

Employment, Family and Community activities: A new balance for women and men

Germany

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EUROPEAN FOUNDATION
for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Preface

In order to explain the background to this study to the reader, we will briefly describe the early history of this research project:

The final chapter of the European Commission's White Paper on growth, competitiveness and employment proposes ways of developing new areas of employment (European Commission 1993):

1. Services for everyday life;
2. Services to improve the living and working environment;
3. Leisure services;
4. Environmental services.

The European strategy to promote local development and employment initiatives (LDEIs) was implemented and followed up from 1995 on the basis of the conclusions of the ESSEN European Council.

The first evaluations of this comprehensive programme and 16 different pilot projects and studies produced several key findings:

- 1) The use of methods, which – unlike programmes that are standardised and organised down to the last detail – are adjusted to sectoral and local conditions and situations produces employment that both improves the quality of life and results in living conditions becoming more even.
- 2) Although there are few statistics available, the LDEIs have produced a strong growth in employment, by targeting unsatisfied needs.
- 3) Although the LDEIs do not compete with national or regional programmes, they do often act as an avant-garde for them, by helping to disseminate transnational experience with social and economic innovation.

In that respect the LDEIs are now regarded as laboratories for the development of future social models. In a local context, the LDEIs produce tailor-made jobs, i.e. jobs tailored to the employees and to the needs of the consumer. But despite their general popularity, there remain some barriers to the further development of LDEIs. That is why in its Second Report on "LDEIs"¹ the Commission calls for national employment policies to be modernised, with a view to greater diversification, decentralisation and contracting out and to improving training and promoting the creation of businesses in this area.

Following a study by the Forward Studies Unit (SEC[95]564, 1995) the "European Strategy to Promote Local Development and Employment Initiatives" was approved. A first report (SEC [96]273, 1995) evaluated the first projects, especially local employment pacts, and pointed out that the LDEIs risked being marginalised.

¹ Commission of the European Communities: Second Report on Local Development and Employment Initiatives: The era of tailor-made jobs. 1998

Two years later, the second report (SEC[98]25, 1998) examined the ongoing pilot projects in the 19 employment areas and gave a prognosis for their future development.

At the same time, against the background of structural change, it made recommendations on means of promoting LDEIs. It identified the following 19 employment areas as highly labour-intensive:

- 1) Home help services;
- 2) Childcare;
- 3) New information and communication technologies;
- 4) Aid for young people in difficulties and integration;
- 5) Better housing;
- 6) Security;
- 7) Local public transport;
- 8) Redevelopment of urban public spaces;
- 9) Local trade;
- 10) Energy management;*²
- 11) Sport;*
- 12) Tourism;
- 13) Audio-visual sector;
- 14) Cultural heritage;
- 15) Local cultural development;
- 16) Waste management;
- 17) Water management;
- 18) Protection and maintenance of natural areas;
- 19) Combating pollution.

While the first report had attempted, on the basis of the macroeconomic extrapolation of available data, to evaluate the effect of LDEIs in the future (depending on the level of involvement of the various governments, it was estimated that between 140 000 and 400 000 new jobs would be created), the second report took a closer look at the difficulties facing LDEIs, especially in the context of existing employment systems. Looking only at the local and environmental services sectors, it expects employment to rise by 0.1-0.3% a year, with a general employment growth in the EU of 0.5% overall.

As bottom-up initiatives, the LDEIs cannot achieve miracles overnight, yet they do produce lasting results, which in turn affects the existing employment systems, on account of the fact that:

- they are projects by nature;
- they include new forms of skills which, going beyond the basic qualifications, also take account of horizontal knowledge and specific know-how;
- in the final analysis, they establish a new concept of the employer and the enterprise, geared basically to solidarity.

² The employment sectors marked with an asterisk (*) were added in the Second Report; the First Report listed only 17 sectors.

In that respect, the social economy plays a major role here too. In fact, according to a study by the Swedish Institute for the Social Economy³, between 1990 and 1995 it recorded an employment growth of 9% – at a time when jobs tended to be cut in other sectors.⁴

So the LDEIs have brought into being new instruments that are needed for tailor-made jobs.

- They improve people's opportunities to create employment;
- they enable enterprises and employees to adjust to one another;
- they give rise to a new spirit of entrepreneurship in the private sector and the social economy.

Building on these hopes, the European Foundation is now focusing on this research area. In its research programme, it looks very closely at the first two employment sectors referred to in the White Paper on growth, competitiveness and employment (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 1992).

Our study is confined to household services in

1. the areas of childcare and care of the elderly,
2. catering and meals-on-wheels, and
3. cleaning, small repairs and gardening.

The EU Council decision of 22.6.1994 called for the mainstreaming of equal opportunities, especially for women and men, in the implementation of European Structural Fund measures.

That means:

- formulating specific measures targeted at women;
- promoting equal opportunities for women in every economic sector and at local, national and transnational level;
- using every conceivable measure to promote equal opportunities for both sexes on the basis of rules and regulations.

With the Amsterdam Treaty the EU now has a general legal base for implementing equal opportunities for women and men. Article 2 of the EEC Treaty has now been supplemented by the provision that one of the Community's objectives is

"to promote ... a high level of employment and of social protection, equality between men and women ..."

Moreover, a new Article 6a has been inserted, pursuant to which the Council, acting with the agreement of the Commission and Parliament, may take appropriate action,

"to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation."

³ Westerdahl, S.; Westlund, H, 1998: Social Economy and New Jobs: A summary of twenty case studies in European regions. IN: Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics, Liège (CIRIEC), No 2, 1998

⁴ Depending on the size of the organisations, the growth rates vary substantially from 6% for organisations with more than 1000 employees to 40% for the smallest organisations.

That means that the principle of equality has virtually become a public law provision at European level, i.e. no EU measures may infringe the principle of equal opportunities. Meanwhile it has also become binding on national governments.

In addition to looking at the employment aspect, our study will focus on this issue, paying particular attention to the degree of equality in relation to gender and ethnicity.

A. Introduction

Researchers from Austria, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK took part in this research project, which was initiated and coordinated by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

Objectives of the research project

Our research aim – within the borders of the Federal Republic – was

- to analyse the nature and scale of employment in traditionally unpaid household services;
- to identify workplace and policy measures to promote a balance between women and men in employment in family and community activities;
- to document the situation of those employed in household services and their working conditions;
- to evaluate the effects of employment in these areas on the distribution of family work and community activities – with particular reference to equal opportunities.

Contents

The project looks at employment in household services and the impact on it of various policy measures. It analyses the groups of persons who work in this field in terms of the nature and quality of the work and the working conditions and qualifications of the employees; it also surveys the differences in the working conditions and experiences of women and men and their employment status within their career.

Secondly, this project concentrates on identifying policies and internal company measures that enable employees to organise their family responsibilities better or to work in the voluntary or tertiary sector.

National report

The research was conducted at three levels: national level, local/sectoral level and the level of case studies.

National level: (macroanalysis)

- Survey of employment in household services:
 - Survey of employment growth in household services in a historical perspective (the past 20 years) and in relation to current data on the various sectors;
 - Evaluation of the relationship between formal employment and other paid work in household services;
 - Information on working conditions in this area;
 - Documentation on the gender-specific changes to the involvement of families and community groups in relation to employment in household services;
- Documentation and analysis of the main policy measures to promote employment and create jobs with specific reference to measures to promote equal opportunities.

Here we drew our main information from political and research reports and interviews in the field of policy and research with the social partners, employers' organisations and professional organisations, and with women's' groups and other non-governmental organisations.

Local (sectoral) level

The causes and effects of employment and small-business creation in household services were examined mainly at local level:

- detailed analyses of employment conditions in household services;
- analyses of the potential for and limits to employment growth in these services;
- evaluations of the consequences for family and community activities and their impact on equality between women and men, including the creation of new jobs for women and men in this area;

Two local studies conducted in Berlin illustrate the causes and effects at local level. On the basis of the exploratory work and discussions of the international research team, we chose the following districts of Berlin for the local studies: Friedrichshain and Wedding.

Case studies (employee level):

At this level we examined employment in household services with special reference to specific measures to promote equal opportunities:

- Description of employment and working conditions; reasons for taking the job, etc.;
- Impact of the job on family and community activities;

Evaluation of the measures to improve employment prospects and their impact on the family and the community.

Conclusions and implications with regard to further measures

Finally, we identify the policy measures that lead to good employment conditions; we also evaluate political and company measures to help improve the balance of employment between women and men in the family and community sector.

Data

The situation as regards data on household services is extremely poor. The Federal Office of Statistics has not undertaken a specific survey of household or personal services, nor are any useful statistics available at local level. We were not able to conduct our own surveys in the context of the design of this research project. But we do believe we have obtained a fairly realistic picture of this area by drawing on official statistics and scientific studies and in particular by questioning experts and the individuals concerned. As a result of interviews with 36 employees of various organisations and firms, we not only gained a better understanding of the working and employment situation but also gleaned valuable ideas in relation to other aspects of our research project. For data-protection reasons, we do not name these interviewees or their employers in the annex.

This would seem a good time to thank those employees, as also the many colleagues and experts (see interview list in the annex), without whom this study could not have come into being.

B. Studies

Housework is increasingly regarded as a possible source of job-creation, although in this context the need for government subsidies is noted repeatedly. At the same time, given the present support policy, there are fears that this could lead to the consolidation of a labour market segment situated in the low-pay sector.

So while on the one hand there appears to be a new employment potential for the unemployed in the sector of household services, on the other hand there is a risk that this sector, with its low pay and job insecurity, could have an adverse impact on other sectors.

In most sectors, the rate of gainful employment among women in Germany does not correspond to their proportion of the population: the proportion of women in gainful employment did in fact rise from 49.6% to 62.1% between 1970 and 1991, but it continues to fall in the primary and secondary sector. The new employment potential for women is situated in the production and consumption-related services sector, which, however, also means in the areas of short-time, part-time and marginal part-time work.

B.1. Survey of the employment situation in the household services sector (national level)

The structure of and value accorded to household services derives from three historical factors:

1. their historical proximity to (unwaged) housework;
2. the domination of the church in the caring and social sector and
3. the exclusion of women from working life for a certain period under the Nazi regime 1933-45.

This has had very adverse effects on the employment conditions and opportunities of women in this area. Their work receives little or no social recognition; it continues to be regarded as being more of a charitable or voluntary nature, which explains the paradox that in spite of the specialist and social skills required, so far even the politicians have totally underestimated the employment potential in this area.

In line with the entirely heterogeneous structure of employment in the various economic sectors and labour market segments, the financing of these activities ranges from the statutory care insurance, to the proceeds of sales at market prices, to expense allowances for voluntary work. In relation to employers, here again we note the heterogeneous nature of the activities involved. The spectrum ranges from charities to the private sector, from people who start up their own business to the large service providers and social welfare agencies, and also extends into the tertiary sector with its social welfare organisations and enterprises.

The employment situation depends both on effective demand and on supply in the field of household services. The framework conditions the state establishes to this end are extremely important in this area, since part of the labour market is strictly regulated (e.g. the caring professions), whereas in other areas such as cleaning work it is highly deregulated.

Compared to other countries, German households invest less in household services than in replacement goods and household appliances – in some respects the restaurant trade is an exception (cf. ZUKUNFT IM ZENTRUM 1997, 16f.).

It is widely assumed in Germany that reducing the relatively high market prices in the formal part of this sector would trigger increased demand. Surveys of potential customers/clients in this field partly confirm that theory (WILPERT et al, 1999). Yet it is not clear whether this demand, backed by purchasing power, can also be satisfied, given the as yet very fragmented range of supply.

B.1.1. Volume of employment in the sector

At present there are no specific labour market statistics on the sector of household and personal services, either at national or at Land and local level. The Federal Institute for Labour is endeavouring to collect this data as directed by the European Union, but we still have to rely here on figures deduced from the traditional occupational statistics and the estimates of various institutes.

According to fairly recent estimates⁵ some 7 million people are employed in the field of personal services, of whom about 75% are women. The Federal Institute for Labour expects the employment figure here to rise by around 200 000.

In 1990, 23 000 people in Germany were employed in the area of cleaning and domestic work. However, that only accounted for 0.1% of total employment subject to compulsory insurance (information from Mrs THIESSEN, 22.6.1999).

In March 1997, according to Federal Institute for Labour statistics, 33 818 persons were employed in household services subject to compulsory insurance (of whom 553 received "household cheques", see below). By June 1998 the figure had risen to 38 859 (information from Mrs WEINKOPF on 29.6.1999); so the figure rose by about one seventh in the space of a year.

The reasons for the limited demand for household and personal services are the norms and routines of everyday life that have become part of the industrial system. Apart from the "price", other important factors determining demand are the civil and industrial-society traditions of family life, the belief in the need for a special relationship of trust in personal services, and even a certain embarrassment at accepting the services of strangers..

BAETHGE (1999) sees a clear correlation between the expansion of services and the proportion of gainfully employed women. In view of the very low proportion of women in gainful employment in Germany compared to the European average, he believes that increasing that proportion will do more to expand the services sectors in Germany than pay rises.

B.1.1.1 Trend over the past 20 years

In 1950, Jean FOURASTIÉ described the tertiary sector as a reservoir for the labour force laid off in the primary sector. ERSHUNY and others, however, then postulated that the

⁵ Mrs KARSTEN at the workshop "Herausforderungen an den haushaltsnahen Dienstleistungsbereich - eine Bilanz der europäischen strukturpolitischen Initiative" BERLIN-SERVICE on 26.8.1999 in Berlin.

'mechanisation' of housework was leading to a "self-service economy", i.e. that extra income did not flow directly into consumer services (HÄUSSERMANN, SIEBEL 1996).

That is partly to do with the wage differential in Germany, which is slight by international standards. Central collective bargaining leaves little room for the development of formal low-wage sectors.⁶ At the same time, the welfare state is not prepared to pay wage-cost subsidies because it is still attached to the traditional small-family model and to the idea of the "strong male breadwinner state" (OSTNER in: ZUKUNFT IM ZENTRUM 1997, 20).

B.1.1.2 Trend in the various sectors

Germany is marked by a comparatively small services sector compared with the secondary sector. While in 1994 the services sector accounted for 59.1% of total employment in Germany, in the UK the proportion was 70.2%; only in Greece and Portugal, both largely agricultural countries, was it lower. The same year, the proportion of public services compared with other services in Germany was 15.9% (YEANDLE, GORE, HERRINGTON 1998, xiv f.).

Compared with the primary and secondary sector, the trend in the consumer services sector has been as follows in the Federal Republic (HÄUSSERMANN / SIEBEL, 54):

Situation and trend in the employment rate in various economic sectors of persons between the ages of 15 and 64

	Primary sector			Goods-oriented sector			Consumer-oriented services		
	1970	1980	1990	1970	1980	1990	1970	1980	1990
Germany	6.7	4.0	2.8*	39.2	35.4	33.3	21.8	25.5	29.1
USA	3.2	4.7	2.9	28.8	28.7	30.2	30.0	34.1	38.8
Sweden	6.4	4.7	2.9	36.4	36.2	36.5	30.4	38.5	42.4

* FRG: Data for 1989

Sources: *Data for 1980 and for 1989/90 from OECD 1970-1990; data for 1970 from OECD 1967-1987*

These statistics show that compared with the USA and Sweden, Germany is "behind" in terms of the proportion of consumer (i.e. not production-related) services, while they also show that despite very different economic and social policies, the trends in all three countries reflect a fairly parallel rise in consumer-oriented services.

In East Germany in 1996, some 13 million people were employed in the services sector – 3.9% more than in the previous year. The total workforce in the former GDR at that time was about 6.3 million, of whom 2.1% were employed in manufacturing (IAB WERKSTATTBERICHT 1.4. 1997, 46).

In the Federal Republic, we find opposing employment trends in the industrial and in the services sector: between 1992 and 1997 the number of businesses in the processing industry and mining fell by about 10 000 (1992: 71 900; 1997: 61 900). The numbers employed in these sectors fell accordingly, from 8.5 million to 6.6 million (ZEW / INFAS, Zukunftsperspektiven, 2).

⁶ Although the normal employment relationship is rapidly declining in Germany, most collective agreements still cover at least one Land.

For the services sector we have the following figures: in 1994, there were still 383 000 service firms. This too reflected a downward trend: in 1997 there were no more than 217 000 firms registered in this sector (ZEW / INFAS, Dienstleistungen, 2). But in spite of mergers between firms, the employment figures rose: between 1977 and 1990 the number of employees subject to compulsory insurance in household services alone rose by 12.5%.

Number of employees subject to compulsory insurance in the household services sector

1977 – 1999	Total	Women
Employment in laundry and cleaning work:	41.0%	35.2%
Personal household services (health services and care work)	19.9%	16.1%
Specific domestic services (housekeeping and cleaning jobs)	-36.9%	-37.2%
Total	12.5%	22.5%

Source: *Zukunft im Zentrum 1997*, 18

Here we see a marked rise in personal services accompanied by a fall in specific domestic services. The rising number of women employed in this sector stands out.

