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**Family Policy and Workplace Provisions:
Conflicts and Potentials.
The Case of Germany and Beyond.**

Ute Klammer/Christina Klenner

Dr. Ute Klammer/Dr. Christina Klenner
WSI in der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung
Hans-Böckler-Str. 39
D-40476 Düsseldorf
Germany

e-mail: ute-klammer@boeckler.de
christina-klenner@boeckler.de

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1. Introduction

Western European societies are currently witnessing a contradictory development as far as the work-life balance and the question of care are concerned. On the one hand, the trend towards an adult worker model (accompanied by the increasing integration of mothers in the labour market) and public concern about low birth rates and changing demographic structures have led to a "reinvention" of family policy. Cash benefits for families and rights for carers (e.g. for parental leave, care leave, part-time work etc.) have been extended in several countries, running against the general trend towards cutting social policy expenditure. On the other hand, the increasing participation of women in the labour market, in combination with the flexibilisation of labour markets and employment contracts, the rise of the global 24-hour economy, growing stress at the workplace and unpredictable working times have made it more difficult than ever to achieve a satisfactory work-life balance.

This paper investigates these contradictory developments, focusing in particular on Germany. It combines institutional analysis with qualitative research on families' arrangements for work and care responsibilities. The paper then looks at the question of how state family policy and workplace regulations can complement each other to improve the options for combining work and childcare. We show that workplace regulations are of growing importance with regard to state family policy. In particular, this concerns the working time arrangements of companies as well as their "working culture", especially their concept of "the employee".

The empirical parts of the paper are based on, among other things, the findings of two qualitative research projects that looked into the strategies of working parents in which the authors of this paper were involved (Ludwig/Schlevogt/Klammer/Gerhard 2002, referred to as "Project 1" in the following, and Klenner/Pfahl/Reuyß 2002, referred to as "Project 2" in the following). The information taken from these projects focuses on the reconcilability strategies of cohabiting couples with young children.¹ With regard to company-level information, the paper draws on the findings of a survey of around 1,700 works councils conducted by the WSI in summer 2002 as well as on a recent – and still incomplete – WSI survey (also of works councils) conducted in the summer of 2003 on working time arrangements and family-friendly measures in companies. In the latter case, the information is based on the preliminary evaluation of the unweighted data.² Findings from other German surveys are also used – such as a survey of ISO Cologne (2000) on works councils and a non-representative survey of 433 companies by the Hertie Foundation on family-conscious corporate strategies.

2. The reinvention of family policy: between innovation and traditionalism

For a long time, social and family policy in (west) Germany was focused on the breadwinner model of married couples. This was based on the expectation that women, in particular married women with children, would withdraw from the labour market permanently or at least temporarily. This model was massively promoted and subsidised by state family policy for decades, in particular through the instruments of matrimonial tax splitting, premium-free health and long-term care insurance of non-employed spouses, the derived system of survivor's pensions, and numerous other individual regulations in the tax and transfer system. In contrast, the expansion of the childcare infrastructure was neglected (as a consequence of the prevailing model of a

¹ The focus on couple-based families is due to the consideration that, in particular with regard to this family type, there are still many institutional provisions that oppose an "adult worker model", and that this generates special requirements as well as special opportunities for the promotion of a new "gender-fair" work-life balance. The special situation of single parents calls for a separate study.

² The data are based on a partial data set of 600 respondents. Based on experience, however, it is fair to assume that they provide an adequate picture of the situation.

mother who stayed at home to raise her children) and progressed only very slowly compared to the situation in many other countries of Europe (Klammer et al. 2000, p. 336 – 340, Klammer/Daly 2003).

The share of spending on family policy in the overall social policy budget fell continuously between the mid-60s and the late 90s. In former west Germany, it fell from levels of over 18% in the early 60s to between 13% and 14% in the 90s (Klammer et al. 2000: 334).

Concern over the demographic trend and in particular the low birth rate³ have refocused attention on family policy in recent years, and it has now become a key field of debate and policy. However, the family policy endeavours of the "Red-Green" government, in power since 1998, were mainly concentrated on increasing *monetary* benefits for families during its first period in office (Klammer 2002: 126; Schratzenstaller 2002: 129). Child allowance payments were increased several times, for example, and the income limits for monetary benefits during parental leave were raised.⁴ This concentration on monetary support for families was a continuation of the basic family policy practised by the former conservative governments. During its last period in office, the government also began to gear its policy towards making it easier for mothers to reconcile work and family. The emphasis of this policy was on facilitating and increasing the attractions of the "modified breadwinner model" (with the wife working part-time).⁵ The last pension reform upgraded the pension rights of mothers in part-time employment, for example. The right to part-time employment was improved by the "Law on Part-Time Employment and Fixed-Term Contracts" – as were the options for working part-time during parental leave. During the current legislative term, the government has also made marginal and low-level employment relationships ("minijobs" up to € 400/month and "midijobs" up to € 800/month) even more "attractive", particularly for married women.

This gradual reorientation towards promoting the employment of women, particularly the part-time employment of mothers, has to date, however, not been accompanied by a reduction in the aforementioned benefits enjoyed by non-working (married) women. The internationally prevailing idea that adults should be able to finance their own needs and wishes through employment ("adult worker model") has gained institutional ground in Germany when it comes to directly relieving the state of the necessity to make transfer payments (in the form of social security, unemployment assistance etc.). When it comes to arrangements in which the husband is the breadwinner, however, the state not only continues to adopt a reserved stance but is also still willing – and more so than in other European countries – to provide substantial financial support for non-employment and marginal employment. As a result of the matrimonial tax splitting system, the state directly loses around € 20 billion in tax each year; indeed, model calculations drawn up by economists estimate that the loss of tax revenues induced by this system is around 50% higher than this figure (DIW 1999: 171).

Another central problem is the still inadequate public childcare infrastructure, particularly in west Germany. Although there has been a right to a nursery place for children above the age of 3 since 1996, not only does this right not extend to full-day care places; the system is, moreover, still not in place all over Germany. In addition, Germany is still near the back of the European pack when it comes to children below the age of 3 who attend childcare facilities, with a quota of just 5.5% (2000). These contradictory family policy signals have repeatedly been seen as one of the main reasons why, compared to other European countries, women have still made so little headway in (west) Germany in their efforts to attain some kind of equality with men in the area of employment opportunities and incomes (e.g. Dingeldey 2000, 2002).

It is only recently – since the beginning of the second period in office of the Red-Green coalition – that the extension of state childcare facilities has been declared a high-priority family policy objective. A programme with a volume of € 1.5 billion has been announced for the expansion of

³ The German birth rate currently ranks 181st worldwide out of 191 surveyed countries.

⁴ The income limits for child-raising allowance have meanwhile been lower again, however.

⁵ In contrast, the substance of the provisions – despite an image campaign for fathers – signalled to men that everything could basically stay as it was (Klenner 2002).

childcare facilities for children under the age of 3; a further € 4 billion are to be invested in extending the system of full-day schools (Schmidt 2003).

It is worth asking whether this "re-discovery" of family policy and the planned expansion of state childcare facilities will really help to improve the reconcilability of work and family to any significant degree. Instead, the following pages will submit the hypothesis that state family policy is lagging behind real-life developments and that, in view of the changes in the living and working environments, even the more widespread use of the traditional instruments of this policy will do less and less to enable people to achieve a work-life balance. In contrast, working conditions at company level and, above all, working time options will play an increasingly important role in enabling families to achieve a liveable balance.

In order to determine which regulations and which support services at which levels (in other words, as provided by which agent) will really help families to create a satisfactory work-life balance, we will first look at the realities and problems of families in Germany – focusing not only on their working time arrangements and wishes but also on the overall complex of family and working life.

