are there in Germany today: 50, 100 or 150? Investigations lead to differing results, but in any case, the high figures are misleading because the number of reasonably successful, serious and professional agencies has remained quite manageable. Some of the newly founded agencies seem to need a clearer specialisation, a trend that can already be observed in the areas of children's books and non-fiction books⁶²."

In their 2004 statistics, the organisers of the Frankfurt Book Fair indicate a further growth in the number of agencies and agents as compared to 2003. More than half of the agencies come from English-speaking regions.

Table 12 Representation of National and International Literary Agents and Agencies at the Agent and Scout Centre at the Frankfurt Book Fair for 1999 and 2004

	1999	2004	Increase
Agencies	198	237*	+19.7%
Agents	318	415	+30.5%

Source: Website of the Frankfurt Book Fair, Zahlen & Fakten zu Ausstellern.

* 27 located in Germany.

All inventories and lists of literary agents / agencies show high percentage shares of women (see also Table 9). The catalogue of the Frankfurt Book Fair provides information on the ownership or management for 30 out of 37 agencies residing in Germany. About 55% of them are headed by women.

Publishing house representatives are intermediaries between book trade and publishers. They also work quite often on a free-lance basis. This profession, which

Constant in the Relationship Author - Publisher]. In: Fischer, Ernst: (ed): *Literarische Agenturen – die heimlichen Herrscher im Literaturbetrieb?* [Literary Agencies – Secret Rulers of Literary Life?]. Wiesbaden, 2001, p. 36.

⁶¹ The increase of literary agencies was expressly mentioned at the 2004 Frankfurt Book Fair.

⁶² Fischer, Ernst (ed): op. cit., p. 9f.

involves a lot of travel activities, has experienced a significant increase of female professionals since 1979.

Prizes and Awards

There is a multitude of prizes and awards for writers⁶³, but special prizes and awards for publishers are not more than a handful. All of them – except a special women's award – are rarely awarded to women.

As already mentioned in section 4.1, the award "Publisher of the Year" by the BuchMarkt journal, a prize of honour with no financial endowment, was only once given to a woman during the last ten years.

The "Karl-Heinz-Zillmer-Award for special merits in publishing" given by the Hamburg Cultural Foundation (Hamburgische Kulturstiftung), endowed with 10 000 euro, went only once to a woman (Katharina Wagenbach) up to now.

Since 2000, the Kurt-Wolff-Foundation, an interest group of independent publishers, has been awarding a special prize for model projects contributing towards the diversity of literature by publishers residing in Germany or publishing in German. The share of women in the board of trustees and the executive committee of the foundation amounts to one third. Three out of four main prizes endowed with 26 000 euro were given to a man, and all project grants amounting to 5 000 euro were allocated to men so far.

The network "BücherFrauen" e.V. awards the title "BookWoman of the Year" to a female author or publisher at the occasion of the Frankfurt Book Fair. There have been nine prize winners so far, among them women like Ingeborg Mues, founder and editor of the series "Die Frau in der Gesellschaft" [Women in Society] of the Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, female scientists and feminist business women from the book branch.

Summary and Conclusions

Book trade and publishing offer a great number of employment opportunities and career options for women. The industry provides or supports a multitude of training opportunities used actively by women. Some professional areas, e.g. rights and licenses or public relations, have developed into female domains over the last decades.

The high share of female trainees among book sellers or sales clerks in publishing houses corresponds to the respective shares of women among employees liable to social security deductions for the occupational groups. However, in view of the high share of female students at universities, the share of women in leading positions at universities and in the management of larger book stores and publishing

⁶³ Cp. Wiesand, Andreas Joh.: *Handbuch der Kulturpreise* [German Handbook of Cultural Award]. Bonn: ARCult Media, 2001.

houses are surprisingly low. Some examples of successful female careers indicate that in the future changes in favour of women are to be expected, especially due to the generally expected lack of qualified professionals. Further support to equality in the working place is desirable to support this trend, be it with or without an anti-gender-discrimination law. Family-friendly measures and, above all, more investment into the training of women in part-time jobs to prepare them for top positions are the most important areas of action.

Women are still a small minority in top positions of renowned publishing houses. Therefore it is not surprising that the "inheriting" of such positions – still common practice especially in the publishing business – is seen as negative when women take over.

"The founding era of industrial enterprises in the 19th century creates the figure of the entrepreneur as a modern hero. He is bearer and guarantor of innovation, productivity, progress and hard-earned prosperity. This figure is characterised by the semantics of inventing and doing things. (...) However, the entrepreneurial personality creates a social problem, because it cannot be replaced by someone else. An enterprise may be passed on to the next generation, but the heritage of founding qualities is highly unlikely, even though many heirs have been groomed to fulfil this role⁶⁴."

Although in the course of industrialisation, the division of labour also developed also on the top management level, "there is no renouncing to the fiction of the so-called ultimate decision maker⁶⁵."

"On the highest level, in the area of strategic management, the heroic component is still dominant. (...) This is where women's career paths end (also in the publishing business, A.B.) because there is a peculiar mechanism that makes men and women accept any hierarchical position towards each other as long as there is still another man on top of the woman⁶⁶."

More knowledge of these hierarchial structures could have an active influence even now. The results of gender studies should be more strongly discussed and integrated especially in university education, leading to an awareness of the advantages and disadvantages of the division of labour among women and men among future leaders, not only from an individual point of view, but also from a social and economic perspective.

⁶⁴ Pasero, Ursula, op.cit., p.146.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 147.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p.148.

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