So far, the following segments of household services have been examined across the board in West Germany in terms of employment growth:

1. catering
2. childcare
3. laundry and cleaning jobs
4. care of the elderly

re 1.

In the years 1961-1987 employment in the catering industry grew by 47%.

re 2.

Over the same period (1961-1987) employment in childcare rose by 204% (!)

re 3.

In the laundry and cleaning area, however, formal employment over the same period (1961-1987) fell, rising by only 5-8% as from 1990, and in domestic services by as little as 0.3%!

That cannot just be explained by low demand in these areas, since according to time-budget surveys, these housework jobs now tend to take more rather than less time (SCHWARZ). Given the rise in real incomes, why does this not boost demand? One reason is the amount of undeclared work in this sector.

re 4.

The field of care of the elderly is extremely varied and covers:

- old people's homes, retirement homes, residential homes and home care;
- the organisation of leisure and cultural activities, including travel services;
- advice and self-help;

- social services such as assistance in claiming benefits, mobility aids, escort services for shopping and visits to the authorities and related activities;
- minor repairs in the home and to clothing; cleaning services in the home, etc. (cf. also the section on "cleaning").

Accordingly there is a very large number and variety of organisations and firms in this area; services of these kinds are provided in all three economic sectors. That is one reason we have so little data to draw on here, especially when it comes to estimating the employment volume, potential and conditions. In 1998 the KOHL government estimated that the number of persons employed looking after those in need of care had risen by 75 000 following the introduction of the law on statutory care insurance (1980).

B.1.1.3 Rate of formal employment and other employment rates in the sector

It is estimated that unlike in the personal services sector, employment in household services accounts for some 4 million jobs:

- of which 1.4 million are in "marginal part-time work" with a maximum weekly wage of DM 630 and maximum working hours of 18 hours a week;
- 35 000 people employed in this area are subject to compulsory insurance, i.e. pay taxes and usually work more than 18 hours a week.
- most of them are employed directly by a private household;
- only a few hundred are employed by the 80 to 100 services pools in Germany.

That suggests that more than 2 million of these jobs are undeclared!

B.1.2 Work in the household – the role of women and men in the family and the community

Domestic work did not become a separate form of work until the advent of industrialisation, i.e. with the end of what was known as the "economy of the whole house" (BOCK, cf. diagram overleaf).

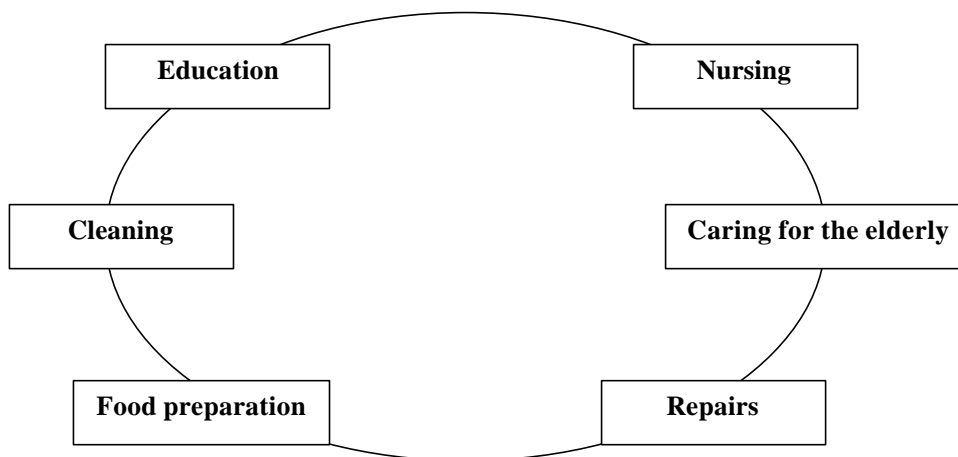
Diagram
(after Barbara THIESSEN)

Displacement of activities outside the home

Entirely outside:

- Food production
- Making clothes
- Building work

Partly outside:



Unlike paid work directed at the production of goods, (non-formalised) domestic work is reproductive work, in that it ensures the reproduction of the family in both material and immaterial terms at no cost. It exists beside formalised industrial work as a form of subsistence, though it can to some extent be transformed into goods:

1. by the purchase of household and domestic services;
2. by the purchase of household appliances that can reduce or replace housework.

That confirms GERSHUNY's theory that income rises do not contribute directly to a rise in consumption-related services (see above, B.1.1.1).

In a well-developed goods-oriented society, domestic work can therefore be rationalised by the following means:

- a) by the purchase of household and kitchen appliances;
- b) by the purchase of industrially processed products (e.g. ready-made foods);
- c) by the consumption of services (such as catering, cleaning, babysitting, etc.).

How are these domestic activities transformed in the Federal Republic as a result of internal and external work?

As ever, the main demand is in the field of childcare: in the late 1980s, two thirds of all mothers were not working. In West Germany there were scarcely any childcare facilities for children under the age of 3.

As a result, in West Germany in 1992 only the following groups of children, distributed by age, were cared for in day-care centres:

- 3-4 year olds: 31%
- 4-7 year olds: 70%

By comparison, it is estimated that in 1992 90% of 4-7 year-old children in East Germany were cared for outside the home, many of them in crèches.

In order to obtain a picture of the nature and scale of unwaged work in the household, we shall begin by examining the situation of households and families in the Federal Republic:

Regardless of the increase in new "forms of family life", the number of families in the Federal Republic with children under the age of 18 fell from 414 600 in 1995 to 398 200 in 1998; over the same period, the proportion of lone parents rose from 32% to 34%. After a decline after 1990, the birth rate has now stabilised at about 30 000 a year⁷. While people used to have a child by the age of 18 to 20, nowadays many do not decide to take this step until the age of 35. In the Federal Republic, 19% at most of children have no siblings. Nearly 60% of all women with children who are minors are now in gainful employment in Germany; in the new Länder alone, 60% of East German women with children between the ages of 6 and 17 go to work.

Separation, divorce and remarriage, especially when the children are still of school age, has created what are known as "patchwork families" (BECK), in which children may come from different parents. Moreover, ever fewer parents are available to their children full-time because in more than half the families both parents have to work. That confirms the assumption that there is a growing need for childcare in the Federal Republic.

⁷ Yet there are warnings about the economic impact of our "ageing" society (e.g. in the article "Der Kinder-Crash" in the SPIEGEL 35, 1999).

In 1994 the International Social Survey Programme questioned households in West Germany about various household jobs:

Interviewees' answers to questions, in percentages, by gender

(E: East Germany; W: West Germany)

Question	Answer <u>Men</u>	Answer <u>Women</u>
1. Is housework women's work?	("Yes") W: 40.2% E: 11.1%	("Yes") W: 34.1% E: 11.3%
2. Should both partners go to work?	("Yes") W: 64.2% E: 92.3%	("Yes") W: 70% E: 94.7%
3. Who does the washing at home?	Usually the woman W: 40.2% O: 11.1%	Usually the woman W: 34.1% E: 11.3%
4. Who does the shopping?	Usually the woman W: 47.3% E: 35.5%	Usually the woman W: 48.5% E: 32.7%
5. Who looks after members of the family when they are ill?	Usually the woman W: 53.8% E: 35.5%	Usually the woman W: 58.4% E: 32.7%

Source: YEANDLE/GORE/HERRINGTON; XXV - XXVII

This shows that (despite a clear trend towards the gender-specific division of household work) caring activities and shopping are still regarded as a woman's job. In fact, nearly half of all men and women in West Germany continue to regard housework as 'typical' woman's work. In East Germany, the figure is far lower. There are considerable discrepancies between the attitudes of male and female family members in West and East Germany; that means that we can only obtain a fairly balanced picture that can be compared with the situation in other EU countries by including the East German Länder (comparison with the UK, for example in relation to shopping by women: women: 45.1% / men: 40.2%).

However, these subjective figures must be taken as relative. If we compare these answers with the findings of the 1992 time-budget surveys by the Federal Office for Statistics, we find that the actual figures for housework are fairly evenly distributed in West and East Germany. That can be interpreted as meaning that in the GDR, the equality of women both at work and in the household was assigned a high-ranking position in the social ideology, but this was not really reflected in practice under the social conditions of the time. This trend is continuing in the new Länder.

In 1991/1992 the Federal Office for Statistics conducted a survey of "household production" among 7 200 German households. It showed that the time spent in unwaged work, namely 95 500 million hours, was 59% higher than the time spent in gainful employment, 60 000 million hours. Household work (mainly done by women) took 3 hours a day; D.I.Y. work (mainly done by men) took 20 minutes; care and nursing took 26 minutes, of which 19 minutes for childcare. Only 10 minutes a day were spent on voluntary or social welfare work.

The survey of the domestic time budgets produced the following pattern in 1992:

Average time spent per day on unpaid work by persons aged from 12 upwards

Activity	Former Federal territory			New Länder and East Berlin		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
	(Hours:Minutes)					
Household activities	3:00	4:09	1:44	3:04	4:02	1:55
of which:						
Preparing meals, laying the table, washing up	0:56	1:26	0:24	0:59	1:26	0:27
Laundry	0:22	0:40	0:03	0:22	0:38	0:03
Cleaning the home	0:32	0:49	0:14	0:30	0:42	0:16
Caring for plants and animals	0:24	0:23	0:24	0:28	0:26	0:30
Shopping	0:18	0:23	0:14	0:16	0:19	0:13
Dealing with authorities, organisation	0:12	0:12	0:12	0:12	0:13	0:11
Travelling time	0:13	0:15	0:11	0:16	0:18	0:13
D.I.Y. activities	0:20	0:08	0:33	0:25	0:10	0:43
of which:						
Vehicle repair, maintenance	0:03	0:01	0:06	0:05	(0:01)	0:09
Making and repairing consumer goods	0:05	(0:02)	0:07	(0:03)	(0:01)	(0:05)
Building, renovating	0:05	(0:02)	0:09	(0:07)	(0:03)	(0:12)
Care and nursing	0:26	0:37	0:15	0:29	0:38	0:18
Childcare	0:19	0:27	0:10	0:21	0:29	0:13
Care of those in need of care	0:03	0:04	(0:02)	(0:03)	(0:04)	(0:01)
Giving lifts/escorting	0:04	0:05	0:03	0:04	0:05	0:04
Voluntary/social welfare work	0:10	0:08	0:12	(0:03)	(0:02)	(0:04)
Total unpaid work	3:56	5:02	2:44	4:01	4:52	3:00

Source: *SCHWARZ in: ZUKUNFT IM ZENTRUM 1997, 24*

This survey was the first of its kind in Germany. As Mr EHLING of the Federal Office for Statistics stated, no further survey of this area is planned until the year 2002 (workshop on "Challenge to the household services sector" on 26.8.1999 in Berlin).

In short, the areas of unpaid household or community work can be quantified as follows:

Unpaid household and community work

Area of activities	Proportion of domestic activity
Care/nursing	11%
D.I.Y. activities	9%
Voluntary work/social welfare work	4%
Household activities	76%

Source: *Manfred EHLING, in the workshop on "Herausforderungen an den haushaltsnahen Dienstleistungsbereich", 26.8.1999*

Here the relationship between the performance of paid/unpaid work by women and men is reversed: while men are paid for 31 hours of their weekly working time and perform 20 hours of unpaid work, in the case of women the ratio is the reverse: 15 hours paid : 35 hours unpaid. At the same time women (approx. 2/3) in Germany produce a net product of about DM 95 500 million in household and community activities. This net product is far greater than that from paid work (c. DM 60 000 million. According to the estimates of the Federal Office for

Statistics, that means the value of unpaid monthly housework is about DM 3 200 per household.

Between 10% and 39% of the German population do voluntary work (this survey includes work neither in action groups nor in self-help groups). Especially in the case of women, this often takes the form of "helping others".

Various social scientists have noted a trend, especially among younger people, with the growing emancipation of women and high unemployment, towards being less willing to look after the family or do voluntary work than to seek gainful employment. Young women are increasingly tending to train and go to work before starting a family (BECK 1986; BECK-GERNSHEIM 1998).

Young women are tending less and less to look towards partnership and family for their role in life; most young women now see training and work as offering the greatest social recognition. A study by the Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung examined the life-styles of women and found that younger women no longer regard the traditional life of women as binding on their generation.

The following statement can be regarded as typical, at least for those affected by the "new type of socialisation" or adherents of the "new middle ground" (Neue Mitte):

"I simply cannot imagine just being a housewife or mother, because I would find that far too boring and would always feel I was missing out on life and not making the most of my opportunities."

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Recently the spokeswoman for the Green Party/Alliance 90 called for "more money for women – and more housework for men" (EMMA 4, 1999, 6; 20). Following on from the revised family legislation in Austria, under which working spouses must support their partner in the household during their leisure time, the party called for housework to be split "50:50". The general reaction, even from its own party members, was negative. They said you could not regulate the way partners divided up housework between themselves by law. This discussion will continue – possibly with the result that as in Austria the amount of mutual support will be determined by law.

B.1.3 Rate of employment of men and women in this area

The following table shows the growing rate of employment of women and men in the services area, compared with the neo-liberal US Workfare model and the classical Swedish welfare state model:

	Germany			USA			Sweden		
	1970	1980	1990	1970	1980	1990	1970	1980	1990
Primary sector	46.8	42.9	38.0	15.8	18.2	20.1	22.1	23.8	24.8
Goods-oriented Sector	26.7	4.7	2.9	28.8	28.7	30.2	30.0	34.1	38.8
Consumer-oriented services	51.3	28.0	28.9	26.7	31.6	34.2	23.3	26.8	28.8
	51.3	54.2	55.8	50.8	53.6	55.6	62.4	64.7	66.1

Sources: *OECD Labour Force Statistics 1989, 1992*

Household services primarily offer women the chance of employment, but men can also find much scope for work, without the need for additional qualifications, in the areas of cleaning and catering.

The following table shows the distribution of household services over the three economic sectors:

Survey of the supply of household services by economic sector:

Private sector	Public sector	Tertiary sector
Large firms	Land and local authorities	Self-help groups
SMEs	Churches	Community-action organisations
One-man firms	Quasi-non-governmental organisations (Quangos): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Welfare organisations • Service agencies 	Social enterprises
Distributed over the three sectors:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment agencies • Services pools 		

B.1.4 Role of the state in this area

Between 1949 and 1987 real incomes in Germany grew fourfold. But this was not reflected in a similar growth in the demand for domestic services. Instead, rising incomes tended to flow into the purchase of technical appliances, processed consumer goods and the catering industry (in the late 1980s, as much as 23% of expenditure on food went to the restaurant trade).

It is, however, worth noting that priority is still being given – especially in East Germany – to preparing food at home. Yet the expected relatively high demand is based on

- a growing trend to eat out;
- a continuing high demand for childcare;
- the fact that there is still a high level of undeclared work, especially in the area of private cleaning services.

In the traditional model of the "strong male breadwinner state", the father is the breadwinner while the mother has to look after the family. The policy to date has created the following barriers to payment for household services:

1. matrimonial tax splitting, which gives tax advantages where the wife is not employed;
2. childcare allowance (DM 600 a month), under which parents obtain compensation for loss of income as a result of childcare for up to 2 years;
3. parental leave (for a period of 3 years) while also receiving a wage/salary;
4. inadequate childcare supply for 1-3 year-olds in West Germany.

An expert in the field has made the following comment about these barriers:

"In Germany the environment for housework as gainful employment subject to compulsory insurance is unfavourable."

(Traute MEYER in: ZUKUNFT IM ZENTRUM 1997, 21).

According to leading experts, the barriers to the spread of domestic services are as follows:

- the expansion of the self-service economy as a result of the industrialisation of housework;
- the inadequate subsidising of these services by tax incentives and wage compensation;
- labour-market and socio-political incentives for women to stay at home;
- the decline in real incomes that is now becoming apparent (cf. among others WAS NUN No. 67, 5/6 1999).

What **opportunities** does this area nevertheless offer?

1. The highest success rate might be expected to be in childcare, since there is still a high demand in this area. The public supply is still too low in the West German Länder; the private sector only provides these services at high market prices. Here it would be advisable to refund incidental wage costs or give tax relief for services pools or agencies.
2. In the case of domestic cleaning services, the situation is difficult. So long as the state gives no assistance, the agencies will have to compete with the even lower wages paid for undeclared work. Moreover, the mechanisation of cleaning jobs creates competition in the area of all non-personal services. To a limited extent, "services cheques" offer a way out here.
3. Meals on wheels and catering
This sector is growing, with meals on wheels being provided mainly by voluntary welfare institutions and what is called the tertiary sector, while catering work tends to be performed by private-sector firms in association with snack bars and small restaurants. No precise details are available here at Federal level.
4. Care of the elderly
Demographic developments are bound to increase the demand for care of the elderly. Whether the demand for labour will grow accordingly and/or family care will increase is a question that cannot at present be answered, given the at times scandalous conditions in homes and the unsatisfactory home help situation.