3. How do families cope? Empirical results concerning working and caring arrangements in Germany

3.1 Family working time arrangements

Although the family type based on the German breadwinner model (as the ideal type) still exists, it is no longer anything like the norm for the majority. Surveys show that attitudes among both men and women are increasingly in favour of greater participation of women as well as – to a lesser extent – mothers of small children in the employment market (Federal Statistics Office 2002: 537 – 539). In practice, the participation of women in the labour market and the extent of their employment is still heavily dependent on their family status and on the age of their children. At the same time, however, the employment levels of women, and in particular of mothers, has increased dramatically in recent decades. The percentage of working mothers has increased considerably and is now in the region of 61% (2000). In 2000, around 57% of mothers in west Germany were de facto employees – in other words, after subtracting those who were temporarily not working as they were on parental leave (see Appendix, Table A 1). In east Germany, the de facto employment rate was almost 70% in 2000 and would have been even higher if the unemployment rate among east German mothers had not been at 17.5%.⁶

In west Germany, however, two in three working women with children are in part-time jobs. In contrast, east German working women with children are in full-time employment far more frequently, with the figure reaching 70% in 1999. Of those in part-time jobs, most work more than half the standard weekly working time (see Appendix, Chart A 1).

If we look at the employment situation on the level of couples, we find differentiation of life models based on the scope of employment of the women: from the traditional breadwinner model (man full-time/woman not at work) via the modern variant (man full-time/woman part-time) to the "double breadwinner model" (man full-time/woman full-time). Other models in which men also work part-time play only a marginal role in Germany.

Overall, there are clear differences between actual life models on the one hand and the wishes and ideas of parents on the other when it comes to desirable employment and childcare constellations. Under the current conditions, however, there appears to be a majority vote for a model in which mothers work part-time and fathers full-time (generating the greater part of the family income) – at least in cases where small children need to be cared for. Four in five mothers whose child or children were born after 1991 voice a preference for this set-up – in both west and east Germany (Engelbrech and Jungkunst 2001a). If couples are able to put these

⁶ The trend towards an increase in working mothers as well as towards the "double-earner model" became apparent far earlier and far more strongly in east Germany as a result of the old GDR role model and the extension of full-day childcare facilities for children of all ages (Klammer u.a. 2000: 336-337).

wishes into practice, then the modernised breadwinner marriage with a full-time/part-time model could become the prevailing model in east Germany (as it already is in west Germany) for families with children. This would be an indicator for the correspondence between the reality of the situation and the model that has been promoted in recent years, particularly by the policies of the German government.

However, a comparison of the actual and desired situations shows that parents are far from able to achieve their preferred working time combinations. According to the findings of the "Employment Options of the Future Survey", more than 50% of couples with children below the age of 6 live in the constellation "husband full-time/wife not employed" – but only 6% of them actually want to live in this constellation. Alongside the lack of childcare facilities, it is primarily the required working times that prevent mothers from returning to work after they have given birth to children (Engelbrech and Jungkunst 2001a). If the general framework would permit it, many of the couples (around one in three) would also prefer the equally weighted participation of both partners in the employment market as full-time employees (ibid.).

3.2 Family life – problems and strategies of working parents

If we look at the everyday lives of working parents with young children, we find a wide range of amazingly complex patterns and arrangements, and hardly any two are the same. There are not only differences in the specific conditions; neither is there a generally accepted model for "how to live with children". Individualisation and pluralisation lead to differing basic "family arrangements" (Klenner et al. 2002: 49-51). These arrangements are influenced by many factors – such as individual attitudes towards partnership, child raising and family life, different ideas on the scopes of employment that are appropriate for the two partners, career ambitions, the sharing of housework, childcare preferences etc. The end result is based on the decisions and actions of the family members (above all the parents) and is constantly adapted in response to changes in external conditions. As a result, each family arranges its life in its own specific way (Jürgens 2001).

Nearly all parents make use of and combine elements of state family policy (parental leave, public childcare facilities etc.), company-level services and options (above all in the area of flexible working time arrangements), and private support networks to create their own individual "welfare mix". With a great deal of effort and planning, they put together the various resources to form tailored time and childcare "packages" that change as their children become older (Kniijn et al. 2003). These time and childcare packages are often fragile and prone to disruption; many of them need to be redefined with a great deal of improvisation or using "emergency plans" when minor irregularities arise - such as the cancellation of school lessons, the illness of day-care help, or the obligation of the mother to work unscheduled hours at short notice.

With regard to taking advantage of state family policy measures, the qualitative interviews (Project 1) conform the findings of other surveys (Engelbrech and Jungkunst 2001b, Beckmann 2001, Beckmann and Engelbrech 2001) and underline the widespread use of parental leave entitlements (albeit almost exclusively by the mothers). The high-level utilisation of parental leave entitlements by mothers is almost always based on a joint, consensus-oriented family strategy. This decision is prompted not only by the desire of the mothers to look after their child themselves during the initial phase (also see Lewis 2000: 35-36) but also by the lack of childcare alternatives. According to the answers of the interviewees, the fact that hardly any fathers in Germany take parental leave (only 2%) is due not least to the low level and limited nature of parental leave transfer payments that are not based on previous income: many families are unable or unwilling to "afford" parental leave on the part of the father and the accompanying temporary loss of breadwinner income for the family during a phase in which the family generally needs more money. Many of the mothers who return to the employment market do so before the end of the maximum parental leave of 3 years, although they often work fewer hours than they did previously.

While west Germany is still bottom of the EU league table when it comes to the percentage of children below the age of 3 who attend state childcare facilities,⁷ the care package for older pre-school children generally – and for the first time – also includes state childcare services. Despite the wide variety of public, market economy-based and private childcare facilities, the interviews (Project 1) underlined the fact that state childcare services constitute a central and indispensable element in the overall organisation of the family for nearly all working parents in east German and for the overwhelming majority of working parents in west Germany. As was shown clearly in Project 1, the childcare services in east Germany are superior not only in terms of ratios but also in terms of the situational reliability of the services (thanks to a mix of children of different ages and the frequent organisation of accompanying leisure activities) and more extensive opening hours that make it easier for parents to arrange their day-to-day affairs.

In west Germany, many working parents complain not only that the opening hours of childcare facilities frequently do not cover normal working hours but also that they provide insufficient time-based flexibility. The opening hours of these facilities has in no way kept pace with the flexibilisation of working times. Most of the surveyed parents said that they did not want to put their children in infant or day care for longer overall but that they would welcome the opportunity to make use of these facilities at different times and for varying periods of time when the need arises (Project 1). In addition, parents in west Germany, and particularly those with more than one child, frequently spoke of the time-consuming trips needed to take their children from one side of town to the other to different schools, nurseries and leisure facilities and pick them up again afterwards. This makes the time-based arrangements of many parents highly complex (Ludwig et al. 2002: 30-40, Klenner et al. 2002: 100-101).

The increasing complexity and fragility of family arrangements when children make the transition to school has been described frequently in the past (Ludwig et al. 2002: 110-112; Klenner et al. 2002: 124-133). Short and unreliable school hours, long holidays, and the lack of afternoon care provisions for schoolchildren has made full-time employment for both parents almost an impossibility up to the present time without the wide-scale use of other resources. In cases where both parents are in employment, however, problems often arise that necessitate wide-ranging "family time management". Frequent mention was made of problems occurring when several children are in different facilities for different lengths of time. During the school holidays, parents often make use of what can only be described as "emergency solutions", such as parents taking their holidays separately, or a combination of different solutions that children are by no means always willing to accept (Project 2). What also became apparent, however, was the contribution made by uneven distribution of working times. In some cases, school holidays were "bridged" by making use of short sabbaticals and longer-term holidays withdrawn from working time accounts to enable the parents to spend time with their children above and beyond the annual family vacation.