B.2. Analysis of policy measures to promote employment in this sector - with special reference to measures to promote equality between women and men

B.2.1 Employment policy action plans

Since the special summit on employment held in Luxembourg, two employment policy action plans have been published in Germany: one in April 1998 under the KOHL government, another in June 1999 by the SPD-Green SCHRÖDER government. Since this study covers the

period until mid-1999, we will focus on the 1998 action plan adopted under the Christian Democratic-Liberal government, as it had some impact on the labour market situation. Another reason for focusing on this plan is that for political reasons the 1999 action plan says rather little about the relevant services sectors.

Pursuant to the EU Council decision of 15.12.1997 in Amsterdam, the employment policy guidelines adopted at the Luxembourg employment summit of 20./21.11.1997 have to be implemented at national level.

In April 1998 the KOHL government published its first action plan, providing for the implementation of all 19 guidelines. Compared with other national plans, it was striking that the government wanted to promote employment mainly through national economic measures and an active labour market policy that was more intensive than the year before.

Here we describe only those guidelines and their implementation that are relevant to the sector we are addressing and discussing.

In relation to Guideline 10, which calls for job creation at local level, in the social economy⁸ and in new activities relating to needs not satisfied by the market, it was found that the German welfare organisations account for about 3% of total employment in Germany.

With the introduction of statutory care insurance, the German Government estimates that some 75 000 new jobs were created over the period 1995-97.

The introduction of the "household cheque" system and the establishment of services centres/agencies (in 1998 there were about 70 such institutions in Germany) were to bring further improvements to the framework conditions in private households.

The KOHL government refused to reduce the VAT rate on labour-intensive services (Guideline 12) because it seriously doubted that this would improve employment and because of technical tax problems and the expected tax losses.⁹

With regard to modernising the organisation of work (Guidelines 12 and 13), it referred to existing collective agreements which the social partners had already concluded.

With regard to Guideline 16 (tackling gender gaps), it pointed first to the need to combat the serious imbalance in employment rates in West and East Germany (unemployment rates of women in West/East Germany 1997: 10.7%/22.5%). It noted that women were already being prioritised in active labour market policy measures. Under new employment promotion legislation (§ 8 SGB III), the promotion of employment for women was fixed by law for the first time. Moreover, assistance was given to women to facilitate their return to work (Guideline 18) and part-time workers also came under the compulsory social security provisions.

⁸ In English the term used here is the social economy, which is confused with public social services.

⁹ However, even public companies in the EU doubt whether the introduction of a reduced VAT rate will boost employment in the labour-intensive sectors (Centre for Publicly-owned Companies / CEEP in: Agence Europe, 19.8.1999). They advocate a general approximation of VAT rates to 15% (e-mail ED@aries.eu.int of 8.9.1999).

Guideline 17 calls for improvements in the supply of care and nursing services. To that end the German Government took measures to improve childcare facilities outside the family by giving (formal) entitlement by law to a nursery-school place and giving social protection to those in need of care through statutory care insurance.

The Member States were also required to make it easier for women and men to return to working life (5% of all unemployed women in the former Federal Länder). The government took the following measures to achieve this goal:

1. Continuation of the employment relationship during parental leave for up to 3 years;
2. Amendment of the employment promotion legislation (1998) by taking over the cost of certain measures (mainly further training and retraining measures);
3. Recruitment subsidies for starting up businesses and for employment under employment promotion measures (ABM);
4. Legal entitlement of employers to integration subsidies.

Furthermore, Germany conducted trials in two Länder involving temporary workers governed by social contacts.

In short, it emerges that in 1998 the German Government did not really respond to the guidelines of relevance to this paper (except perhaps Guideline 18) with any additional measures and that in its report it basically referred to measures that had already been introduced. A further measure which, however, was introduced by the Ministry for Economic Affairs and originally had no connection with the EU Council decision – the "Services 2000" action programme – was designed to make better use of the employment potential in the services sector by promoting the creation of businesses and small and medium-sized undertakings.

The 1999 employment action plan did not bring much that was new. However, an emergency programme to reduce youth unemployment was introduced for young people; the strain on the job centres was relieved by the reform of employment promotion legislation; the ecological tax reform and the reform of company taxation was adopted; and promoting equal opportunities for women and men was declared a mainstream objective.¹⁰

One real innovation, apart from the introduction of the eco-tax, is the JUMP programme (100 000 young people are to be given access to training or employment) and the inclusion of the social partners in an "alliance for work, training and competitiveness" and of equal opportunities representatives in consultations on the guidelines.

Guideline 12 is to be implemented by an enhanced structural policy in the "promotion of the regional economy through citizen involvement" initiative. This means that for the first time the regionalisation of structural policy that is already under way is at least being recognised at Federal level.

In opening up the employment potential in the services sector, the main emphasis is on information and communication technologies and social services as a growth factor. The measures taken in this regard ("women to the net", aid programmes for founding new firms in

¹⁰ The new German Government does not see any advantages either in applying the Council recommendation put forward in Vienna on 11/12 December 1998, calling for labour-intensive services to be eligible for VAT relief, in order to reduce undeclared work in this area.

the services sector, development of the social infrastructure and improving training and further training in the services sector) are, however, confined to the framework conditions; there is no question of direct intervention here.

"Gender-Mainstreaming" (Guideline 19) is to be achieved by measures such as formulating new legislation on equality between women and men and by incorporating the equal opportunities criterion in quality management systems. Guideline 20 was achieved in 1998 to the extent that at this point women were already over-represented in labour market measures – yet the aim is to reduce unemployment among women even further, through specific aid programmes, and to increase the number of women in management positions and reduce income differentials between the sexes.

The (planned) "Women and Work" programme is designed to help reconcile family and work: by making paid parental leave more flexible, improving the childcare situation and various other campaigns.

Overall, however, the 1999 employment policy action plan cannot be expected to have any (direct) impact on the household services sector. The programme here is marked by measures to improve qualifications, campaigns and non-binding statements of intent.

B.2.2 The "maid's concession" (*Dienstmädchenprivileg*)

The KOHL government introduced the so-called "maid's concession" that allowed households with domestic helps to set the wages and associated incidental wage costs off against tax. Up to DM 18 000 could be offset against income tax as special expenses for these purposes. But this did not produce the desired result of 100 000 new jobs in this sector – in practice only an extra 1 200 persons were employed in the household, because this provision only benefited the top earners and this kind of job is generally regarded as unattractive. As a result, and because of the fear that this would further reduce income tax revenue, the new SPD-Green government is intending to abolish this concession again.

B.2.3 "Household cheques"

The purpose of the household cheques originally introduced by BLÜM, the Minister for Employment and Social Affairs as an experimental instrument, was to reduce the level of insecure and undeclared work in the household sector. Instead of the 500 000 jobs promised with the introduction of household cheques, only 4 500 cheques were used in 1997; in Berlin in the same year, the Department of Social Security only registered about 100¹¹ cheques.

The reasons are that the household cheques do not give employers or employees any tax advantages. In the end, the only advantage for employees who perform several part-time jobs in this area is improved social protection – although incidental wage costs are deducted from the total income.

B.2.4 On the proposal to introduce services vouchers

Following the negative experiences with household cheques, in 1996 the SPD put forward another scheme, which has not yet been implemented. On the assumption that the number of service agencies will rise, the job centres would give services vouchers to private households, under the provisions of a performance-of-services act. These vouchers would be given to families with children under the age of 14 or that included one person in need of assistance,

¹¹ We cannot give exact figures here because they fluctuate so widely.

up to a total value of DM 1 200 (approx. EURO 600) per household per year. The amount will rise by DM 600 for each further child or person in need of assistance.

Services agencies could cash in up to 40% of the value of these vouchers; that would mean that if the vouchers were cashed in full, and given an hourly wage rate of DM 25, the amount to be paid per hour by the client would fall by DM 10 to DM 15.

After the previous government rejected this scheme in April 1997, the new government incorporated it in its electoral programme and its coalition pact, although it has not yet implemented it. Under current conditions (budgetary restraints) it is unlikely that this innovation will come into effect.

B.2.5 The equal opportunities article in the German Constitution and the corresponding policy measures

Article 3 of the German Basic Law as at 1998 provides that:

1. All people are equal before the law.
2. Men and women have equal rights.
The state shall seek to ensure equal treatment of men and women and to remove existing disadvantages.¹²
3. No one shall be prejudiced or favoured because of their sex, birth, race, language, national or social origin, faith, religion or political opinions.
4. No one may be discriminated against on account of their disability.¹³

Under European Community law, compliance with this article of the Basic Law is now legally enforceable (pursuant to Article 119 of the EU Treaty and to the equal pay directive 75/117/EEC). Previously, compliance with it was not mandatory and not enforceable on an individual basis. Now it is directly binding on the legislature, the executive and the judiciary and therefore on the public sector. However, it is less binding on the legislature since the latter is only prohibited from arbitrary acts. The administration, however, must observe the purpose of the law in question in the event of disputes.

Article 33 I, II of the Basic Law also makes specific provision for equality by providing that all Germans in every Land have the same civil rights and duties and are equally eligible for any public office according to their aptitude, qualifications and professional abilities.

Other equal rights and anti-discrimination provisions can also be derived from the Basic Law.

On principle, Article 33, II of the Basic Law prohibits discrimination against women and minorities in the civil service. In the private sector, the Basic Law only applies indirectly through the Civil Code (BGB), Articles 138 and 242 (immorality, good faith¹⁴), which precludes on principle any conduct by employers that conflicts with the Basic Law. Moreover,

¹² This sentence did not exist in the original text of the 1949 Basic Law.

¹³ This sentence was also added later.

¹⁴ The key provisions of these two articles are as follows:

Article 138: "A legal transaction which offends good morals shall be void."

Article 242: "The debtor shall fulfil his obligations in accordance with the requirements of good faith and good business practice."

On principle, both articles imply compliance with the Basic Law articles.

collective pay agreements between employers and unions, especially in the civil service, often include provisions on female quotas in recruitment, plans to promote the position of women or the appointment of a women's representative.

The principle of equal rights and non-discrimination is also enshrined in industrial law, through the Civil Code (paragraphs 612(3) and 612a¹⁵). Accordingly, no employer may favour or discriminate against any one employee or group of employees vis-à-vis another without justified grounds. Any infringements can be remedied in court.

The same applies to collective agreements and internal company agreements that conflict with the provisions of the Basic Law on equality. They are unconstitutional or void if they favour or disadvantage women or men solely on the grounds of gender. However, that does not preclude different treatment on the grounds of biological or functional differences.

Furthermore, Article 48 of the EU Treaty, which prohibits unequal treatment of the citizens of all EU Member States, also applies in Germany.

Overall it can be noted that efforts have been made in Germany, especially in recent times, to reduce discrimination at legal and political level. Yet we can assume that a range of disadvantages and in particular cases of indirect discrimination can still be found in working life (cf. e.g. WEISS 1992, 164ff.). For instance, it is still a fact that women's pay remains about 70% of men's. According to a committee of experts appointed by the ÖTV (transport and general workers) Union, one reason for this is that the collective agreements do not take account of social and communication skills.¹⁶

Another measure to promote equality between men and women at work is the ruling on "childcare leave". The parent responsible for bringing up a child during its early years – as a rule the mother – is credited with pension contributions over that period. Under the new ruling, three years are credited for children born after 1991, one year for children born up to 1991.

The equal treatment of women and ethnic minorities is in fact also enshrined in the constitutions of the Federal German Länder. Like all other Land constitutions, the constitution of the city state of Berlin contains an equal treatment provision that is substantially the same as that in the Basic Law.

¹⁵ Article 611a prohibits discrimination: "(...) If in the event of a dispute the employee can substantiate facts that suggest discrimination on the grounds of sex, the employer shall be responsible for proving that there are material reasons, not related to sex, for the different treatment (...) If an employment relationship is not justified because the employer has infringed the anti-discrimination provision of paragraph 1, he shall compensate for the damage, (...)

Article 612 (3) (Payment): "In an employment relationship, lower pay for equal or equivalent work may not be agreed on the grounds of the employee's sex (...).

Article 612a: "The employer may not discriminate against an employee in an agreement or measure because that employee is exercising his/her rights in a permissible manner." (ban on disciplinary action)

¹⁶ That is one reason for the very recent launch of an ÖTV campaign to upgrade women's work; it aims to combat indirect gender-based discrimination by introducing activity-related rather than person-related salary grades in collective agreements (ÖTV brochure "Maß nehmen. Frauenarbeit aufwerten").

In Article 10, III the Land of Berlin undertakes

"(...) to establish and ensure the equal treatment and equal participation of women and men in all areas of social life. Support measures may be taken to compensate for certain inequalities."

Furthermore, in line with Article 33 of the Basic Law, Article 19, II of the Berlin Constitution provides that everyone shall have access to all public posts without any distinction based on origin, sex, party or religious belief, provided they have the necessary aptitudes.

The Land Equal Treatment Act (LGG) of 31.12.1990, as last amended by the Act of 10.6.1998, sets out measures to promote and ensure equality. For instance, that is why all Berlin universities have a quota system for the employment of women, a plan to promote the position of women, or have appointed a women's representative.

Moreover, various other public institutions in Berlin have implemented model projects to promote the position of women (under the specialist supervision of support agencies for families and women).

A variety of legal tools and political measures therefore exists to remove discrimination in the public sector, especially in relation to gender. But this legal situation has little effect on the situation in the services sectors we are examining here, except in the public sector which has always employed a large number of women in this area.

B.3 The local level

We must begin by saying that this section covers one regional level (city of Berlin) and two local levels (districts). In choosing the areas to be analysed and evaluated, we decided it would be most useful to compare the situations of two city-centre districts with each other and with the situation in Berlin as a whole. Since people still refer to "two societies" in Germany after unification, and in addition the economic data in the new Länder are far worse than in most of the West German Länder, we decided that Friedrichshain (East Berlin) and Wedding (West Berlin) were suitable choices.

Following the administrative reforms, the reduction of the current 23 districts to 12 districts will soon be completed (by the year 2001). That will have a corresponding impact on the social and economic situation, especially if East and West German districts are looked at together (as we will do for both districts – see below). The administrative reform will not be accompanied by many shifts in responsibilities between district and Senate administrations, except in relation to the allocation of the overall total budget.

So we will continue to see a situation in which – unlike in a horizontal state – the districts still count as the local level and have no real financial autonomy under the Land.

This situation has a further consequence in terms of our analysis. In many areas we have no precise figures or data at local authority level. At times we could only obtain approximate data by questioning experts and extrapolating from individual data. So this survey of data for Berlin as a whole and in particular the statistical distinction between East and West German districts can only show up the trends in the sectors analysed. In one particular case (Wedding) we were lucky enough to be able to compare the official data with the findings of a survey

conducted by the district in question. Here it became apparent that the official statistics, e.g. drawn from the micro-census, differ substantially from the findings of the surveys in the field. We have therefore treated the data very carefully, regarding them as reflecting trends rather than reality.

B.3.1 Survey of the situation in Berlin and the effects of state measures

Here we want to begin by documenting the following:

- the employment structures in the various localities;
- traditions of women's employment;
- the high unemployment rate among men in these localities;
- the ethnic composition of the population;
- the demographic trend and fluctuations;
- and the composition of households.

That is why we will first present the relevant data on the two districts of Berlin we have selected – the former East Berlin district of Friedrichshain and the West Berlin district of Wedding.

Both districts have typical early industrial structures: in Friedrichshain de-industrialisation began immediately after unification in 1990, while this process has been going on in Wedding since the 1980s.

In Berlin, the ratio of trade and industry to the services sector is as follows:

Employment rate in Berlin by sector

	<i>In thousands</i>	
Private services firms	1991: 314.3	1997: 443.3
State or private organisations	1991: 558.5	1997: 405.0
Producer industries	1991: 551.9	1997: 324.5
Trade and transport	1991: 354.7	1997: 257.0

Source: *IHK Berlin*

This shows that private services firms represent the only area in which employment is growing in the private sector. Since 1993, 60 000 extra jobs have been created in this sector. Call centres alone now employ 6 000 workers; at the same time the health sector, further training, the environment and financial services are also seen as highly growth-intensive. Compared with other large cities, Berlin, with its (low) share of the services sector, at 45.5%, comes at the bottom of the list (together with Dresden, at 43.9%), behind the large West German cities (Frankfurt/M.: 61.6%).