The combined effect of the ongoing financial support for the breadwinner model and the considerable efforts and organisational achievements of parents in other employment constellations has obviously led to a situation in which a far higher number of couples than want to do so (see section 2) find themselves ending up in the breadwinner model despite the fact that they had originally planned to organise their lives differently. Reduced working time is not, however, the only employment-related sacrifice that has to be made when couples have children. The interviews with mothers (and fathers) in full-time employment conducted in Project 1, for example, showed that – almost without exception – women had to make considerable sacrifices in the work environment in order to reconcile work and family needs (Ludwig et al. 2002: 159-163): from the outset, they chose training courses or degrees that promised to lead to "family-friendly" jobs (teaching, for example) or switched during their studies to degrees of this kind; they changed their job or even their occupation to take advantage of more favourable working hours or shorter distances to work; they decided against promotions or jobs that paid better in order to avoid overtime; they abandoned plans for doctorates or other career plans to make time for their family and household obligations; or they worked in jobs for which they were overqualified. A-

⁷ According to the figures of the Federal Statistics Office, only around 5.5% of children under the age of three in west Germany attended a state childcare facility in 2000.

though it is almost impossible to analytically measure the influence of "external obligations" (also due to the ever-increasing demands of many qualified jobs on the time-based flexibility and availability of employees) compared to the influence of (changed) preferences on the decisions of the women overall, it is important to underline that the mere fact that a woman may be in full-time employment is by no means sufficient proof of an "uninterrupted" career path. Decisions of this nature can also be due to the fact that mothers were unable to reduce their working hours as they had desired. Alongside the proportional loss in income when switching from full-time to part-time employment, many respondents also cited reasons relating to work organisation. For a variety of motives (money, obstacles within the company, fear of job loss, cultural norms etc.), many female interviewees (Project 1) did not make any (serious) attempt to take advantage of reduced working times (Ludwig et al. 2002: 162-163).

Compromises in the area of career development were the exception with the fathers. Where men make such compromises, however, this results in interesting new developments. Fathers then lay claim to social acceptance for childcare activities as a demanding task and expect colleagues and superiors to be accommodating in the area of working hours. When fathers raise these demands, this results in a shift in the culture of discussion and perception of family life within the company, as colleagues and superiors then also have to make allowances for the extra-company time requirements of men (Project 2).

Even if childcare obligations are generally unevenly distributed, some of the mothers and fathers do today share the responsibility for looking after children and organise their time accordingly. Fthenakis and Minsel (2001) call this "co-parenting" – a form of "joint responsibility, shared obligations" based on allocation of tasks and assignment of care periods on the time-based level. In this system of alternating care of the children by mothers and fathers (though not necessarily care of equal importance or of an identical nature), the work-related absence of the one parent is filled by the other. This is also reflected in the time needed for these tasks. Men living in partnerships are integrated in the care arrangements for pre-school children (for an average 22 hours a week in west Germany) and an average 20 hours a week in east Germany. When the children start school, this figure falls to between 12 and 13 hours (Künzler et al. 2001). Although the figures for women are far higher (36 hours) when it comes to looking after pre-school children (not least due to the fact that it is almost exclusively the women who take advantage of parental leave entitlements), the differences between men and women are not all that significant when it comes to looking after children of school age.

The relevant surveys also show an increase in the prevalence of attitudes that deviate from the traditional stereotypes regarding gender-specific roles as well as the gradual development of a new model of "co-parenting" based on joint responsibility. In 1996, 95% of men in west Germany and 97% of men in east Germany agreed with the statement: "If men do not become involved in bringing up their children, then they are missing out" (BMFSFJ 1996: 24). Today, more than two in three fathers believe in a concept of fatherhood that primarily emphasises their social role ("fathers as child raisers", Fthenakis and Minsel 2001: 7); less than 30% see themselves primarily as breadwinners. Although the overwhelming majority of child-oriented fathers are in full-time employment and despite the fact that the gender-specific division of labour in their families is still fairly rigid, it would be wrong to ignore the gradual changes in the allocation of responsibility for childcare. Although they by no means impact all families, these changes necessarily create new challenges for mothers and fathers in their attempt to create a working environment that enables them to share responsibility and the time spent with their children.

The surveys of the authors on the day-to-day activities of working parents (above all Project 2) show that the higher the overall working time of the couple, the greater the desire for partnership-based structuring of working and caring time – and the greater the need for the asynchronous organisation of working times to allow optimum distribution of family-related tasks. In such cases, time planning in the family is based on a staggered system of childcare (the partner who isn't working at a particular time takes care of the child). Mothers and fathers who want to share responsibility for the family use leeway for organising their working hours to ensure equal division of childcare times (and, in some cases, of housework) to the greatest extent possible. This can sometimes be achieved by reducing working time by just a few hours – and by organising

working hours so that one partner takes care of the children on "short" working days and the other partner takes care of them when the former is on "long" working days. Parents also make use of flexi-time potential or the reduction of time credits on working time accounts to create time for family-related needs. There are also sometimes informal options accommodated by the employee's superior for deviation from the "regulations" (such as core working time). It is not infrequently the case that companies permit earlier or later starting times or the "missing out" of lunch breaks as a means of "purchasing" an earlier end to the working day. Longer work-free periods resulting from shift schedules or working time accounts and options like sabbaticals can also be used to create the necessary time in phases that parents deem to be important (helping children to get started at school, for example).

When care times are divided up like this, the time schedules of the two partners need to fit in with one another exactly and reliably. It is often necessary to "hand over" children at a precise time ("flying changeover"). This makes parents less able to react to short-notice changes in schedule at the workplace, particularly when it comes to working overtime. Parents who share care responsibilities and schedules make productive use of flexible working times in the interests of their family life – but they also have to rely on plannability and a certain degree of stability in the area of working time patterns, as working times have to be synchronised a certain extent to permit what we call "family life". Many interviews in both projects (e.g. Ludwig et al. 2002: 75-83) confirmed that *parents are by no means generally opposed to the flexibilisation of working times, and working times that deviate from the norm can by no means be generally described as "family-unfriendly"*. The key factors are the specific time needs of the parents on the one hand and the widely varying company-level flexibilisation needs on the other – needs that are often in conflict but which can, however, be more or less satisfactorily reconciled to achieve a "win-win situation" through negotiation. Much depends on the real-life codetermination options at company level, and these options are in turn influenced by numerous further factors (such as economic situation, strength of the works council).

At the same time, however, there are limits to the benefits of flexibility for family life. Children not only need to be able to depend on regular schedules; it is also essential that they can experience certain times as "family times" – in particular late afternoon and evening (before going to bed) and Sundays. Parents need to have "time at the right time". The younger the children, the greater the interest in families with tight time schedules to achieve evenly distributed working time commitments between individual working days.

Flexible working times are therefore an important precondition for coordination processes between working parents as well as for the ability to cater to family-related flexibility needs; but flexible working times can also have an adverse impact if the times to be worked fluctuate excessively, if employees have insufficient influence on working times, or if they are given insufficient notice of extra working times (Project 2). Wherever working time flexibilisation is accompanied by a blurring of the borders and frequent overtime, where the working climate is characterised by competitive pressure, the "compression" of work-related duties and the like, and where the "zero-drag" employee (Hochschild 2002: XXVII-XXVIII) – employees who let nothing prevent them from placing their time fully and unreservedly at the disposal of the company – becomes the norm, then combining working life and family needs becomes a difficult and exhausting business. Government family policy has not yet addressed these trends in the working world, trends that could in future make it more difficult for parents to share responsibilities and allocate their respective family times. The aim must therefore be to continue to optimise family policies and to integrate these policies more closely with company-level social and employment policy.

4. Towards a new interplay between state and company level – options and limits

4.1 The state as agent: family policy, labour market regulation and beyond

When it comes to creating the preconditions for viewing adults with and without care obligations as financially independent and working individuals, the job of the state is to generate the legal

framework for different time-based options and to decide which of these options is to be financially supported by means of social welfare policy. Some of the reforms of recent years – such as the "Law on Part-Time Employment and Fixed-Term Contracts" and the "The Law on Child-Raising Allowance and Parental Leave" (both adopted in 2001) have been steps in the right direction. The Law on Part-Time Employment and Fixed-Term Contracts created a (limited) statutory entitlement to reduced working time, with the employee also being able to suggest the location and distribution of working time. Even though this law does not create a *comprehensive* entitlement to part-time employment (as it applies only to companies with at least 15 employees and includes a number of rejection grounds for the employer), it has certainly strengthened the options for employees with family obligations. The Law on Child-Raising Allowance and Parental Leave has also made it easier for parents to organise their parental leave in a more flexible way and share their responsibilities; it has also increased the range of options for working part-time parallel to parental leave. At the same time, the provisions on parental leave (that are "generous" in time-based terms at least) clearly show the limits to the influence the legislator's family policy can exert on time-based options in a flexible working society: the right of mothers (parents) to take advantage of parental leave and to workplace security during this phase is regularly undermined in practice in cases where those affected are in limited employment relationships – something that is increasingly common among younger employees in particular.⁸ Other time-based options (such as access to sabbaticals) are also often confined in practice to the core workforce who are on unlimited employment contracts.

The current focus of the family policy debate on the extension of full-day public childcare facilities addresses an indispensable need that has been ignored for too long in Germany. As the findings of the qualitative surveys (see section 3.2) clearly show, the extension of childcare should not be based only on the number of childcare places but should also take greater account of the flexibility needs of working parents than has been the case in the past. Moreover, there are not only deficits in care arrangements for pre-school children; what parents need above all is to be able to rely on school hours.

At the same time, however, if the current focus on extending public childcare facilities is viewed in too isolated a context, there is the risk that it will promote a one-sided model (geared towards extending the working times of both parents to the full) and ignoring the wishes of many parents who want to look after their children themselves while both continuing to work every day. If these needs are not taken into consideration, there is a danger that extensive and highly flexible childcare services ("all-round 24-hour carefree packages") will lead to a situation in which companies lay claim to the full commitment of both male and female employees – and "full" not just in the sense of full-time but in a way that is oriented towards absolute physical limits. The debate therefore urgently needs to refocus on the limits to workload capability, the necessity of (time-based) "protective zones" for families⁹, and the re-definition of the "normal employment relationship" in the context of active parenthood.

What is still lacking is a general social policy debate on the *socially desirable* model for people with care obligations. In the view of the authors, this is not to be equated with a model that sees continuous full-time employment as the norm for all adults and thus declares the traditional system of full-time male employment (with non-working wives) the norm for all adults. The interviews we conducted in both projects leave no doubt that, even in well-organised families who can draw on wide-ranging support, double full-time employment of couples with younger children often drive parents to the verge of exhaustion. The claim that, under the given conditions, the majority of parents of young children see the "full-time/part.-time solution" as being the best (temporary) way of addressing their needs (see section 2) is confirmed by the interviews to the extent that – surprisingly – east German women in particular voice a wish for shorter working

⁸ Although the share of limited employment contracts in Germany has increased only modestly in the last 15 years (to around 11%), and although the differences between the genders are only minor, it is nevertheless the case that younger employees (in west Germany) are six times more likely to be employed on limited contracts than the oldest cohorts of employees (Klammer/Tillmann 2002: 54-58).

⁹ Here again, what is needed are further studies on the needs of children to ensure that children are not treated merely as dependent variables in the supermarket for "reconcilability solutions".

times, primarily for a "6-hour day" (Project 1). In other words, an acceptable "adult worker model" would have to allow variations and fluctuations in working times for people in different life situations (and with different priorities).

By the same token, an "adult worker model" does not mean that all adults are in some kind of employment. Rather, one of the necessary criteria seems to be that every adult has the option of being financially independent. In general, this means that employment that *secures a liveable income* is raised to the level of a norm. The authors support the idea that individual financial security need not always be achieved by the working efforts of the individual but could also be based on the temporary combination of income from work and transfer income. In many cases and despite a comparably high overall workload, however, many women are unable to achieve either an income from work that secures their financial independence or a combination of income from work and (independent) social transfer that is sufficient for to provide a liveable income. What are missing are compensatory social policy solutions and broad individualised access to social welfare benefits (also see Zander 1997: 45).

In practice, there are already various forms of "income combinations" – such as unemployment benefit in the event of unemployment following a period of employment or in the form of made-up income for those in phased part-time requirement. Benefits dependent on household income such as unemployment assistance or social security do not fulfil this criterion, however. In other areas – when parents choose to work part-time to give them time to raise their children, for example – there are no provisions for direct, collectively financed compensation payments (in other words, made-up income) to date. This calls for a "parental part-time model" – similar to the arrangements for phased part-time retirement.¹⁰ While the system of matrimonial tax splitting – which is confined to married couples and which is not earmarked for care responsibilities – may be seen as an indirect, collectively funded subsidy with a similar goal, this system does *nothing* to improve the income situation of the person raising the child or children.¹¹

If the powers-that-be are serious when they talk about promoting the long-term integration of mothers in the employment market, then high priority should be attached to the two suggestions of a) combining at least part of parental leave with a wage replacement benefit (in line with the Swedish model of parent insurance) and b) making up income levels for family-related part time employment during the employment phase¹². In an employment-oriented society, there is also an increasing need for work release entitlements for people who have to temporarily care for adult relatives who fall ill of the kind that already exist, for example, in Belgium, Sweden or the Netherlands (Plantenga and Koopmanns 2002: 164).

What is needed is a debate in society on the question of which types of employment interruption or limitation should be legally secured in future and on which of these should be subsidised (and which ones should not or no longer be subsidised) by society as a whole – for how long and in what scope etc. If we take a closer look at the distribution of work, time and money over individual lifetimes, there are good arguments for organising support measures in such a way that they provide assistance when people are in the greatest need of time – in middle age when children have to be provided for.¹³ The findings of many employment biography studies support the idea that the promotion of employment *limitation* (in the form of "parental part-time employment", for example) is clearly preferable to the further extension of employment *interruptions* (e.g. by ex-

¹⁰ This proposal – introduced (also by the authors) in the mid-90s – has not met with any great response from the politicians to date, but it has been one of the demands of the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB) since 2002 and has recently been re-introduced into the public debate in Germany (Mayer 2002: 213-215).

¹¹ Matrimonial tax splitting impacts the relationship within the household and supports – at least psychologically – the central role played by the breadwinner (in more detail: Deutscher Bundestag 2002: 257-260).

¹² The last pension reform made sufficient provision for these make-up components for the post-working life phase.

¹³ The same considerations form the basis for the development of more recent models in the Netherlands geared towards redistributing working time throughout the life of an individual – as outlined since 2001 in a number of concept papers published by the Ministry of Social Affairs as well as by various political parties and commissions. These considerations are based on ideas such as the development of life working time accounts or time banks and options for access to subsequent pension entitlements during the life phases when time is "of the essence".

tending parental leave even further) with regard to subsequent employment prospects and income opportunities when the "parenting phase" is over (overview in: Schwarze 2002).