Yet the trend is clearly a positive one: since the early 1990s, the share of the services sector in GDP in Berlin has risen from 31% to 38%. Over the same period, the share of the producer industry fell by 8%.

The employment situation of individuals who have not completed vocational training has worsened, affecting in particular women in the western part of the city because of their comparatively poor qualifications. The employment structure of women in West and East

Berlin was analysed in 1991¹⁷. Some 82% of women were working in the services sector, of whom nearly one in four was an office worker or secretary. Other jobs mainly performed by women were sales and jobs in health, the social services and education (21%). Among West Berlin women of foreign origin, the main job was as cleaners, while this was the third most frequent job among West Berlin women of German origin.

The share of part-time work has increased markedly in both parts of Berlin since 1990. More than a quarter of women workers were employed part-time in 1995 (as against only 4% of men), which meant that 85% of all part-time workers in Berlin were women. At 15%, the number of women working part-time in East Berlin was considerably lower.

In 1995, 30 000, or 5% of all gainfully employed women were marginal part-time workers (working less than 15 hours a week; monthly income below DM 580, or DM 470 and not subject to compulsory insurance). Presumably the figure for undeclared work, especially in the field of domestic help, is higher.

"It is feared that high unemployment and over-expensive childcare facilities will force an increasing number of women into these employment relationships. The problem there lies in the inadequate social security protection, the adverse effects in the event of unemployment, and in the pre-programmed poverty in old age among the women in question." (point 13, 10).

The following employment forecasts were made for Berlin women for the year 2000:

- The demand for labour in private services firms and non-profit-making organisations (churches, charities) will rise;
- however, employment in the producer industry, in trade and communications and the civil service will continue to fall;
- this means that in the end the number of Berliners in gainful employment or seeking a job will scarcely be less than in 1993, all other conditions being equal.

In both districts, as in the city as a whole, the population is falling. In Berlin the population fell by 33 004 in 1997; in Friedrichshain it fell by 2 058 and in Wedding by as much as 3 740. As against Friedrichshain, where deaths exceeded births by 125, in Wedding births exceeded deaths by 253 because of the large foreign population.

Commuter mobility in these districts is fairly high (the mobility rate in Berlin as a whole stands at 15%). It is assumed that 100 000 individuals, mainly from western Poland, work in Berlin on a regular or occasional basis (*Berliner Zeitung*, 6.8.1999). Commuting between the two parts of the town tends to flow in one direction: the majority of employees commute from East to West Berlin because of the better economic situation in the west. In 1995, 41 000 women and 52 000 men domiciled in East Berlin found employment subject to compulsory insurance in West Berlin. In 1992, 11% of all women workers subject to compulsory insurance in West Berlin commuted from East Berlin. In 1995 the balance of commuting between Berlin and other German Länder stood at -92 000. (SENATSVERWALTUNG FÜR ARBEIT, BERUFLICHE BILDUNG UND FRAUEN 1995).

In the two districts, the proportion of lone parents varied: 50% in Friedrichshain, 26% in Wedding (Berlin as a whole: 41%).

¹⁷ The survey was conducted mainly by a&o Research, Berlin.

The population of these districts is similar to that of medium-sized towns; following the district administration reform, both districts will be merged with others by the year 2000. These merged districts will then have a population of up to 300 000 (Friedrichshain will be merged with the West Berlin district of Kreuzberg and Wedding with Central (East) Berlin and Tiergarten (West)).

Before presenting detailed studies of these two districts, we shall provide a few basic data for comparative purposes:

General data, Berlin

(Average 1997)

Inhabitants:	3 425 759			Men:	Women:
				1 659 470	1 766 289
	East Berlin:		1 286 031	635 967	650 064
	West Berlin:		2 139 728	1 023 503	1 116 225
Population decline compared with 1996		6 078			
Population density	38 .8 / ha				
Households (approx.):	1 804 200	East:	646 300		
		West:	1 157 800		
Families with children	305 000	East:	103 200		
		West:	201 800		
Lone parents:	127 200	East:	56 000		
		West:	71 200		

Employment rate in Berlin by sector

Unemployment/Unemployment rates:	Berlin	East Berlin	West Berlin
Dec. 1997:	265 665 / 15 .6%	96 691 / (March 97: 16 .2%)	168 974
Dec. 1998:	268 100 ¹⁸ / 16 .1%	ca 17 .9%	ca 19 .3% ¹⁹
		Men	Women
Unemployment in domestic occupations	2 080	113	1 967
Trainees in nutritional and domestic occupations	51	17	34
Employees subject to compulsory insurance in Berlin 30.6.1997 (other services)	419 719	168 136	251 583
Employment in the services sector/industrial sector	Total 701 200	Services 264 400	Processing industry 58 600

Source: *Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin 1998, some own calculations*

¹⁸ No separate data from the Regional Employment Office.

¹⁹ Federal Institute for Labour, <http://arbeitsamt.de>; as at: January 99

In Berlin in April 1997, 409 200 persons (of whom 264 400 women) were employed in the public and private services sector, of whom 108 600 were in education and teaching (of whom: 71 900 women) and 176 300 in the health, veterinary and social sector (of whom: 129 500 women).

Trade and the hotel and catering industry employed 247 700 people, of whom 124 500 were women (all data: STATISTISCHES JAHRBUCH BERLIN 1998).

We also have the following data on the division of labour between men and women in Berlin:

In the Länder of Berlin and Brandenburg respectively, 4.1% and 4.3% fewer women were employed in 1997 than in 1996. This was due mainly to falling employment in the construction and metalwork/electrical industry. Over the same period nearly every fourth woman in this region was employed part-time, while only one man in 25 worked short-time (LANDESARBEITSAMT BERLIN-BRANDENBURG, no date, 3).

In 1995 the German Institute for Economic Research and the "a&o-research" institute were commissioned by the Senate Administration for Employment and Women to draw up a report on the situation of women and their future job opportunities on the Berlin employment market (point 13, 1995).

The report finds that – contrary to the general assumption – there has been no rapprochement between the employment situation of East and West Berlin women since unification. At 44%, the rate of employment of women in East Berlin still remains 3% higher than in West Berlin. Unlike the situation in West Berlin, in East Berlin the employment rate for women aged between 25 and 55, at approximately 94%, is almost as high as the rate for men (95%).

In terms of surface area and population, Berlin is the largest city in Germany. It has the highest population density of any large German city. Unemployment is distributed unequally in the rather different districts and parts of the city; similarly, the unemployment rates in East and West Berlin differ.

As an early industrialised conurbation, West Berlin has experienced a process of de-industrialisation since the early 1980s, East Berlin since around 1990. The ensuing loss of jobs in the industrial sector has not been offset by any increase in the services sector, even though Berlin has now become the capital.

While the public sector is now making major cuts and rationalising in the sector of childcare, care of the elderly and care of the sick, the number of jobs in the non-residential sector has not declined because of the stable employment rates in the voluntary sector. However, the increasing demand in this sector is mainly covered by family or neighbourly assistance, thanks partly to the introduction of statutory care insurance, especially for low-level care, which means that the introduction of this care insurance is not necessarily creating new jobs.

With the advent of the European single market, there were some fears that international competition could be a threat to employment in this sector as a result of what is known as "wage dumping"²⁰. So far these fears have not proved justified. In the field of social and

²⁰ These fears were a central theme of the international workshop on "Well-being in Europe by Strengthening the Third Sector" in Barcelona, 27.-29.5.1993.

health services, for instance, the structures in Germany are so differentiated and consolidated that foreign supply organisations have no expectations of profits in the formal sector.

The situation in private households is marked by a fall in real incomes. This applies in particular to the growing number of households with lone parents, usually women.

Sample survey of the gender-specific proportion of lone parents

April 1997 / 1998	Total		
Parents in households with children under the age of 18	1997: 398 200 1998: 379 300		
		Lone parents: women	Lone parents: men
Lone parents with children under the age of 18	1997: 136 800 1998: 138 600	1997: 116 300 1998: 116 100	1997: 20 500 1998: 22 500

Source: *Micro-census by the Statistisches Landesamt Berlin*

The proportion of lone-parent households may only be rising slightly; however this must be seen against the background of the population and birth-rate decline: while in 1997-98 the number of families with children declined by c. 10 000, over the same period the number of lone parents rose by 3 000!

In Berlin the family is gradually becoming a "discontinued line". The number of marriages is falling considerably (about one fifth lower in 1998 than in 1991), whereas the number of lone parents or same-sex long-term relationships has risen markedly. In 1999 the share of lone parents in the western part of Berlin was 32%, in the eastern part 38%.

We have little information on the effects of the state policy on establishing equal opportunities in this area, for the recent ruling on every child's right to a place in nursery school, which also applies in Berlin, has not yet been implemented. In western Berlin, unlike in the eastern part, the supply of nursery school places is lower than the volume of demand.

In relation to labour market and employment policy, particular support was given to women under the active and passive labour market programmes. Among others, this applies to the area of household services under consideration here, where no less than 8 128 of workers assisted under the labour market programmes were employed in social services (a figure exceeded only by farming, horticulture and landscape gardening at 8 721) (LANDESARBEITSAMT BERLIN, no date, Annex 16).

A few innovative projects, such as the BERLIN SERVICE pilot project, achieve more at company and local level than Federal legislation relating to this area. Under this initiative, more than 60 jobs have in fact been created or maintained.

In the framework of ERDF (Article 10 (innovative and local measures)), Directorate-General XVI of the European Commission has supported 41 local structural initiatives throughout Europe, including a pilot project in Berlin relating to everyday services. The BERLIN-SERVICE project, with cooperation partners in France, the UK, the Netherlands and Greece, was allocated ERDF funding, as were four other German projects.

The aim of this EU project was to identify the framework conditions for the activities of a total of four Berlin services agencies with 62 employees, in order thereby to find ways of improving the framework conditions for a legal alternative to marginal work and undeclared work. The steering group, made up of representatives from the Senate administrations, the Employment Office, the social partners and the "Zukunft im Zentrum" (future in the centre) and other participating agencies, organised exchanges of experiences, discussions, studies and workshops on the subject.

At first it focused on the effects of household cheques in Berlin, but it soon emerged that this instrument had scant effect, so the project members agreed to examine the effects of the services pools as such and to clarify certain legal and wage-related issues.

According to experts and those concerned, Federal policy has little impact (cf. effects of household cheques) and where it does have an effect, it is often a negative one (e.g. the "630-Mark law" and what is known as the "bogus self-employment law").

Since 1.4.1999 the "630-Mark law" has provided that, contrary to the former legal situation, in an employment relationship involving more than 15 hours work a week, or an income of more than DM 630, the employer²¹ is liable for social security contributions. However, that does not mean that the employee acquires any pension rights. On principle, these "630-Mark jobs" are tax exempt. The purpose of the new rules is to provide persons in a marginal employment relationship – mainly women – with better protection for their old age. Basically, this new obligatory social security scheme is intended as a means of maintaining the principles of contribution-funded social security.

The "bogus self-employment law"

The "law to combat bogus self-employment" entered into force on 1.1.1999. It is now assumed that employed persons come under the "bogus self-employed" category if they meet at least two of the following four criteria:

1. They themselves do not employ anyone subject to compulsory insurance (apart from family members);
2. they work mainly and on a regular basis for only one employer;
3. they must follow the client's instructions, and
4. they do not appear on the market because of any entrepreneurial activity.

At a time when contracting out is the "in" thing, this bill is designed to prevent any abuses as a result of employers avoiding paying contributions by subcontracting. This law too has been hotly disputed.

A reform has, however, been introduced, mainly aimed at adding the criterion of whether the same job was previously performed in the context of permanent employment. If this law is implemented, three of what are now five criteria will have to be fulfilled to establish bogus self-employment.

²¹ The employer must pay a flat rate of 10% of wages to health insurance and 12.5% to pension insurance schemes.

If this reform is implemented, the result could be that employees who have traditionally worked on a fees-only basis for instance (such as adult education teachers or those employed in clubs and associations) are not regarded as self-employed. In these areas, there has already been a decline in employment contracts because institutions of this kind are not in a position to pay the full employer's before-tax contributions. To a very large extent it also applies to employees in the area under consideration here, who are often employed part-time and by voluntary organisations.

According to the chairman of the association of restaurant trades in Berlin, Mr HÄRICH, even now, only six months after the introduction of the 630-Mark law, 2 000 employees in the catering sector have lost their short-term jobs without finding anything to replace them (Berliner Abendschau. B1, broadcast of 16.8.1999).

At present it is unusual to find local alliances or partnerships in the area of household services. Exceptions are the newly established partnerships in the districts of Friedrichshain, Neukölln, Prenzlauer Berg and Wedding that operate in this area and in the community area.

The introduction by the KOHL government of statutory care insurance had a strong impact on employment in care of the elderly (where this involves nursing). It enabled family members to claim up to DM 2 500 in expenses for looking after their grandparents. In the case of non-residential care, this has led to a decline in employment, notably in the private sector. But the voluntary organisations have managed to keep their staff complement fairly stable, thanks to a skilful personnel policy.

The Berlin Senate, especially the Senate Administration for Labour, Vocational Training and Women, has identified the employment conditions and opportunities for women in this field, in cooperation with experts and those concerned.

As early as 1993, the then Administration for Labour and Women held a meeting of experts on the subject of "Women's occupations in the social sphere in a crisis situation – status enhancement and occupational prospects", whose main demand was for women's work to be reorganised and structured.

Since then a Federal-wide network made up of representatives from the practical, academic and administrative world has been set up, which is continuing to look closely into the woman-dominated labour market in personal services.

The Senate regards personal services as a significant and expanding market that needs to be structured by the policy-makers as also by the unions and occupational groups. The Senate Administration for Labour, Vocational Training and Women finds the association between this sector and the low-pay sector "*ärgerlich*" (annoying)²², considering that it would discriminate against both those who work within these services and their users.

In this plight, the Senate decided to set itself the political goal of pursuing a status-enhancement policy, together with driving out undeclared work by establishing regulated forms of work. In the Senate administration's view, the law to combat bogus self-employment is a first step, to be followed by tax relief for the demander or supplier (e.g. through wage-cost

²² The present Senator, Gabriele SCHOETTLE used that term in her address to a special conference in Berlin on 25.8.1999 entitled: "Personenbezogene Dienstleistungsberufe – Zukunft von und für Frauen."

subsidies). In order to investigate these options, it cofinanced the ERDF Article 10 "Berlin-Service" project.

It stated that the aim of the policy measures was to combine innovation with social justice, by promoting professionalisation and introducing quality assurances. That included the certification of activities formerly regarded as semi-skilled or unskilled.

New structures are to be established, in cooperation with the other Federal Länder²³, to establish the quality of training, of its results, and of further and continuing training. That would mean caring and nursing jobs would also have to come under the Federal legislation on vocational training.

Here it becomes clear how important it is, even in a federal structure, to cooperate with other Federal Länder and institutions.

This raises the question of the new job-creation potential in this field.

Across the federal republic, given the appropriate funding, the report "Services as an opportunity"²⁴ expects a direct employment rise of 500 000 jobs in this sector over the next ten years. Against the background of the economic crisis in the city of Berlin, this has given rise to justified hopes, although there is some doubt whether this growth will be, in a sense, spontaneous. Firstly, Berlin is already regarded as bottom of the league among large German cities as regards the services market, especially private services supply. Secondly, the Senate's economic policy seems to be concentrated on the production-based services of the new communication and information technologies and tourism.

²³ It should be noted here that because the Länder are entirely autonomous in the educational sphere, training courses and institutions differ widely in the Federal Republic.

²⁴ Drawn up by the German Institute for Economic Research, the Research Institute for Telecommunications, the Ifo Institute for Economic Research, the BWL Institute at the Technical University of Munich (to be published in 1999)

In the private sector, the supply of household services is as follows:

Supply of household services in Berlin

District	Total	"Agencies"	Washing, ironing, cooking	Care services	Home skills	Cultural services	Miscell- aneous
Charlottenburg	51	3	18	9	10	4	7
Neukölln	43	1	21	7	7	1	6
Reinickendorf	42	0	18	3	8	2	11
Wilmersdorf	38	2	12	8	9	0	7
Tempelhof	35	1	17	3	5	4	5
Steglitz	28	1	13	4	2	2	6
Schöneberg	27	2	7	3	5	4	6
Wedding	26	2	14	3	3	2	2
Kreuzberg	25	5	10	1	7	1	1
Mitte	24	1	8	4	4	3	4
Spandau	22	0	12	1	7	1	1
Friedrichshain	20	1	5	4	3	3	6
Zehlendorf	20	1	10	4	3	1	1
Prenzlauer Berg	19	0	5	3	4	1	6
Lichtenberg	18	1	7	3	2	0	5
Pankow	17	0	8	1	1	1	6
Treptow	16	3	5	0	4	1	3
Hohenschönhausen	15	1	4	1	3	3	3
Köpenick	15	0	9	2	0	1	3
Weißensee	14	1	4	1	4	0	4
Marzahn	13	1	3	1	4	1	3
Tiergarten	12	0	4	2	3	2	1
Hellersdorf	11	0	3	1	2	0	5
Total	551	27	217	69	100	36	102

Source: *Simone VINTZ in: ZUKUNFT IM ZENTRUM, 1999*

We can see from this that Friedrichshain (with 20) and Wedding (with 26) private service providers are more or less average, far removed however from the western city districts (Charlottenburg and Wilmersdorf) and the districts of Reinickendorf and Neukölln. It is also striking that the eastern Berlin districts nearly all fall within the lower margin in terms of private services supply (exceptions are the western peripheral districts of Spandau and Zehlendorf). Friedrichshain is in fact the district with the highest provision of household services in East Berlin.