In recent years, a whole series of concepts have been developed in Europe to address the equal distribution of employment and childcare responsibilities between men and women, and the players in the current social policy debate focusing on ways to provide some relief for and promote families would do well to take a closer look at these concepts. Concepts worth mentioning here include the "double 25-hour week"¹⁴ (Arbeitsgruppe "Umverteilung der Arbeit" 1995), a model developed in Switzerland, or the so-called "combination scenario" discussed in the Netherlands in the 90s (Knijn 2002; van Oorschot 2002: 562-563).¹⁵ Similar ideas were introduced into the debate in Germany by the GREENS in the mid-90s – such as the motions "More Time and Money for Children" (Deutscher Bundestag 1995) and the "Bonus-Malus System" (Deutscher Bundestag 1997). These approaches have not been followed up since the Greens joined the government, however. It must also be said that the political parties – in addition to starting up the debate – can do no more than define a legal framework. Other agents, in particular the companies (as well as the collective bargaining parties, who are not looked at in detail by this paper), then play an important role in the de facto implementation of the defined framework.

4.2 The company as agent: working time arrangements and other means of promoting the work-life balance

Companies are becoming increasingly important as actors on the family policy stage, as more and more children are growing up with two working parents and families are no longer able to draw on the "services" of a non-working mother who can plan her time flexibly to suit the demands of children and husband. For more and more families, the framework for their day-to-day time planning is dictated by the working hours of the companies in which the mother and father are employed. Due to the direct interrelationship between company working hours and the day-to-day arrangements of families, this is the main area in which company-level measures can help to improve the reconcilability of work and family. Moreover, we should not ignore the options provided by company-level social policy (monetary benefits for parents working for the company, company childcare facilities, or the arrangement of nursery/childcare places), as they also play a practical role in going some way towards alleviating the problems of combining work and family. Out of 433 surveyed companies (111 of the 500 biggest and 322 medium-sized companies; see Hertie Foundation 2003), 2.5% operate their own childcare/infant nursery, and 8% offer the entitlement to a place in local childcare facilities. In 600 companies recently surveyed by the WSI (see section 1), in-house childcare facilities, entitlements to places in local facilities and emergency care services were only a marginal phenomenon (around 1% in each case). However, this is an area in which most of the services provided by companies can be replaced by state measures. The situation is different when it comes to questions of working time scheduling and work organisation; this is an area in which companies have complementary tasks – to the extent that they implement the framework defined by the state and by collective agreements and that they draw up provisions to operate within this framework.

A more recent survey of works councils conducted by the WSI (see section 1) shows that, in the overwhelming majority of companies, employees have options to adapt working hours to suit the requirements of family life (within the limits set by the company)¹⁶. In 89% of German companies in 2003, there is some kind of option for the flexibilisation of working time to suit family demands. The option of taking free time to compensate for overtime previously worked exists in 3 in 4 companies and is the most frequently cited means of adapting working time to the needs of the family. There are other options that also play a role: flexi-time, whereby the employee can

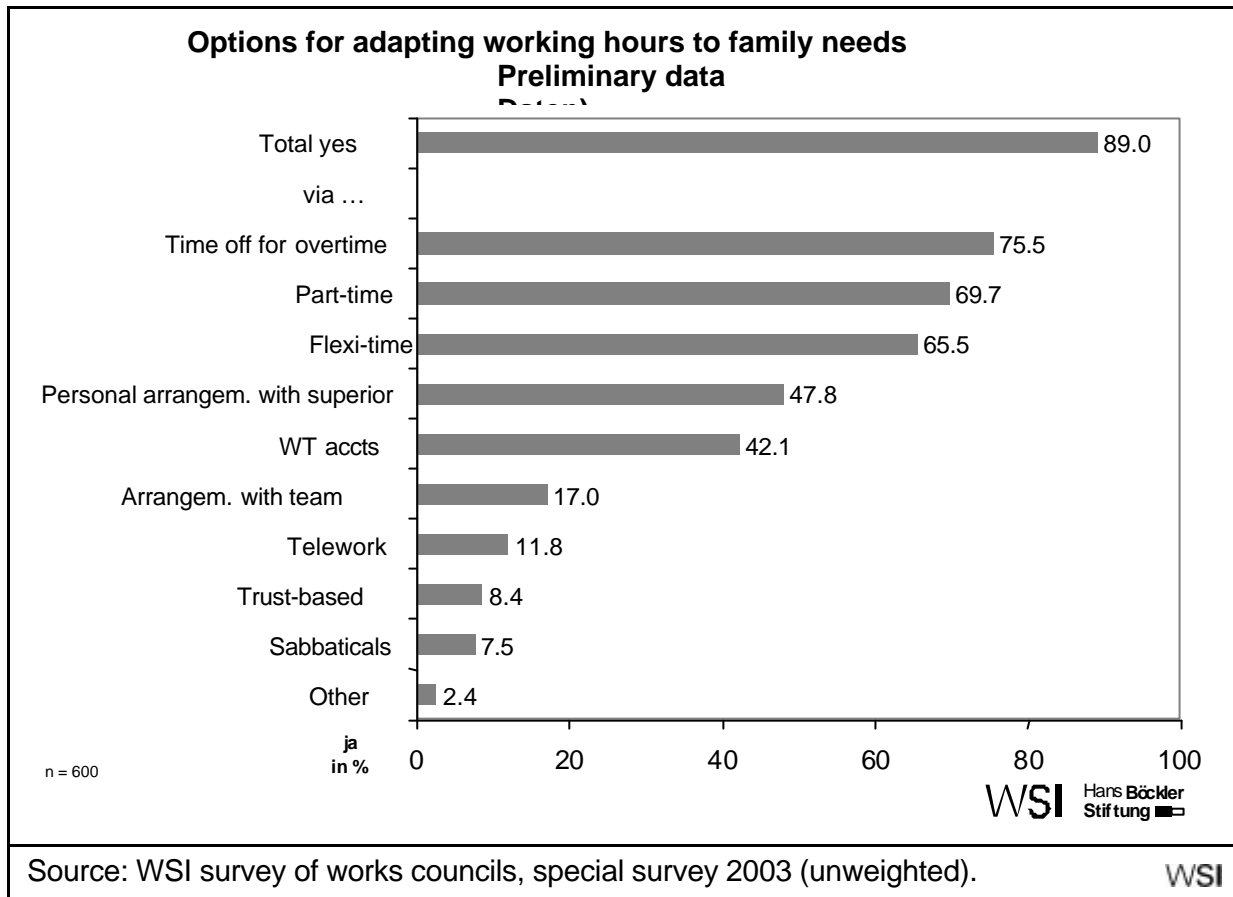
¹⁴ This is a concept in which the working time of a couple totals 50 hours – a figure that also applies to many parents in the full-time/part-time combination – evenly distributed between mother and father.

¹⁵ This scenario for the redistribution of unpaid work developed by a Dutch "commission for the future" and adopted as a key model by the government is based on a situation where partners in a household with children should each devote around 30-35 hours to gainful employment and around 20-25 hours to care responsibilities

¹⁶ A survey of 433 companies conducted by the Hertie Foundation (2003) arrives at the same conclusion.

flexibly choose when to start and end the working day, part-time work, or coming to some kind of arrangement with superiors or other team members. Chart 1 provides an overview:

Chart 1



The above working time models could be used to adapt working times to suit the family – but could be used just as easily to flexibilise working times to meet the specific requirements of the employer. The data cannot tell us which side will prevail in specific cases or how arising conflicts can be solved. The surveyed works councils confirmed the existence of these potentially family-friendly working times in their companies; but more in-depth studies will be needed to determine the reality at the modern workplace.