These statistics are based on research among market leaders, since at present there are no official data on this sector. Yet if we interpret the statistics carefully, we find that both the districts we have selected are making good use of their opportunities in both the private and the public sector.

Since private services suppliers represent the only growth area in private sector employment, we can expect them to create new jobs in the area of household services too. The margins for rationalisation of small businesses are particularly narrow, so we can expect this process to become consolidated even without state intervention, provided there is no economic crisis to

drive up the rate of bankruptcy. Yet a discretionary support policy remains advisable, in spite of the fear of spin-off effects, in order to make up for job losses in the other areas.

Given the budgetary constraints in the public service, further staff cuts can be expected in the field of personal services too, in spite of the legal entitlement to a nursery school place. Since unification, there is now surplus capacity in the East Berlin nursery schools, for instance, which means that a growing number of West Berlin children are taken to East Berlin *Kitas*²⁵. There has been a dramatic fall in assistance for social projects, so that there is little sign of growth in the social economy either, although this sector has accounted for a considerable number of new jobs in all sectors since the 1970s (BIRKHÖLZER, LORENZ 1997).

Although call centres now employ 6 000 people, they still only accounts for 10% of new jobs in the private services sector since 1993. Beside environmental and financial services, the health sector remains one of the private sector growth industries.

The bulk of household social and health services is still provided by welfare organisations. Only 20% of the market is supplied by private health and advice centres. In the field of cleaning and minor repair services, the ratio of services provided by the (quasi-) public and tertiary sector to private sector services is reversed. Here demand will rise, especially following the relocation of the government to Berlin. That raises the major question of how to drive back undeclared work in favour of formal employment.

The supply of childcare facilities provided by the public sector and organisations subsidised by it is stagnating as a result of the policy of rationalisation and cost-cutting.

The social economy and in particular the tertiary sector are almost predestined to be job-creators in this area, since their very purpose is to establish a synergy between employment and welfare. Yet the excessive dependence on state benefits we are seeing now makes this sector so dependent on government financial policy and legislation that under current conditions we cannot expect any notable increase.

Overall, there is a need here for state regulation and assistance.

While in Friedrichshain tertiary-sector organisations can sustain a part of the supply of personal services because they receive local authority support on the basis that they continuously boost the labour market, the district administration of Wedding has until now focused on encouraging production-based services. In the Wedding local partnership scheme set up in 1998 and the recently launched local partnership in Friedrichshain, the main emphasis is on strategies in the personal, social and household sector. These district administrations are realising that social and economic problems cannot be resolved by the traditional measures, especially in early-industrialised conurbations.

If it is true that the industrial employment model "... can no longer claim ... to be universally valid for society as a whole" (STREECK and HEINZE in the SPIEGEL 19, 1999) and if, beside the traditional and production-related services, personal services also tend to boost employment in the services sector, then we need to consider by what means apart from market mechanisms these employment segments can be expanded. Many believe that quality

²⁵ The East German term *Kita* is an abbreviation for *Kindertagesstätten*, day-care centres for children including crèches, nursery schools, afternoon clubs and playgroups.

improvement, a quality "offensive" and integrated services²⁶ offer an opportunity to satisfy requirements and strong consumer demand. Here too, there still seems a long way to go, but the newly founded local partnerships and the BERLIN SERVICE pilot project are paving the way at local and regional level.

B.3.2 Comparative survey of the situation in Berlin-Friedrichshain and Wedding

District of Friedrichshain

Dec. 1997:	Total		Men:	Women:
- Inhabitants:	103 743			
- Men/Women:			52 798	50 945
- Population density:	106.1/ha			
- Population decline compared with 96:	-1 933			
- Surplus of births:	-125			
-Unemployed:	8 945		5 165	3 780
-Foreigners:	8 395			
-- Day-care centres/employees	muni- cipal 48 / (39)	non muni- cipal 17 / (15 + 40 ABM ²⁷)		
- Leisure centres for the elderly municipal/non municipal	muni- cipal 6	non muni- cipal 1		
- Private households:	63 800			
- Private services suppliers:	22		i.e. Supply of private services agencies per household: 0.03%	

With a population density of 106.1/ha Friedrichshain, like Wedding, lags behind the five most densely populated districts. The unemployment rate in the district is 18.2% (compared with 15.7% in the eastern district of Weißensee), with a high long-term unemployment rate (17%). The proportion of unemployed women in the total unemployment figure is only 43% compared with the figure for men. That means the unemployment rate among women is below average in relation to the proportion of the population they account for, but in comparison for the western districts it is substantially higher. This is due to the high employment rate among women in the former GDR regions.

Friedrichshain has also seen a decline in households with children under the age of 18, largely because of the decline in the population and the birth rate. Since 1990, the birth rate in

²⁶ According to Simone VINTZ, the pattern of private services is marked by "specialised individual suppliers".

²⁷ Data for 1999

Friedrichshain has fallen by about 50%. Families with children tend in particular to relocate, because they find the district not at all child-friendly.

Sample survey of the gender-specific proportion of lone parents

April 1997/1998	Total	Men:	Women:
Households with children under the age of 18	1997: 12 100 1998: 10 500		
Lone parents with children under the age of 18	1997: 6 100 1998: 5 700		
		Proportion of women	Proportion of men
		1997: 5 100 1998: no data	1997: 1 000 1998: no data

Source: *Micro-census of the Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 1998*

District of Wedding

Dec. 1997:	Total		Men:	Women:
- Inhabitants:	168 890			
- Men/Women:			85 577	85 313
- Population decline compared with 1996:	- 3 993			
- Population density:	106.3/ha			
- Unemployed:	16 200		..10 010	6 190
- Foreigners:	47 630, of whom 24 396 of Turkish origin			
- Surplus of births:	+ 104			
- Private households:	81 400			
- Nursery schools/ employees	municipal 37 2 127	non- municipal 49 1 184		
- Municipal leisure centres for the elderly/ non-municipal old people's homes	municipal 8	non- municipal 5		
- Private services suppliers	26		i.e. provision of private services agencies per household: 0.03%	

Sources: *Senate of Berlin 1999; District Office of Wedding 1998*

Wedding has a considerably higher population density than Berlin as a whole. At 106.3/ha it is far above the average for Berlin as a whole (38.5/ha). The unemployment rate is also above average; in 1997 the annual average was 17.3% in Berlin. In Wedding it was 22.2% in 1998; in the adjoining district of Tiergarten which will soon be merged with it, the rate was 19.3%.

The rate of male unemployment is relatively high; in comparison, only about two-fifths of persons registered as unemployed are women.

The provision of day centres for children and old people's homes is comparatively good, in line with the large number of children and in spite of the relatively low proportion of senior citizens (c. 12%). By comparison, in 1996 the proportion of senior citizens in West Berlin was 15.1% and in Berlin as a whole 13.8%.

Although the number of household with children under the age of 18 fell between 1997 and 1998, over the same period the number of lone parents rose. The proportion of male lone parents is slightly lower than in Friedrichshain:

Sample survey of the gender-specific proportion of lone parents

April 1997 / 1998	Total	Men:	Women:
Households with children under the age of 18	1997: 21 600 1998: 19 900		
- Lone parents with children under the age of 18	1997: 5 700 1998: 5 900		
		Proportion of men	Proportion of women
		1997: no data 1998: 900	1997: no data 1998: 5 000

Source: *Micro-census of the Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 1998*

Evidently the family break-ups triggered by unification are still having an impact. The proportion of male lone parents in Friedrichshain is about one sixth of the total – similar to the figure for Wedding.

There is a very large number and variety of organisations in this segment; services of this kind are provided in all three economic sectors.

1. In the private sector
2. In the public sector, and
3. In the voluntary and "tertiary" sector.

We used the matrix below to survey the various services in the local economy sectors:

Survey

Sectoral survey of organisations and undertakings in these sectors

Private sector	Public sector	Tertiary sector
1. One-man firms (as a rule self-employed or managers of health and advice centres)	1. Authorities (as a rule local)	1. Self-help organisations (very numerous in Wedding)
2. Small and medium-sized firms	2. Quasi-public institutions (e.g. churches)	2. social welfare institutions (numerous in both districts)
(3. Large firms (non-existent in both districts))	2.1 Service providers Service companies and service institutions for services pools are private-law organisations, but work as trustees (<i>Treuhandnehmer</i>) for the state. 2.2 Welfare organisations Under the subsidiarity principle, welfare organisations take over public tasks which they perform on behalf of the state and finance almost entirely from public contributions.	

This subdivision into the three economic sectors and the classification of organisations and firms will be a point of reference for further analysis.

B.3.2.1 Berlin-Friedrichshain

The East Berlin district of Friedrichshain is comparable to the West Berlin district of Wedding because of two external features: both districts have a large number of old buildings and as traditional working-class areas of Berlin they are now experiencing the effects of the de-industrialisation process.

There is an immense need to redevelop the old buildings inherited from GDR times in the district of Friedrichshain. Since 1990, three areas, which are home to every fifth inhabitant of the district, have been designated for redevelopment. Of the buildings there, 60% are or were in a more or less serious state of dilapidation, 77-95% still had stove heating and up to 88% were only one or two room flats.

The de-industrialisation process carried out in the space of a few years under the Treuhand policy will probably continue to have a tangible impact on the employment situation in the district for some time to come. Since 1990, between 10 000 and 15 000 people have lost their former job as a result of bankruptcy and privatisation. The Friedrichshain family firm of the NARVA integrated lighting plant used to employ up to 5 000 workers. A former Berlin brake-making factory, an integrated plant manufacturing outer clothing in Berlin and ladies' fashions in Friedrichshain, a carburettor and filter factory, a firm making electronic measurement instruments, a manufacturer of vehicle accessories have all closed down in Friedrichshain.

It is true that a variety of job-promotion, social welfare and municipal undertakings still exist in Friedrichshain, some of which – such as ABS²⁸-Holding BRÜCKE (cf. section B.3.3 of this study) – have emerged from what used to be Treuhand undertakings, but they cannot make up for the job losses that have occurred.

The district and the city of Berlin have high hopes of the OBERBAUM CITY project. By restoring listed historical buildings and adding new developments, a modern services, residential and industrial estate extending over about 46 000 m² is to be created on the site of the former NARVA lighting factory. That means that by the year 2001 one of the largest inner-city industries in Berlin will have disappeared. The new estate is expected to provide between 4 000 and 6 000 jobs, especially in the services sector.

Twenty years ago Friedrichshain still had c. 142 000 inhabitants, while in 1998 the figure was only about 97 000 in approximately 63 000 households.

As an inner-city district of Berlin, the district of Friedrichshain is very small in terms of surface area (9.8 km² = 1.1% of the surface area of Berlin), and with about 97 000 inhabitants it accounts for barely 3% of the population of Berlin; but with 106.1 inhabitants per hectare it has a high population density (almost three times the Berlin average).

The average age of the Friedrichshain population is about 38.

At 7.8%, the proportion of foreigners in the district is below the Berlin average of 12.7%.

Population (as at Dec. 1997)

		Men	Women
Inhabitants	Dec. 1997: 103 743 (Dec. 1998: 97 033)	52 798	50 945
Population density	106.1 inhab./ha or 10 500 inhab./km ²		
Population decline 1997 compared with 1996	-1 933		
Surplus of births 1997	- 125		
Private households	63 800		

Source: *Statistisches Landesamt Berlin*

As in Berlin as a whole, the number of households in Friedrichshain with children under the age of 18 has declined. This is largely due to the decline in the population and the birth rate (see table on POPULATION). Another reason may be that life has seemed very insecure since unification.

²⁸ ABS is the usual German abbreviation for job-creation, employment-promotion and structural development companies operating in East Germany.

Families with children under the age of 18

April 1997/1998	Total		
Households with children under the age of 18	1997: 12 100 1998: 10 500		
- of which lone parents under the age of 18	1997: 6 100 1998: 5 700		
		Proportion of women	Proportion of men
		1997: 5 100 1998: No data	1997: 1 000 1998: no data

Source: *Micro-census of the Statistisches Landesamt Berlin*

The unemployment rate (relating to total civilian gainful employment) in the district is 17.1% compared to the average Berlin rate of 16.0% (data from March 1999). Compared to the western district of Wedding, the rate is about 5% lower.

The proportion of unemployment among women in the total unemployment rate is only about 37.9% in Friedrichshain. That means the unemployment rate among women is below average in relation to the proportion of the population they account for, which is only normal in the western part of the city, given the low rate of employment among women there. In other, eastern districts of the town the rate of employment among women remains at 50% because of the high employment among women in former GDR regions. This fact suggests that in the district of Friedrichshain a fairly large proportion of women do not come under the terms of reference of the Employment Office and now form part of the "hidden reserve" of the labour markets, meaning that these women have few prospects of returning to working life.

We assume that there is a link between the high proportion of lone parents with children still in need of care and the low unemployment rate among women. This assumption is confirmed by the findings of experts in Friedrichshain and Berlin.

Unemployed persons and those on income support

	Dec. 1998	March 1999
Unemployed	9 266	8 724
Proportion of women (in %)	39.1	37.9
Total unemployment rate	18.2	17.1 (Berlin average: 16.0)
Total number on income support (excl. war refugees)	5 524	5 651

Source: *Social report of the Department of Social and Health Services of the Bezirksamt Friedrichshain and the Landesarbeitsamt Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999*

In terms of a number of social indicators, the district of Friedrichshain ranks below other parts of Berlin. These include:

- net income per household: in April 1998 the average net income per household in Friedrichshain was DM 2 250 – compared with the Berlin average of DM 2 800 DM – which puts it last among the 23 districts of Berlin;

- the total number of unemployed persons living off state transfers, i.e. receiving unemployment benefit or income support. In March 1999 the figure was 11 907, or 15.9% of the labour force aged between 18 and 65;
- moreover, the fact that compared with Berlin as a whole this district has the largest proportion of lone-parent households with children up to the age of 18. In April 1998 the figure was 50.3% (against a Berlin average of 36.5%). Of these one-parent households, in March 1997 approximately 300 mothers or fathers with 408 children between them were living on income support (about 5% of lone-parent households in Friedrichshain).

Friedrichshain's private household-service providers come top of the list of East Berlin districts in terms of the provision of household services:

1. The "washing, ironing, cooking" segment is offered by 5 firms (below the average for Berlin as a whole).
2. Care services are provided by 4 firms.
3. House maintenance services (cleaning, small repairs, etc.) are offered by 3 firms.
4. Cultural services can be provided by 1 private firm.
5. Another 6 firms cannot be classified under any one heading; at the same time Friedrichshain has only 1 private agency.

In the childcare field, the level of provision is so high in this district, with 37 local authority and 18 privately-run childcare centres offering a total of 4 648 places, that if the parents so wish every child can be looked after in a crèche or nursery school under the *Kita* system. There are 27 public *Kitas* for children from infancy up to the end of primary school. The other 10 take children up to school age. If the birth rate remains low and stable, capacity can and must be reduced further in the next few years. There are plans to cut about 1 000 *Kita* places over the next 2 years.

Since 1991 day care in the district of Friedrichshain has been provided by "*Tagesmütter*", i.e. childminders. Demand here is rising, firstly because of the growing number of children from difficult backgrounds (need for remedial educational day care) and secondly because lone parents who work outside the opening hours of the *Kitas* need their children to be looked after for different or extended periods. At present there are 9 small and 9 large day-care centres of this kind with a total of 93 places in the district of Friedrichshain.

Day-care centres for children

	as at 31.03.1997	
	Number	Places
Local authority	48	3 712
Crèches (0-3 years)		717
Nursery schools (3-6 years)		1 833
After-school clubs (6-12 years)		1 162
of which children in integrated centres		64
of which children in special centres		60
Private sector	17	936
Crèches (0-3 years)		236
Nursery schools (3-6 years)		525
After-school clubs (6-12 years)		175
of which children in integrated centres		10
Total	65	4 648

Source: *Statistisches Landesamt Berlin 1997*

In the field of support for children, young people and families, the situation in this district has tended to worsen over the last three years, largely because of the shortage of funds. In particular, the number of state-supported private leisure centres for children and young people has fallen.

There is a marked difference in both level and quality of employment between local authority and private establishments.

Employment rate in local authority leisure centres for children and young people (as at: May 1999)

Employed:	Paid under the public service wage-rates regulations	
total: 39	of whom: 37 full-time 2 part-time	of whom: 35 teachers 4 social workers
plus: 16 trainee posts (currently: 14 teachers, 2 social workers)		

Employment rate in leisure centres for children and young people run by welfare organisations with state support (Friedrichshain) (as at: Nov. 1998)

15 permanent employees	of whom: 11 full-time 4 part-time
40 posts with Employment Office support	Of which: 2 with wage-cost subsidies (LKZ) 24 ABM posts 14 SAM posts
1 Civil service employees	
38 voluntary workers	

Source: *Abt. Jugend- und Familienförderung, Bezirksamt Friedrichshain*

While well-trained staff, mainly from the teaching world, work in the local authority centres and are paid at the public service rates, in the centres run by welfare organisations the employees largely come from what is called the secondary labour market²⁹. This situation is typical of the eastern districts of the town, where most projects for children and young people that local authorities are not required to provide in the framework of the KJHG (legislation on children and young people) were started up under employment-promotion (AB) measures or other measures under national employment promotion legislation. The main disadvantage of subsidised employment is that under most of these measures there is a complete staff turnover every 1 to 3 years, the limited duration of the assistance is an obstacle to the continuity of the work, the staff often come from quite different jobs and their pay does not exceed 80% of the normal local pay.

At 17.8%, the proportion of elderly people (aged 60 and over) in the district of Friedrichshain lies below the Berlin average of 20.3%, while in the neighbouring district of Kreuzberg the proportion is even lower, at 12.5% (data from the Statistisches Landesamt Berlin of 31.12.1998).

In the field of care of the elderly, the district of Friedrichshain has a number of facilities run by different bodies. Churches and voluntary institutions alone run 5 health and advice centres,

²⁹ State-supported employment sector

2 day-care centres and several non-residential social service facilities, such as home care services. With the introduction of statutory care insurance, a range of private suppliers now offer home-nursing services.

Friedrichshain has 2 municipal and 2 non-municipal old people's (nursing) homes with a total of 491 places. Warm lunches at home can be provided by "meals on wheels"; there are 2 voluntary-sector and 2 private suppliers. Those who prefer to eat in company can do so by prior request in various leisure centres for senior citizens or take part in the "in-house" lunches in old people's homes.

In the field of domestic care specifically for senior citizens, in addition to the HAUSWIRTSCHAFTSBRÜCKE GmbH, four other "household bridge" projects are running. They offer a range of domestic services, from cleaning to preparing meals, shopping, escorting and errands of all kinds. As auxiliary service providers for senior citizens in need of nursing care, they also offer services that the home nursing services under the statutory care insurance scheme cannot provide because of shortage of time and money.

For the district of Friedrichshain, the statistics show a total of 20 private services providers for 1997 (data from the Statistisches Jahrbuch für Berlin 1998). Of these, 5 offer "washing, ironing, cooking" services, 4 "care services", 3 house maintenance services, one is an "agency" (ABS Hauswirtschaftsbrücke) and one offers "cultural services".

B.3.2.2 Berlin-Wedding

This district is situated in the western part of the city and has a high population density with approx. 170 000 inhabitants. Ever since the industrialisation of Berlin it has been a typical working-class district and entered the pre-war history books as "Red Wedding". It is marked by a relatively high number of electrical and metalworking industries. In the processing industry, 590 firms employing 7 664 workers were recorded at the end of 1997. Most of the large firms that used to dominate Wedding (AEG, OSRAM, Siemens-Nixdorf) have since relocated or are closing down their production centres. As a result, the Berlin Innovations- und Gründerzentrum (innovation and business-creation centre) and other research and development establishments – some attached to the universities – now play a greater role in district policy relating to potential employment and development than in the past. Wedding had already lost nearly one quarter of its jobs in the years 1970 to 1987, and the rapid decline in employment in the processing industries appears to be escalating further.

In 1998, 20.8% of the inhabitants of the district were out of work. The district is marked by a highly fluctuating population: in 1996, 14 000 inhabitants left the district; only 13 000 moved there. In Wedding, 13 835 persons are on "income support".

For the people of Wedding, the adverse effects of this process are becoming increasingly tangible. Job losses, the shortage of good housing at affordable prices and the cuts in social security benefits are leading to the well-known phenomenon of social exclusion. The problems become even more acute in the most socially deprived areas of the district:

- the population includes an increasing number of disadvantaged groups;
- consequently, a large proportion of the population relies on state transfers;
- both the housing stock and the living environment are inadequate;
- the inhabitants' poor purchasing power puts local trade and industry in a difficult position;

- overall, public and private poverty is worsening.

It is now even being described as a "dormitory district" with a worker-dominated population but no jobs for the workers (ACHTER, RENNERT 1996, 18).

With the fall of the Berlin wall and the unification of the two halves of the city, together with the decision to make Berlin the capital, it was thought that Berlin as a whole would turn into a services metropolis and that Wedding could benefit from its position as an inner-city district. These hopes have proved vain. After a busy period of land speculation, industrial rents are now falling; the newly created "services centres" have surplus capacity and building projects are either being put on hold or cancelled entirely.

With the relocation of the producer industries and the driving out of small businesses, the prospects for the development of production-oriented services are also diminishing.

Meanwhile, the unemployment rate is higher than in the eastern part of the city; more than 13 000 people are registered as out of work in Wedding and some 23 000 people (14.4% of inhabitants) rely on assistance. The proportion of foreigners (mainly from Turkey) stands at 29.1%.

Population (Wedding) (as at: Dec. 1997)

Inhabitants	Dec. 1997: 163 362	of whom men 81 514
Population density	106.1/ha	
Proportion of foreigners	29.1%	
Population decline 1997 compared with 1996	- 3 993	
Surplus of births 1997	+ 104	
Private households	81 400	

Source: *Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 1998*

In July 1999 some 16 200 people were registered as out of work in the district, of whom 40.3% were women and 31.1% foreigners. So the unemployment rate is 18.3%. A below-average number of women and an above-average number of men are out of work.

Unemployed persons and those on income support (Wedding)

	1998	March 1999
Unemployed	16 586	17 129
Proportion of women (in %)	37.1	36.5
Total unemployment rate	20.8	21.6 (Berlin average: 16.0)
Total of persons on income support (excl. war refugees)	23 526 ³⁰	18 265 ³¹

Sources: *Statistisches Landesamt, Bezirksamt Wedding and statistics from the Landesarbeitsamt*

³⁰ (December 1997)

³¹ (31.5.1999)

The economic structure is marked by a high proportion of services:

Economic structure (Wedding)

Trade and industry

Processing industries	592
Building industry	760
Transport and communications	432
Banking, insurance, other services	3 060

Source: *Bürgerberatungsbüro Wedding, 1997*

While the number of firms in the processing industries lags considerably behind the figure for the building industry, with a difference of 178, the level of services fluctuates around a very high figure.

In the private sector, the supply of domestic services is distributed as follows:

1. in the "cooking, washing, ironing" segment, there are 14 firms (above average for Berlin),
2. in the caring services segment there are 3 firms,
3. in the house maintenance services segment there are 3 firms,
4. and in the cultural segment there are 2 firms offering services.
5. Two firms cannot be classified under any individual segment, meaning that they offer multi-dimensional services. There are also 2 private services agencies in the district of Wedding.

There is a fairly good supply of *Kitas* in Wedding, especially for lone parents.

Families with children under the age of 18 (Wedding)

April 1997/1998	Total		
Households with children under the age of 18	1997: 21 600 1998: 19 900		
- of which lone parents under the age of 18	1997: 5 700 1998: 5.900		
		Proportion of women	Proportion of men
		1997: no data 1998: 5 000	1997: no data 1998: 900

Source: *Micro-census of the Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, 1998*

Childcare centres (Wedding)

	Stand 31.03.97	
	Number	Places
Local authority	145	5 192
Crèches (0-3 years)	50	999
Nursery schools (3-6 years)	37	2 127
Playgroups	21	375
After-school clubs (6-12 years)	33	1.550
Special centres	4	141
Voluntary sector	71	1 844
Crèches (0-3 years)	6	183
Nursery schools (3-6 years)	49	1 184
After-school clubs (6-12 years)	15	397
Special centres	1	80
Total	216	7 036

Source: *Statistisches Landesamt Berlin*

One difference with the district of Friedrichshain, which has only 3, is that Wedding has 44 playgroups and after-school clubs, each employing an average of 2 members of staff. So the tertiary sector dominates in childcare in this sector to a significant extent, compared with voluntary welfare institutions (23 day-care centres) (data from Mrs SAMURAY for August 1999).

In late 1997/early 1998 the Wedding day care centres employed about 600 staff and provided 1 957 places for children.

On 31.12.1998, there were 78 registered childminders³² offering their services; there were 8 large day-care centres³³.

In 1997 a Local Partnership was founded in the district of Wedding, the first of its kind in Berlin. With the aim of promoting economic and social cohesion, all three economic sectors are to make joint efforts to improve living conditions in this part of the city.

In this connection, they intend to test models of permanent employment for the socially excluded with a view to starting up practical employment projects and firms in the following areas of services:

- everyday life;
- improvement of the living and working environment;
- the leisure sector; and
- the environment.

³² Site of care: in the home of the person cared for (usually a mother herself). Duration of care: 4-12 hours 2-4 days a week. Pay: child benefit + DM 360 attendance allowance + flat-rate pay (DM 180 + 188.40), recently more differentiated.

³³ Day-care establishments financed by the district and set up by teachers, each with a maximum of 2 teachers.

The aim of the partnership is to promote participation, initiative and self-help among the inhabitants, make funds available for this where possible and endeavour to secure additional funding, e.g. from EU development programmes.

Especially against the background of the ongoing cuts in the social field and the increasingly acute conflicts of interest in the district, it was important to pool the available resources. Currently this partnership involves 4 public-sector, 5 private-sector and 14 tertiary-sector organisations and firms.

B.3.3 Innovative developments

There are a number of innovative developments in Berlin, such as the "non-residential services" to help mobilise and care for the disabled and "Putzmunter GmbH", a firm trying to create jobs for women in washing and ironing shirts and blouses, "regardless of age or nationality – under decent conditions" (quotation from the advertising brochure).

In each case we will present three firms that mainly operate in the two districts under consideration: the senior citizens' assistance service, the *Kita* in the Brüsseler Straße and the ZENIT restaurant and catering service in Wedding, together with the Hauswirtschaftsbrücke employment-promotion scheme, the non-residential service run by the Jahresringe association and the grandparents' service in Friedrichshain.

B.3.3.1 Senior citizens' assistance service in Wedding

From 1994 the local authority forum in Wedding ran a project to employ more than 40 long-term unemployed people in care of the elderly with the object of creating skills and jobs in the personal services sector. It offered:

1. Nursing care (assistance with dressing and undressing, personal hygiene, changing clothes, etc.);
2. Personal care (conversation, reading out letters and dealing with correspondence, visits to authorities, etc.);
3. Supportive care (shopping, checking on stores, preparing meals);
4. Hygiene care (washing dishes and laundry, cleaning, etc.); and
5. Advice and arrangements for supplementary services (meals on wheels, social and personal advice, visits and help with wheelchairs, etc.).

After the project had run successfully for two years, the long-term aim was to set up a social services centre entitled "PAULAs Soziale Dienste" (Paula's social services) with a view to keeping all the participants in the project employed. But that assumed also that the district social security office would put any job applicants on income support in touch with the centre. However, the responsible department in the district social security office found itself unable to do so despite initial statements to the contrary.

The result is that at present only one original project member has found further employment here.

One important aspect of this kind of project is cooperation with welfare associations, the church and other institutions in the "Wedding Local Partnership" and to give it a firm foundation in the neighbourhood (e.g. office group in the "Torfstraße neighbourhood centre").

B.3.3.2 Day-care centre for children at 30, Brüsseler Straße, Wedding

At the request of the staff, this local authority *Kita* has for some time now been offering mixed-age groups instead of same-age groups. Four mixed-age groups accept children between the ages of two months and five.³⁴ The staff-child ratio is exemplary (1.75 nursery nurses to 14 children, or 2.5 : 19).

Particular attention is paid to project-related activities such as "potato growing", making fires from the dried potato leaves and drawing with charcoal. The extensive and "romantic" garden of the *Kita* and the generously designed spaces³⁵ are particularly suited to this. The weekly plans for projects are drawn up jointly with the children.

Given the high proportion of foreigners in this district, this *Kita* is designed to be multicultural and it cares for children from ten different countries.

Another feature – not yet typical for *Kitas* – is the fact that this childcare centre is near a residential area, has good neighbourhood relations and, according to its principal, is "simply part of the place".

The principal of the *Kita*, who was for many years a union representative, hopes to make it clear with this model that public *Kitas* can stand up to the strong competition from the voluntary sector and the playgroups. The findings of experts confirm this trend towards public childcare centres making up for their under-use (especially in some districts of East Berlin and inner-city districts) by expanding the range of services on offer. Here the competition from the *Kitas* based on parent initiatives is clearly becoming so strong that the public sector is taking over certain quality features found in the tertiary sector.

B.3.3.3 ZENIT restaurant and catering service

ZENIT is a training and employment establishment run by the social services association ZUKUNFTSBAU GmbH. This employment association offers services in the following areas: qualification and training, redevelopment and renting out of cheap accommodation, housing young people, children and women and social education work with these clients.

The association's social aims are as follows:

- to improve the situation of disadvantaged population groups in their living environment;
- to bring about positive changes to district structures;
- to achieve the long-term individual stabilisation of the target groups.

The association runs the ZENIT restaurant and catering service. Single mothers in particular receive training in the catering industry in what is called a "real" firm (i.e. not a so-called "mock" firm) and can therefore look forward to an income and job prospects.

The special services offered to these women are:

1. individually adjusted working hours;
2. transport services at night;

³⁴ Klaus Seidler, the principal of the *Kita*, points out that it has been shown that the mixed-age structure produces fewer problems.

³⁵ The usable indoor space per child is at least three square meters.

3. social counselling and settlement of debts;
4. the chance of working in a women-only undertaking;
5. childcare facilities provided by the firm.

What can be regarded as particularly innovative here is the original combination of the aims of creating work and training, providing assistance to single mothers and the provision of the appropriate counselling.

B.3.3.4 AFB Hauswirtschaftsbrücke

The HAUSWIRTSCHAFTSBRÜCKE GmbH employment promotion establishment (or AFB) is part of the group of companies entitled BRÜCKE³⁶. The parent company, ABS BRÜCKE GmbH, was founded on 1 April 1992 at the initiative of the works councils of the Berlin lighting company NARVA GmbH, as a rescue company to deal with the mass redundancy of NARVA workers in the district of Friedrichshain. It now operates in 11 Berlin districts and in the Land of Brandenburg, having found jobs for about 600 employees (as at 1997).

As the fifth company in the group, this employment promotion establishment took over the conduct of business with 21 employees, in a sense as a company formed out of the AFB Sozialbrücke. It was founded with the specific objective of improving the placement prospects of long-term unemployed women by improving motivation and setting up training and practical work schemes in the social services. As an urban establishment, the HAUSWIRTSCHAFTSBRÜCKE company offers services of public and local interest. They include social and household-related services³⁷.

A further broad range of social service measures, such as support and assistance in refuse disposal following reconstruction work in the home, the dismantling or assembly of furniture, cleaning after moving home and house maintenance,, together with other transport, refuse disposal and house-moving services, were handed over to AFB Sozialbrücke projects in 1996.

In all, the HAUSWIRTSCHAFTSBRÜCKE establishment currently looks after some 150 clients, mostly from the district of Friedrichshain, but also from the districts of Prenzlauer Berg, Lichtenberg and Kreuzberg. The senior citizens generally pay for domestic services privately, some receive subsidies from the Social Security Office, quite a few receive payments under the statutory care insurance scheme.

³⁶ The following joint-stock companies (GmbH) and organisations also belong to this group: the job-promotion, employment and structural development company (ABS) BRÜCKE GmbH; AFB SOZIALBRÜCKE GmbH; AFB JUGENDBRÜCKE GmbH; ABS BILDUNGSBRÜCKE GmbH; AVRAN e.V.; Sozialverein Friedrichshain e.V. and Sozialer Bildungsverein e.V.

³⁷ They include:

- general social advice for those in need of care about available nursing, care and assistance measures, assistance in dealing with situations of conflict
- supplementary measures relating to home care and non-residential services (chiropraxy, hairdressing)
- mobility aids
- errands and escort services, together with other aids to communication, to prevent isolation and maintain social contacts
- organisation and implementation of social contact measures
- support services for disabled family members living at home
- transport and escort services for the disabled.