The example of part-time employment demonstrates the problem. As has been shown, part-time employment is generally considered to be a positive thing in Germany and is also seen as a suitable means of overcoming time bottlenecks in the life of families. For highly qualified employees in particular, however, it is still often not an option – with the result that many women are forced to accept less-well qualified and less interesting (part-time) jobs with lower pay in the interests of the family. For women, this "qualification bias" in the area of part-time employment is one aspect of their disadvantaged occupational status; for men who are also fathers, it represents a decisive obstacle to a move into a part-time jobs. For a number of years now, there have been calls in Germany to make part-time employment a non-discriminatory part of everyday company life, to make part-time jobs accessible to employees on all qualification levels, to create further training and promotion options for part-time employees comparable to those available to full-time employees, and to pave the way for a return to full-time employment at a later date. In Germany, the Law on Part-Time Employment and Fixed-Term Contracts represents an important step in this direction (see section 4.1). This legislation has also been implemented mainly without conflict in German companies (Magvas/Spitznagel 2002). Nevertheless, many problems still remain unsolved. From the point of view of the companies, the creation of

part-time workplaces can involve a certain amount of expense and effort, with the result that not all companies provide such workplaces. Different work organisation-based solutions need to be found in modern companies, particularly where it is not easily possible for a job to be shared between two employees. Despite these problems, the number of companies offering part-time jobs has increased in Germany in recent years. In 2001, almost 4 in 5 companies had part-time employees (see Bauer et al. 2002, p.161).

A further area that can be used as an example to portray the overall situation is the area of flexible working time models (in particular time accounts). Flexible working time models that create options for the *location and distribution of working time* – in particular working time accounts – can be used in various ways to facilitate the combination of job-related and family demands. Many German companies have introduced working time accounts since around the mid-90s, mainly for economic reasons. Working time accounts currently exist in 29% of companies employing 40% of the workforce (Bauer et al. 2003, p. 183). But employees with children can only use flexible working times to suit family requirements if they enjoy wide-ranging access rights to their saved-up working time credits.¹⁷ The existence of a flexible working time model *per se* tells us nothing about the family-friendliness of the working hours. The specific provisions relating to these working time accounts are the decisive factor. In order to build up credits on working time accounts, employees have to work longer hours during other periods, and these longer working phases are generally tailored to suit the requirements of the company. This means that employees with care responsibilities need to have sufficient advance planning options and/or the opportunity to consult with their team on who can work longer hours, take on extra shifts etc. at what times. Our empirical findings reflect the wide variety of ways in which these matters are handled in modern companies.

One of the key findings of our qualitative surveys is that, from the point of view of employees who are responsible for care tasks, concepts for working times in companies must above all cater to the following requirements:

- planning leeway to ensure flexibility to address family-related needs (e.g. via autonomous withdrawals from working time accounts)
- predictability and reliability of working times
- options in the area of working time duration (change between full-time and part-time and vice-versa as well as different hour volumes for part-time employees)
- life phase-specific time planning (e.g. "time-out" phases for the busy periods in an individual's life)
- minimisation or avoidance of weekend and evening work, as these are the most important communal times for parents and children (see Klenner et al. 2002)
- limits on the duration of working times – above all, avoidance of forms of overtime that do not create some kind of "time credit".

Various kinds and levels of provisions are already in place in Germany in this area. The most important regulatory instrument for working times is the sectoral collective agreement, although we cannot ignore the fact that company-level arrangements are playing an ever-greater role. Company-level agreements need to be negotiated in the companies to ensure that "decentralisation" does not automatically translate into "deregulation". Only in very cases, however, are the existing collectively agreed provisions explicitly geared towards the reconcilability of work and family and the situation of working parents. This is an area in which the collective bargaining parties and the players at company level still need to make up lost ground.

It appears, however, that the "working culture" within the company is more important than this or that particular company-level provision: are care obligations included as "natural time wishes" in the time schedules of companies and seen as ranking higher than other time wishes, or are these wishes merely seen as being the individual employee's own business or private problem?

¹⁷ See Seifert 2001 for a general explanation of working time accounts

Ultimately, the necessary social policy debate on role models (see section 4.1) should lead to a paradigm shift in companies, creating a situation in which each employee is automatically also seen as a care-giver, whether they care for their own children or relatives or are involved in other socially relevant activities. This also means that companies should automatically take into account that all employees potentially bear responsibility in the "other sphere" of societal activity and should no longer base their planning concepts on the assumed norm of the employee – particularly the qualified employee – who is freed from the full range of household duties.

But how can this paradigm shift be achieved, and how can state and company-level provisions and options be integrated in such a way that they complement each other?

In principle, a system of different interlinked strategies is a conceivable option. What is particularly promising is when companies initiate such changes based on their own interests. As they are in a position to create innovative working time concepts, it is above all the companies who can influence the general framework for family-related time arrangements. The more smoothly these concepts operate, the lower the potential for disruptions to company routines and the lower the risks of additional costs being incurred (e.g. due to the absence of parents from the workplace). The state can require or encourage companies to adopt a more family-friendly policy by introducing statutory provisions and creating incentives of various kinds – such as tax benefits for companies who provide certain family-friendly services, by making the awarding of public contracts dependent on family-friendly corporate policies, or through certification schemes and public awards. In some cases, simply improving the flow and quality of information to companies can encourage them to adopt family-friendly strategies.¹⁸ Last but not least, the collective bargaining parties (in other words the employers' federations and the trade unions) and the negotiating parties at company level (the employers and the works councils) can agree on packages aimed in this direction. If the various measures contain workable provisions and if mothers, fathers and care-givers take advantage of collectively agreed or company-level options,¹⁹ this will pave the way for better integration of employment and care within the family context.

4.3 Are there reasons for optimism?

To what extent is there already a development in Germany "towards a new cultural norm of caring workers" (or working carers)? Are we justified in hoping that companies will in future make an increasing contribution towards the achievement of a feasible work-life balance?

An analysis of recent developments shows that some companies have recognised that family-friendly strategies not only benefit employees and their families. Not only have they realised that the loss and new recruitment of young, qualified employees can be an expensive business; they have also discovered that they themselves also profit from the loyalty of qualified and motivated mothers and fathers who can alternately devote their energies to work and family with far less risk of conflict between the two. These companies value the social skills acquired by employees through their social commitment or the raising of children (empathy, responsibility, stress resistance, keeping a clear head in a crisis). In this connection, some of the bigger companies have developed a wide range of services to facilitate childcare for parents in recent years (Commerzbank, Deutsche Lufthansa or Daimler Chrysler, for example; see Matthä 2003; BMFSFJ 2002b; berlinopolis 2002). These kinds of services are still few and far between in smaller companies, although it is particularly in this segment that there is potential for cooperation and combination with state or privately organised childcare facilities. The German Family Ministry is currently trying to promote the development of services of this kind at company level (e.g. BMFSFJ

¹⁸ 38% of the surveyed companies would be willing to enter into more wide-ranging commitments if provided with more information – as shown by a recent survey of 433 German companies and 88 municipalities. See Hertie Foundation 2003, p.8.