It is important to HAUSWIRTSCHAFTSBRÜCKE to acquire as many private clients as possible, so that when it no longer receives assistance it can stand on its own feet economically. The client structure is therefore likely to change in future: domestic services will be provided not just for senior citizens but also for "normal" family households that can afford it; in particular, it is hoped that with the government relocation from Bonn to Berlin, the clientele will include "well-heeled" civil servant households.

B.3.3.5 Non-residential assistance for the elderly

The association JAHRESRINGE e.V. runs the employment promotion project "Non-Residential Assistance for the Elderly".

The objective and main task of the project is to provide domestic and personal care and assistance for senior citizens with age-related health restrictions. The care provided by the project workers allows the senior citizens to live fairly independently in their own home and usual surroundings. Without these services many elderly people would have to spend the remainder of their days – often against their wishes – in an old people's (nursing) home.

At present 12 project workers (8 women, 4 men) care for and support a total of 64 senior citizens aged up to 96, of whom the large majority also use non-residential medical care from a non-residential nursing service guaranteed under the statutory care insurance scheme. The additional services provided under the employment promotion project, which are generally also services in the general social interest, are provided free to the elderly.

The Non-Residential Assistance for the Elderly project provides assistance that is not or not adequately provided by the non-residential nursing services. This extends far beyond home care as such. The helpers are in a sense long-term companions to the elderly. Apart from purely domestic services such as cleaning (washing up, hoovering, sweeping, dusting), shopping, help in food preparation, and so forth, they provide social assistance of various kinds. That includes:

- mobility assistance (taking the elderly out for walks or in a wheelchair, accompanying them to the doctor or authorities, etc.)
- advice (e.g. on insurance questions, in claiming various financial benefits such as housing benefit, income support or care insurance payments)
- assistance in dealing with sundry matters (telephoning the authorities, establishing contact with family members, etc.).

According to the team leader of the project, women and men perform the same tasks equally well. The senior citizens say they are fully satisfied with the services provided by the women and men and that this helps them enjoy life more.

However, the project activities make high physical and emotional demands on the teamworkers, most of whom are elderly, and this is not adequately recognised, remunerated or supported – (e.g. discrimination by ABM-specific one-year employment contracts, pay below the minimum wage, no supervision).

The free services provided for the elderly under the project are a great relief for their family members – not just financially but above all because this considerably reduces the amount of family work.

B.3.3.6 Grandparents service

The "grandparents service" project is run by the Berliner Frauenbund 1945 e.V. The project places vigorous older people between the ages of 45 and 69 in lone parent households as substitute "grannies" or "grandparents" to look after the children outside the opening times of the *Kitas* or if the children fall ill.

This service is a particularly important social aid in the district of Friedrichshain, which is home to a large number of lone mothers and fathers in comparison with Berlin as a whole. The grandparents service provides the lone parents with urgently needed free time for training, working or simply "refuelling". For the children, being looked after by "granny" and "grandpa" is like a present – and for many older people the chance of playing grandma or grandpa is a joy and in a sense a vocation.

In all, there are approximately 500 applications from mothers and fathers in Berlin as a whole. The older people can choose their substitute family from among them. Here it is important that the child lives near the carer. Provided both sides like each other and that supply and demand coincide, the substitute grandparents and the families establish their relationship independently in a friendly family atmosphere.

Currently 160 older people work as substitute grandmas or grandpas. The project itself employs a project leader, an assistant and occasionally self-employed people on a fee basis.

On average the substitute grandparents look after their substitute grandchildren once or twice a week for 2-6 hours. Providing this service usually brings these grandparents great pleasure, keeps them fit and gives their life new content and meaning during their retirement. To qualify them ever better for their task, they are offered further-training afternoon sessions, during which they are advised by psychologists, family therapists and teachers on practical aspects of their work.

For the lone parents and their children the "grandparents service" – for which they pay expenses – is both a relief and an enrichment. The project makes it clear that older people can provide useful services in the community for young people and their families. In that respect it sets an example for the development of new cross-generation relations that go beyond support provided exclusively by the family.

B.3.4 Employers

In line with the variety of activities in the household field, there is also a wide variety of employers. Childcare is provided mainly by the public sector; in the field of care of the elderly welfare organisations predominate, and in the catering field, private SMEs, social undertakings and welfare organisations providing meals on wheels all play their part. Here too a trend can now be noted towards multi-functional undertakings. In Berlin, for example, the catering firm "Schweinegut und Saubillig" (very cheap but very good) provides food but also arranges parties, company events, trade fairs, top-out ceremonies and anniversaries. In the field of gardening and minor repairs, self-employed persons and social undertakings are the main suppliers; agencies play an important role here for very small businesses.

Over the last two years the number of commercial suppliers in the field of household services has risen. Specialised, traditional small suppliers predominate here, especially in cleaning services (Frauen-GmbH "Putzmunter" was born of a local employment initiative, employs a workforce of 20 and offers home cleaning and dry cleaning to private households).

An increase in private-sector firms can, however, also be observed in the social and communications services segment. The example of the "Momo-Auftragsbüros" in the district of Berlin-Mitte shows the synergy effect of multi-functional services agencies. This one-woman firm founded in 1998 aims to give high-income bracket women back the "free time" they might lose through working and doing housework. It is a network that not only offers a range of household and home repairs but also provides skilled technical (PC problems) and social assistance (household help, care of the elderly, cultural services). The costs of this agency work are borne by the suppliers (10% commission on the volume of the order).

The activities of non-governmental organisations in the field of childcare and care of the elderly must not be underestimated. One example of NGO activity – apart from the varied activities of welfare organisations and social projects in this field – is the provision by the Berliner Frauenbundes e.V. 1945 of the "grandparents service" under which senior citizens care for children on a voluntary basis.

Although our study focuses on paid household services, we would like at this point to mark out the area covered by work not remunerated in monetary terms. Aside from family assistance, which is particularly important in the field of childcare, there are other areas of neighbourly help and reciprocal help; the latter has become formalised in Berlin in particular, in the form of work barter schemes.

Since these activities are primarily non-professional, they cannot on the whole be expected to have any impact on legal work. They seem mainly to relate to jobs that would otherwise come under the heading of undeclared work.

The large commercial undertakings scarcely impinge on the household cleaning and repairs market. The large companies that clean buildings cannot find any cost-effective customers under current conditions, nor do craftsmen find it worth their while to undertake minor repair jobs at black-economy wage rates.

B.3.5 Employees

In the field of cleaning and minor repair jobs it is almost impossible to obtain precise data on the workforce. What is certain is that foreign workers predominate in domestic cleaning jobs, except for window cleaning. Small repair jobs and window cleaning is mainly done by men, but all these services evidently come within the low-wage sector, given that the proportion of undeclared domestic services is enormously high.

In the field of childcare and care of the elderly and the sick, the welfare organisations, with a workforce of about 10 000, account for the bulk of employment. This includes the major segment of meal on wheels, where women make up 90% of employees. The main occupations in this field are childcare, housekeeping and other household jobs, nursing and driving the meals on wheels vehicles. As a rule the health insurance or care insurance companies bear the costs.

The Berlin services agencies employ only women, with the exception of one man. The average age here is 40-55. In the eastern part of town in particular, most women have completed a vocational training course; as a rule they are not graduates.

B.3.6 Quality evaluation

There are no general quality standards for cleaning and repair services³⁸. However, an association of housewives is endeavouring to establish such standards, especially for mobile cleaning services. The services agencies regard this as helpful.

Proposed inspection form for cleaning services (extract)

Pos.	Contract terms	Check list Firm/Ma	Surfaces, furnishings and fittings to be cleaned
01			Bath, floors and skirting boards (always the last cleaning job)
02			Remove and shake mats, where appropriate however or, if very stained, wash
03			Remove the worst dirt, pay special attention to carpet lice, sand and hair, especially corners (hoover rather than sweep)
04			Choose different cleaning methods depending on the type of floor or the customers' wishes, e.g. use damp or wet cloths for tiles
05			Clean corners particularly carefully, where appropriate also by hand and with a microfibre cloth
06			Wipe skirting boards and the upper edges of tiles with a damp cloth
07			Remove traces of wiping, dry surfaces afterwards
08			Replace cleaned mats (dry those that have been washed)

Source: *SEEBON in: ZUKUNFT IM ZENTRUM 1999, 83*

In nursing, the quality standards are strictly regulated following the introduction of statutory care insurance. Every health and advice centre must provide evidence that it has at least two qualified nurses, formulate quality standards and guidelines and undertake internal quality measurement and monitoring. The health insurance companies supervise this.

That means that fairly high demands are made on the employees in terms of qualifications. At the same time there are considerable problems in relation to adjusting the structure of supply and demand in relation to qualifications, largely because the existing jobs in this field are geared not to areas of activity but to traditional occupational structures. This is bound to change with the approximation of educational and training standards in these areas within the European Union. The required standards will change again when they are adjusted to the European certificates and training systems. Experts in the field all agree that household activities are particularly undervalued. That is partly because social skills are also undervalued, which is also reflected in the existing job patterns and training systems.

In fact as many as 1.25 million private households employ marginal part-time workers. So it is well-nigh impossible to set and control standards here.

Quality standards are now obligatory in childcare too: even playgroups and after-school clubs have to introduce quality management, which ranges from checking the qualifications of staff to monitoring the condition of the premises.

³⁸ However the FABER multi-functional private firm in Giessen has now formulated quality standards for cleaning and catering services.

B.3.7 User structures

No clear user trends can be identified at present. It should be noted, however, that the demand in this area is very elastic in terms of price (cf. also Carlo BORZAGA in: BORZAGA, SANTUARI, 1998, 43ff.) and therefore depends very much on state intervention under current conditions.

It is difficult to identify user structures for Berlin as a whole, yet we can provide some information on the basis of our surveys. In Friedrichshain, for instance, because of its traditional structures, the clients tend to be older; this is partly due to the traditional approach to these services, which in turn dates back to the fact that such services were provided by companies themselves in the former GDR.

As a rule the users pay for these services from transfer payments, i.e. from the health or care insurance, in rare cases through the Social Security Office. Yet a large number of them pay themselves, e.g. for meals on wheels, even though the prices for this service (c. DM 20 per meal) are fairly high.

The users tend to be those in need of care, i.e. the sick, children and the elderly, with the focus on persons aged between 60 and 80.

Not surprisingly, the clients of private services are mainly high-income households, while the clientele of nursing and caring services is concentrated among the lower-income classes. Here the level of charges obviously makes a difference and it can be noted that the level of demand for childcare is declining as a result not only of the population trend but also of unemployment.

B.3.8 Could this sector create new jobs?

Firstly, the notion of "new jobs" implies a quantitative dimension, i.e. the number of additional jobs and the employment-promotion potential in this sector. Secondly, it relates to the quality of the "new" services, with reference to the resulting product, employment conditions and social changes. Here we will concentrate on the quantitative dimension.

One growing segment of social communication work is family care. Recently, this activity has been classified and given a job outline. The field covers voluntary, fee-paid and more recently full-time employees who occasionally also perform domestic work not contained in the job description, in addition to social work within the family.

New jobs were expected mainly in neighbourhood care. Initially BERLIN-SERVICE targeted this area. However, it has now had to adjust its approach because the high level of need in certain districts is not matched by a corresponding demand backed by good purchasing power.

When Berlin became the capital again, high hopes were placed in the Bonn officials who moved there. But these hopes have also been disappointed. The officials from Bonn seem even less eager to spend on services than the Berlin clients. A marketing survey for BERLIN-SERVICE found that "new Berliners of German origin" were only prepared to pay DM 17.06 as against the DM 27.21 that "new Berliners of international origin" were prepared to spend. However the "old-established Berliners from various ethnic origins" were prepared to pay even less, at DM 13.91 (cf. C. WILPERT, HELTEN, MEIMER 1998, 28).

There is in fact a growing number of providers of social communication services in the private sector too, but any tangible employment growth in the new segments will again depend on state support.

B.3.9 Implications for equal opportunities in this area

The feminist debate has begun to pursue a new aim, aside from the equal distribution of unwaged housework between women and men. In pursuit of a new "women for women" distribution of labour, feminists want to reduce the double burden on working women by encouraging them to employ women out of work and pay them to do the housework they themselves had been doing for no pay. This scheme must be looked at in connection with the idea of upgrading what has always been regarded as typical woman's work.

Cleaning jobs still rank lowest, as reflected by the fact that they are nearly always performed by foreign commuters and immigrants. But these jobs also require practical and at times social skills not always reflected in the job image. The introduction of quality standards and monitoring in this area, as proposed by the association of housewives, would upgrade these jobs and demonstrate the advantages of formal employment to the users. That would be a first chance to drive down the enormous undeclared work figures in this area.

There is clearly still a very long way to go to achieve genuine equal opportunities; yet there are some models and projects that point clearly towards greater equality of opportunity in the field of household services. On the assumption that equal opportunities in the sense of a fair division of labour between men and women is still some way off in the Federal Republic and in Berlin, the achievement of fair opportunities for all is one way to achieve this.

For women, equal opportunities means above all the possibility of out-of-home care of those in need of it and external provision of domestic services, to allow them to go to work. The right to a nursery school place offers better framework conditions in this respect.

Similar measures need to be adopted for foreigners, who are now at least in a better formal position for achieving political and to some extent also economic integration thanks to the new legislation on naturalisation.

Overall the chances of earning a living wage in a city with disproportionately high unemployment are poor; single mothers and non-naturalised foreigners are at a particular disadvantage and tend to be excluded from the labour market. Besides the legal framework conditions, which includes a labour law that prohibits all discrimination, labour market and economic policy therefore play an extremely important part in establishing equal opportunities for women and ethnic minorities. Household services can be regarded as a balancing-out factor here. The employees we interviewed are themselves clients of household services where their income allows it. The Land Employment Office of Berlin-Brandenburg is pursuing a strategy of giving preference to women in its employment promotion and women's advancement (FuU) measures, including in the field of household services.

There is a trend in local employment initiatives and local partnerships to try to improve the vocational training and employment situation of women and the socio-economic situation of foreigners. Yet the high unemployment among Turkish residents in Wedding and the significantly low rate of employment among women in Friedrichshain show that much remains to be done in these areas. There is great need for an equalising policy, especially for women in Friedrichshain and for non-German nationals in the district of Wedding.

We learned from our talks with Mrs WILPERT that the need for household services among foreigners in Berlin is rising sharply, even among what is called the "first generation"³⁹. In the past, the family structures which Turkish immigrants brought with them represented a network of economic and social care that should not be underestimated. As these family structures weaken or disintegrate in an urban society, so the demand for local assistance rises. The large welfare organisations, as also the traditional Turkish associations, can only absorb a small part of this demand.

This has led some players to set up structures, especially in the most socially deprived areas of Berlin (many of them located in the districts of Friedrichshain und Wedding), that take an integrated approach to satisfying the need for household services, the need to create jobs and the need to balance out the activities of men and women, German and non-German residents, through district job centres and employment agencies, especially on the basis of local partnerships.

B.4 On the situation of employees

In this section we describe the situation of employees in Berlin working in this sector, taking account of our local surveys. We compare it with the situation in the Federal Republic as a whole and include a description of employment and working conditions, the impact of work on family and community activities and an evaluation of political instruments in this area.

In the Federal Republic the general trend reflects an increasing shift of employment conditions away from the "normal employment relationship" that prevailed in the post-war years.

In Berlin this process of erosion began earlier than in the Federal territory as a whole:

- in October 1998 the unemployment rate stood at 15.3%, so that this Land is now third bottom in the Federal Republic;
- the low-skilled, women who have interrupted their working life, young people and non-German nationals are particularly affected.

Only 57.4% of men in Berlin are now in a normal employment relationship; in the Federal Republic the figure is still nearly two thirds. About half of gainfully employed women are in a normal employment relationship. The rate of employment is also falling overall in Berlin, mainly because of the poor labour market situation. In 1998 the rate was 62.1%; the rate of employment of women in Berlin, at 57.6%, is about 10% lower than that for men.

The proportion of men in part-time work in Berlin, 8.7%, is far higher than the Federal average (approx. 4%). The number in fixed-term employment is 7.4% in Berlin, 4.2% in the Federal Republic. In Berlin, 7.4% of those registered as employed are in marginal part-time employment; about 60% of them are women.

As in the Federal Republic, jobs for women are concentrated in a few services occupations with low pay and correspondingly few statutory rights. In production-related services,

³⁹ ... i.e. those immigrants who came to Berlin as early as the 1960s as what are known as "guest workers".

however, women are tending overall to be driven out by men and by the decline in available jobs.