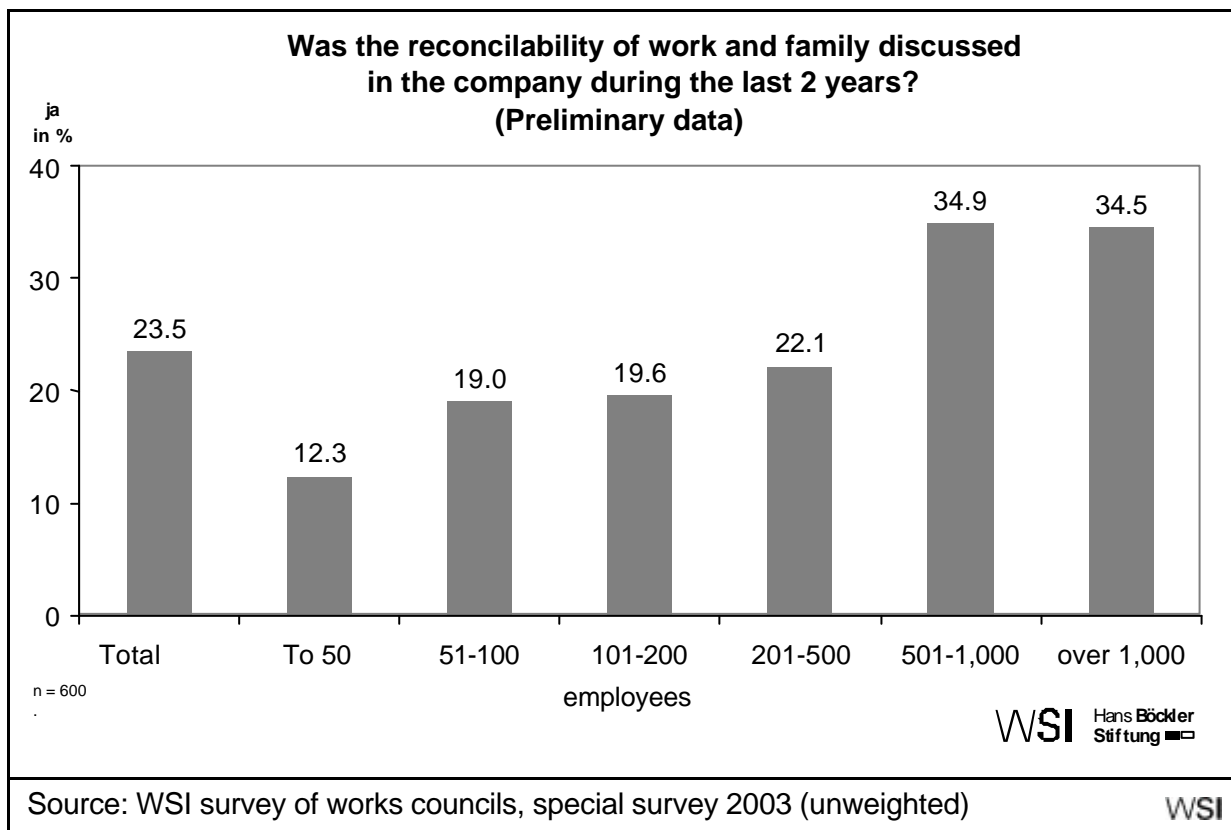
¹⁹ In her most recent study, Arlie Hochschild pointed to the problem that a number of family-friendly options are not utilised – on the one hand, due to the fact that the conditions at company level do not encourage people to use these options (acceptance, workload etc.), and on the other hand because we are in the throes of a cultural change: "(When) Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work" (see Hochschild 1997).

2002a). To date, however, only a small minority of companies are making genuine efforts to promote the reconcilability of work and family.

In contrast, the German government has adopted a reserved stance to date when it comes to proposing legislation to put pressure on companies to make greater efforts in the area of family-friendliness and equality – although there have been some positive developments in the area of legislation, such as the aforementioned Law on Part-Time Employment and Fixed-Term Contracts and the restructured Parental Leave Act (see section 2). The planned equality law, however, designed to oblige companies to introduce measures in the area of company-level family policy, failed in 2001 in the face of resistance from the German industry associations, who were merely willing to enter into a voluntary commitment to implement measures to promote equality and the reconcilability of work and family.

The goal of reconcilability of work and family was, however, included in the amended Works Constitution Act that governs the rights and obligations of the elected employee representatives in German companies. Since 2001, the law has explicitly stated that the works councils are responsible for promoting the reconcilability of work and family. Has this then led to increased activities in this area on the part of the interest-representing bodies at company level? Company-level agreements containing provisions to facilitate the reconcilability of work and family are currently in place in only around 7% of companies with works councils. At the same time, however, it must be said that this topic has been the subject of discussion in quite a high number of companies during the last two years – as was shown by the findings of the recent (2003) survey of works councils conducted by the WSI (see section 1) which also asked whether the topic of the reconcilability of work and career had been discussed in the company during the previous two years. This proved to be the case in just under one in four companies, with the topic – as was expected – playing a greater role in bigger companies than in smaller ones (Chart 2).

Chart 2



Even though we are only talking about a minority, there is much to support the argument that the topic has been seen as being important by works councils in some of the companies. The

fact that the works councils – most of which are made up of male members²⁰ - are gradually taking up this topic is possibly the first step in a change in consciousness. In companies where the topic has been put on the agenda, the initiative came in the overwhelming majority of cases from the works council (80%, multiple answers) – often in combination with interested colleagues (44%, multiple answers; WSI survey of works councils 2003). If the topic has prompted people to think about changes, then this has primarily been in works council meetings and work-force meetings and not so much in negotiations between employer and works council. Only few companies decided to implement specific projects. One reason for this is possibly that the works councils do not have codetermination rights in this field. Their only chance to force the issue is if an employer is accessible for the topic and is willing to talk about specific improvements. It is possibly also for this reason that some of the works councils support collective agreement-based solutions that would contain provisions for their entire sector.²¹ The question of the reconcilability of work and family ranked eighth out of 20 answers in the survey. More than half of the surveyed works councils consider the question of the reconcilability of work and family to be an important field of action for the bargaining partners. With 52.9% of mentions, this issue is not seen as being as important as phased part-time retirement (61%) or further training (56.1%), but it is seen as being more relevant than placing limits on pressure to perform at work (45.6%) or working time flexibilisation (33.8%). This underlines the positive trend in the assessment of the importance of the question of the reconcilability of work and family (e.g. company day nursery) compared to earlier surveys (see, for example, Mittelstädt 1993).

Only a small percentage of companies, however, are willing to extend the existing range of family-friendly measures, with a mere one in ten affirming such an intention (see Hertie Foundation 2003, p.8).

What can be done to increase the willingness of companies to act on this issue?

It is hoped that certification projects and other measures will help to generate a change in the social climate and fuel support for this topic. Companies in Germany can apply for a "Career&Family" audit. 57 companies and public establishments have obtained the basic certificate to date (German-language information at <http://www.arbeitswelt.de/Produkte/Audit/Daten.htm>). Even though the impact of this exemplary behaviour may be more important than the absolute number of certified companies as a percentage of all companies, it must be admitted that the success of these projects has been modest so far.

Economic arguments may create a greater incentive to ensure that personnel policy in German companies is more family-friendly. A recent cost-benefit analysis of the economic effects of family-friendly measures in 10 German companies showed an average return on investment of +25%. Although the extent of these provably positive effects depends heavily on the labour market segment in question – in particular on qualification levels and the availability of qualified employees – what the study also showed was that family-friendly policies prevent over 50% of the costs incurred as a result of the lack of reconcilability of work and family (in particular bridging, fluctuation and reintegration costs; see Prognos 2003).

What still remains unsolved, however, is the question of how companies can be motivated to implement family-friendly policies not only in times when qualified employees are scarce or for core employees who they want to keep but also for employees with lower-level qualifications who are easier to replace.

It is also important to mention the ambivalent nature of the extension of company-level "wife replacement services" (Appelbaum et al. 2002: 147). The creation of highly flexible childcare services ("all-round 24-hour carefree service") could further underpin the norm of the employee who is available at all times rather than increasing acceptance for time-based needs outside the

²⁰ Women are still found far less frequently in the position of chairpersons and head the works council in fewer than one in five companies (18.9% after the 2002 works council elections, see Klenner/Lindecke 2003, p.69).

²¹ Within the context of the 2002 survey of works councils, interviewees were also asked to what extent and in which fields of regulation the works councils see the greatest need for action at collective bargaining level (see Klenner/Lindecke 2003).

working environment. This takes us back to the necessity of a fundamental debate within society on a new cultural norm – the norm of the "caring worker" (see section 4.1).

5. Conclusion

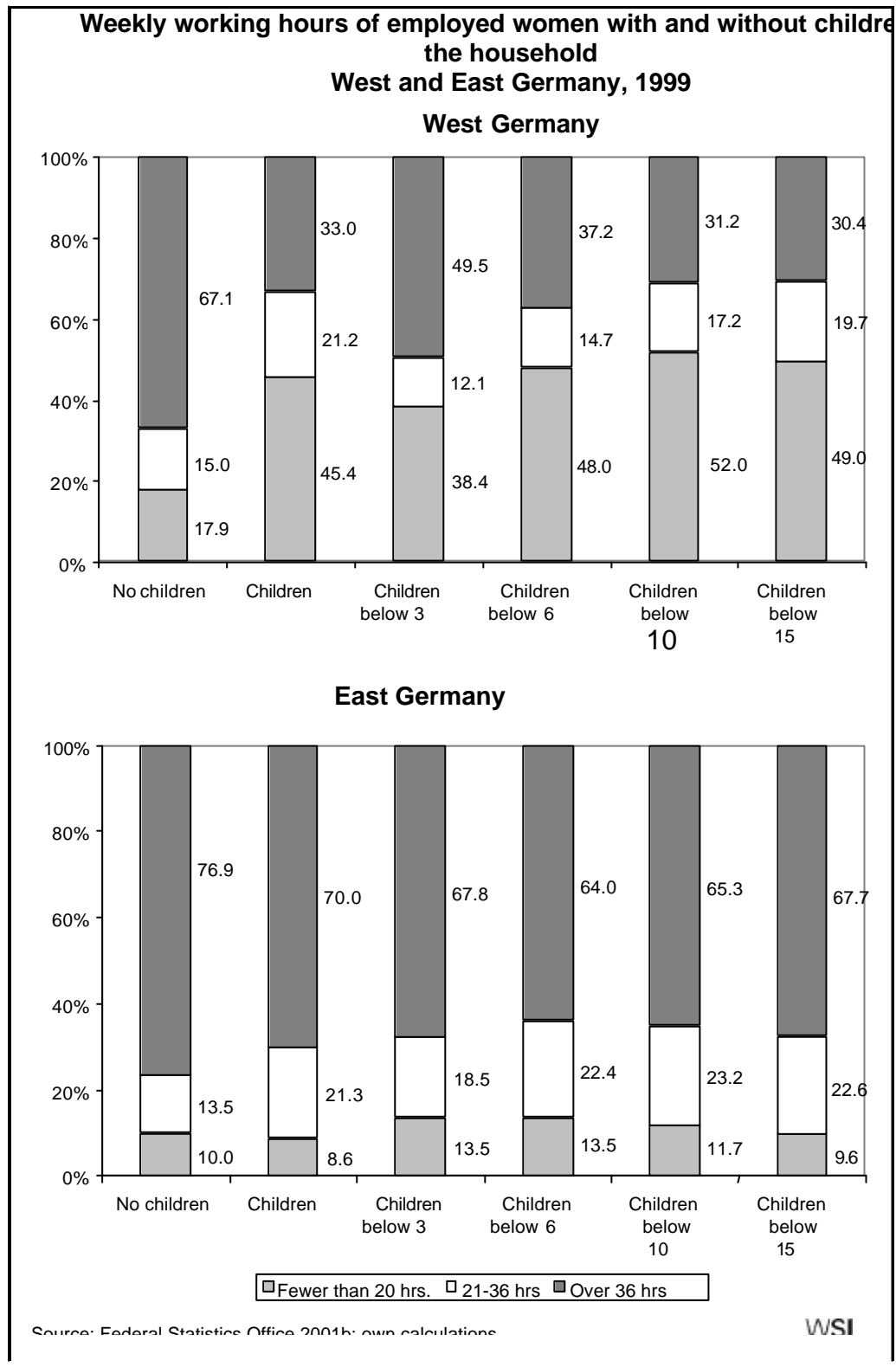
As can be concluded from the above, the precondition for the creation of a "gender-fair adult worker model" in Germany is the dramatic improvement of the general framework for people with care obligations. There is a need for change on both state and company level as well as for coordination between these two levels. What parents primarily lack are conditions that enable them to realise their employment wishes. This applies to both the quantity and the flexibility (or the "fit") of public childcare services (and it is only right that family policy endeavours are now focusing on the expansion of these services) but does not end there by any means. It will only be possible to promote the joint assumption of responsibility and care for children by both parents if we succeed in breaking down the widespread ignorance in the working world with regard to the particular needs of employees with family obligations. This calls for special statutory and company-level entitlements to working time reduction and flexibility as well as social welfare measures to cushion phases of employment interruption and reduction, ideally in the form of wage replacement benefits. Seeing adults as financially independent employees does not necessarily imply the pursuit of a full-time/full-time model of the type we can observe at present; concepts should also be geared towards creating a certain level of individual leeway in the continuity and scope of involvement in the employment market. This also means that we must rethink the way in which work and income are distributed throughout the life of an individual. Companies need to develop company-specific solutions that benefit both sides. The "classic" form of company-level social policy (comprising measures such as childcare services organised by the company) can complement and supplement state social policy but cannot replace it and should not be seen as a "stop-gap" for the old and/or new deficits of state family policy. In contrast, company-level (and collective agreement-based) working time policy can make a genuine contribution towards supplementing family policy benefits and improving the work-life balance. Flexible working time models can generate stimuli to make it easier to combine work and family. The precondition is that employees have a say in this flexibility and can plan their time-based needs accordingly.

In the interests of all parties (including the children), what is needed is a process of discussion within society on the deeply rooted model based on the cultural dominance of gainful employment over family and communal life, and on the low value attached to care and care-givers – with the aim of developing a new role model of a "caring worker".

Appendix:

Table A1: Employment of 15 to 64 year-old mothers by age of youngest child in household				
Age of youngest child in household (in years)	of which: employed		Unemployed	Non-working individuals
	incl. temporarily on leave ¹⁾	without those temporarily on leave ¹⁾		
in %				
Germany 2000				
below 3	48.3	30.5	4.0	47.9
3 – 5	56.7	55.4	9.5	33.9
6 – 14	69.5	69.1	8.0	22.5
15 and older	65.3	65.0	6.4	28.3
Together	62.8	59.4	6.9	30.3
Former West Germany, 2000				
below 3	47.7	29.0	2.6	49.7
3 – 5	55.7	54.3	6.7	37.6
6 – 14	67.6	67.1	5.0	27.3
15 and older	62.9	62.6	3.7	33.4
Together	60.8	56.8	4.4	34.9
East Germany and East Berlin, 2000				
below 3	52.2	40.0	12.7	35.1
3 – 5	63.7	63.4	28.5	7.9
6 – 14	76.5	76.3	19.1	4.4
15 and older	73.3	73.1	15.4	11.4
Together	71.3	69.8	17.5	11.1
Former West Germany, 1991				
below 3	37.3	X	5.5	57.3
3 – 5	47.6	X	5.3	47.1
6 – 14	59.2	X	4.5	36.3
15 and older	53.7	X	2.7	43.5
Together	51.5	X	4.1	44.4
East Germany and East Berlin, 1991				
below 3	75.9	X	17.5	6.6
3 – 5	82.8	X	15.1	2.1
6 – 14	86.6	X	11.3	2.1
15 and older	74.9	X	9.6	15.5
Together	80.6	X	12.5	6.9
Former West Germany, 1972				
below 6	33.9	X	66.1 ²⁾	
6 – 14	44.2	X	55.8 ²⁾	
15 – 17	47.3	X	52.7 ²⁾	
Together	39.7	X	60.3²⁾	
<p>1) People who are temporarily away from their jobs, as they are, for example, on parent leave (first surveyed in the 1996 microcensus) - 2) Unemployed and non-working persons - X = Table column empty as figures were not collected</p> <p>Source: Federal Statistics Office, Microcensus, population at family residence in: Engstler/Menning 2003: 245.</p>				

Chart A1



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