The sharp decline in "formal" employment (in the Federal Republic as many as 230 000 people have been driven out of the formal employment process over the past six years) is very probably linked to the migration of these employees to the black economy. It is believed that undeclared work is increasing sharply in the construction sector and in personal and consumer-oriented services.

The turnover in the black economy in the Federal Republic is estimated at about DM 560 000 million. Of that, about 27% is accounted for by personal services (according to Mr DEITELHOFF, 27.6.1999). The most urgent political task is to transform this sector into formal employment.

B.4.1 Employment and working conditions in this sector

We shall begin by making a few general observations on working and employment conditions in this sector, after which we will describe specific aspects of employee conditions in the sector.

We examined the situation of employees in the following sectors: care of the elderly and childcare, catering, cleaning and gardening jobs.

In a large city such as Berlin gardening plays a marginal role despite the large number of allotments. Except in the public service, these jobs tend to be done by the owners themselves or members of their family. That is why we have no information in this regard.

Catering is a very up and coming area of work in Berlin at present. The rising number of pizza-delivery services reflects this. Yet deliveries for public institutions and meals on wheels account for a disproportionately larger segment. The latter are often provided in association with childcare and care of the elderly.

In general we can assume that work in the field of household services is physically and sometimes emotionally stressful and not very well paid; in the case of quangos, in particular, it demands a high degree of flexibility, initiative, specialised knowledge and social skills. Given also that the pay is low, this work is a severe strain for full-time employees.

Such work is regarded as physically and sometimes emotionally difficult by both employees and employers.

This applies to care of the elderly and childcare, but also to domestic cleaning work. Domestic care workers and nurses sometime work shifts; care of the elderly also requires strong emotional and physical qualities, e.g. attentiveness, patience and tolerance during the frustrating job of dealing with clients suffering from dementia.

It was repeatedly emphasised in the interviews that being in the situation of having not just an employer but also a client who is in a sense also an employer gives rise to conflicts. The clients, and sometimes also members of their family, act like employers even if this is not formally the case, i.e. a company or firm is interposed. In such cases the employers, for instance welfare institutions and services institutions, have to act as intermediaries. Those employed in service pools find this a particular relief.

The average annual gross pay by employers for household services is DM 3 000 (according to Mrs VEENHUIS, 22.6.1999).

In service pools, which mainly offer cleaning services, an unskilled worker is paid a net wage of about DM 2 250, a skilled worker about DM 2 450. This is the same rate as is paid by welfare organisations and social institutions. The corresponding hourly rates are DM 12.50 to 14.50, i.e. gross pay averages about DM 16.50. Private-sector firms employing a high proportion of part-timers rarely offer regular extra payments such as holiday pay and Christmas bonuses any more, and the same often also applies in the public sector and in quangos and some social welfare undertakings.

Because of the relatively high incidental wage costs and overheads, the market price demanded by the service pools per hour is about DM 25; the market price for undeclared work, however, is between DM 8 and 15, i.e. even lower than the hourly net **pay** for declared work.

It is believed that given the high demand, a reduction of the market prices in the formal segment could increase employment in this area fourfold.

Except in the case of quangos and public organisations, very few vocational training measures are offered, so that employment prospects can be regarded as fairly poor.

According to the German Transport and General Workers Union (ÖTV) there are no gender-related pay-rate differentials in this area. Moreover, in this particular area it can be noted that the hierarchical structure in the private and voluntary sector institutions and firms tends to be reversed. Here, we find far more women in management posts – in line with their share of the workforce – than in other occupational fields.

A tendency has emerged among employers to make working hours more flexible in service sectors too. The unions are accepting this need, while emphasising during current collective bargaining that the power of decision on working hours must remain with the employees.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ During the current collective bargaining, the ÖTV is categorically rejecting the employers's demand for capacity-based working hours and the abolition of supplementary pay for overtime. Instead, it wants working-hours accounts to be introduced, with the employees themselves able to determine how much credit they have.

The breakdown of working and employment conditions by economic sector produces a varied picture:

Diagram: *Working and employment conditions, by economic sectors*

A. Economic sector	B. Employment conditions	C. Quality of the work
a) Public sector (e.g. day-care centres for the elderly, run by the local authorities)	Rather poor; exceptions: social workers and managers, job-therapists; Different pay in line with collective agreement rates – but increase in part-time employment	Emotionally and/or physically hard work; often also routine jobs
b) Quangos (social welfare institutions, services agencies)	Rather poor (often also depending on subsidies), Pay in accordance with collective agreements rates, but here too an increase in marginal part-time workers	Emotionally and/or physically hard work; often also routine jobs
c) Private sector (generally SMEs and self-employed)	Poor (also for managers); not always protected by collective agreements; no protection for undeclared work	Poor, often combined with high labour intensity
d) Tertiary sector	Mostly unpaid/often fixed term /low pay. Highly skilled work may be well paid (often depending on subsidies).	Medium to good (often in correlation with subsidies)

Fernando G. BENVIDES and Joan BENACH from the Occupational Health Working Group of the University of Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona undertook a European comparison between the situation of employees with insecure employment in certain areas and their impact on health. Their findings were as follows:

Europe-wide, the indicators of dissatisfaction, absenteeism, stress, tiredness, backache and muscular pains are highest, at 20%, in the sector of "other" services compared with the other 9 areas of employment⁴¹. At the same time, Germany leads the Europe of 15 in terms of nearly all the indicators of dissatisfaction (European Foundation 1999, 42f.). From that we can conclude that in subjective terms at least, the level of job dissatisfaction is fairly high in Germany – especially in the insecure areas of what are called "other" services jobs.

Following on from this general survey of working and employment conditions, the following questions now arise: who are the employees and how can they be specified? We will then inquire into the nature of the job, the promotion and training prospects and changes in the division of labour.

⁴¹ Agriculture, forestry and hunting, fisheries; mining and processing industries; electricity, gas and water supplies; the construction industry; trade and repairs; hotels and restaurants; transport and communications; financial services; property services; public administration.

B.4.2 Employment structure

We can distinguish between 5 main occupations in this area:

1. Household services (preparing meals, cleaning and tidying the home and surrounding areas, cleaning and maintaining curtains and upholstery, keeping stocks and provisions), as a rule with 1-3 years training;
2. Domestic care work, with a maximum of 200 hours of preliminary training, and nursing, as a rule with 1-3 years training;
3. Cleaning work, with no or very little training;
4. No formal previous experience is generally required for everyday gardening and minor repair jobs.
5. Delivery service driving, generally unskilled, not often done by professional drivers.

The general features of this employment structure are as follows⁴²:

- The rate of employment on long-term contracts is continuing to fall.
- The bulk of employment is accounted for by the 20-60 age group, with the emphasis on 30-40 year-olds.
- The proportion of native residents in formal employment far exceeds that of non-German nationals – except in the case of cleaning services.
- Few men are employed in this sector – on average they account for around 10% of all employees in household services. They are not represented disproportionately in management positions, but they do predominate in repair and cleaning services.
- Most women employed in this sector are married, but the majority do not have children to care for – either because they are childless or because their children are too old to need looking after.
- Most of these employees have no previous experience in other occupations either. As a rule they are unskilled (except in personal-care jobs), i.e. they are housewives or previously worked in jobs requiring no skills.

B.4.3 Nature of the work

Jobs in this sector are not just regarded as bad jobs with a poor image but often also experienced as such in daily life. The most frequently quoted reason for taking on this kind of job without any previously acquired qualifications is the desire to earn money and the fact of having learned no other skills.

At the same time it is worth noting that these jobs are fairly well paid in Germany and that there is no evidence of wage differentials between women and men in most segments.

Most workers are not recruited through the Employment Office or other job agencies but find the jobs through newspaper adverts or by word of mouth (according to Mrs VEENHUIS).

In the field of personal services, especially care and nursing, there seems to be a need to consider not just the clientele but also the employees, who often meet with little praise or encouragement. They can rarely discuss work problems with colleagues and have very little opportunity to receive advice or supervision, except in the case of a few care-work occupations.

⁴² Own findings based on a non-representative survey of employees.

Marginal part-time employees often have additional sources of income from similar or other household services, thanks to which they can boost their incomes.

Overall, working conditions are deteriorating because the marginal part-time workforce in this sector is growing while permanent employment relationships are declining. At the same time, the demand in this sector is so high that the workload imposed on individual employees tends to be correspondingly high.

The users often note that these employees may suffer from interference and tyrannical treatment. This is a factor that is difficult to establish. The questions put to the service pools revealed a fairly low incidence, in terms of the number of households served. However, our questioning of private or self-employed employees produced a rather higher rate.

B.4.4 Training and promotion prospects

The rate of employment of low-skilled workers rose considerably in the Federal Republic between 1989 and 1994. In particular, the rate for women (from 33.1% to 42%) rose disproportionately compared to that for men (68.7% to 73%) (OECD, Employment Outlook, Paris 1997, 99). This is reflected very clearly in the field of household services.

The prospects of a career in this area are extremely slight. A few employees have a chance of being promoted to management level (for instance in the field of operational planning), while some women used their integration into working life in this field as an opportunity to take up other occupations later on (according to Mrs WEINKOPF, 29.6.1999).

The quality of the work is defined and monitored on the basis of previously fixed standards (especially in the household segments), predetermined models (especially in care of the elderly), or sometimes by what are known as quality representatives (quality assessment; monitoring). These representatives are members of the recruiting organisation or appointed externally by the insurance companies.

Potential areas of further training are:

- documentation, especially in the field of care;
- computer training;
- expanding communication skills;
- recognised domestic and caring occupations.

Here it must be noted, however, that at present about half a million women in the Federal Republic with domestic training are not working. Yet the main problem facing all household service providers today is to find enough suitable staff. This ranges from complaints by private service providers that they do not have enough cleaners with staying power to the complaints of voluntary organisations about the difficulty of recruiting young people for non-residential care services. The public service also laments the high staff turnover in childcare facilities.

Employees in personal-care jobs often take their work problems home; yet their partners rarely understand them and these employees find it even more difficult to communicate with their spouses than with their colleagues. The only trickle-down effect on family relations is that some of the knowledge acquired through social and communications occupations (for instance in childcare or care of the elderly) can also be applied in private everyday life.

The field of personal services includes both services in large homes and private household (non-residential) services.

The provision of basic and further vocational training facilities varies widely in the Federal Republic because of its federal structure. Apart from catering, the main opportunities for further training in the area that interests us are in the fields of

- non residential domestic services,
- nutrition / nursing / advice,
- education and training.

In Germany, depending on the training and education structure in each Land, these skills can be acquired at adult education centres, technical colleges, training colleges, universities for applied sciences and universities.

The main changes to the provision of vocational training have occurred in the field of nursing and care of the elderly, following the changes to the legal provisions with the introduction of statutory care insurance. This sector is now being professionalised while at the same time the activities of the private sector are in practice becoming increasingly integrated. It is not unusual to find nurses also performing domestic services here.

If the aim is to establish employment relationships offering a decent living wage in the field of household services, the primary task is to counteract the devaluation of these activities. Over recent years, women's networks in unions, universities and tertiary sector organisations have been pursuing these "gender-mainstreaming" objectives very intensively.

B.4.5 Changes in the division of labour

The provision of household services, especially personal services, tends mainly to replace housework in well-to-do families. Single people with high incomes especially make use of this support because their jobs do not leave them time for housework. In this area there is a growing supply, but at the same time a growing gap between supply and demand (this is apparent enough from the small ads in newspapers – of which there were 2000 a month in one regional paper). Supply is currently stagnating, however. Private-sector firms providing social services in particular are becoming increasingly competitive (according to Mr SCHENKER, 25.8.1999).

According to the employees we questioned, their non-working partners are increasingly prepared to do a share of the housework; but that by no means implies a fair division of the work.

In general, however, women have begun to divide the work on a vertical basis, among their own sex. Women who earn enough employ other women to do their housework. They in turn, if they earn enough, can employ a childminder to look after their children or use a member of their family to do so. Without this paid housework and family care, many women could not even think of going to work.

On the one hand, the change in family structures is making it more difficult to involve other family members in the housework. The "whole house" was an extended family in which

neighbours also helped out. Similarly, in the past it was a matter of course that children also did their share of housework.

At the same time real incomes are declining overall, so that dual-income households do not necessarily earn enough to enable one partner to stop working and take care of the home.

Finally – and as is perhaps to be expected – there are no 'lines of communication' between voluntary, i.e. unpaid, and paid work. Young people only take on voluntary 'jobs' if they have already become interested in them during the performance of community service or when taking a gap year to do voluntary social or environmental service; in the case of older employees, the decisive reason is nearly always pay and the low level of skills required, rather than any great enthusiasm for this particular field of activity.

Below, we will examine the situation in more detail, in relation to

- cleaning and repair services
- childcare, and
- care of the elderly.

B.4.6 Specifications for the various segments

Specifications for cleaning, repair and gardening services:

It is fundamentally difficult to obtain data on this subject. Neither the Chambers of Trade and Industry nor the private sector have been able to date to provide adequate details of employment in this area.

As we said earlier, gardening, except in the case of public open spaces, plays a negligible role in a large city such as Berlin. Paid work on allotments is at best the province of schoolchildren, who do it for pocket money. Similarly, in Berlin **minor** repair jobs are normally performed by members of the family or neighbours. Undeclared work is less frequent here, but all the more frequent in professional services such as domestic cleaning. As in the case of cleaning services, most home-decorating jobs are done by Polish commuters (in this case men). The German regulations on the craft trades act as an obstacle here, monitored as they are by the trade, i.e. by the Chambers of Trade and Industry.

Unlike the cleaning of buildings, which is mainly done by Turkish women workers in formal employment relationships, Polish women workers in insecure employment relationships or working on an undeclared basis predominate in the field of domestic cleaning and laundry.

While the hourly pay for undeclared work is now between DM 7 and 14, employees in the service pools are paid as much as around DM 16.50 net for cleaning work. Moreover, secondary labour costs are paid, which provides social security for the employees. In the private sector, jobs of this kind are not always protected by collective agreements, so that most gross wages here will be lower.

As a rule, previous experience is required for jobs in the rather wide-ranging employment sector of cleaning (which ranges from cleaning sanitation facilities to complete basic cleaning). Since 1 January 1997, employees subject to compulsory social insurance employed by private firms under collective agreement terms have been paid DM 15 per hour. But that

works out at an hourly internal company rate of DM 28-29, which could not compete either with subsidised work or with undeclared work (U. KABISCH in: Zukunft im Zentrum, 1997, 50).

Specifications for childcare:

The major part of childcare in large cities and therefore also in Berlin and its districts is provided by the public services. Public nursery schools account for the lion's share of establishments. In addition, church and social welfare organisations and tertiary sector organisations (especially playgroups) also provide employment.

In the non-institutional services sector, there is the system of childminders. Mothers can look after a number of children in their own home and are paid for this by the district authorities. A further development of this model is the system of "large day-care centres", in which two nursery nurses⁴³ look after several children in a playgroup all day long. Unlike the childminders, these employees must be qualified nursery nurses and are paid fixed rates. The local authorities pay the entire rental costs.

In the western part of the city, the Berlin politicians are increasingly attempting to transfer the public *Kitas* to the independent sector. Berlin is regarded as the mecca of playgroups and after-school clubs. While the city has a total of about 3720 municipal childcare institutions and more than 1265 independent-sector *Kitas*, the latter include as many as 650 playgroups and after-school clubs (of which 20% are EKTs⁴⁴). As a rule, they offer all-day care.

In general, the working conditions in the public sector differ little from those in the voluntary or tertiary sector. The nursery nurses are paid in accordance with the National Agreement for Public Sector and White-Collar Workers (BAT). Provided they are not in a management position, nursery nurses are paid a net salary of about DM 3 500 a month under BAT VI. In the public sector, there is a sharply growing trend towards part-time work. A part-timer working 75% of normal working hours only receives around DM 2 500. Thanks to the new financing system (transition from subsidies to the agreement on performance-related pay), the relatively high quantitative and qualitative level can be maintained in playgroups and after-school clubs. In some cases, the fees payable for a playgroup place are not much more than the fees in the public sector, although they are now becoming far more differentiated.

The quality of work in the tertiary-sector institutions does, however, differ considerably from that in the public service: the parents are the employers in their association, which means that apart from education skills, the nursery nurses must also be good at cooperating. However, parents are proving less prepared to take on free of charge the cooking, cleaning and laundry in these institutions (rising unemployment, increased number of lone parents and divorces). That creates jobs for cooks and cleaners in this segment.

Specifications for care of the elderly:

Care of the elderly in the Federal Republic is almost entirely in the hands of welfare organisations, thanks to the principle of subsidiarity. Here the scene is dominated by the five large welfare organisations, the German Red Cross, the Arbeiterwohlfahrt (worker's welfare)

⁴³ ... and where appropriate a trainee and/or a person doing community service.

⁴⁴ *Kitas* run on the basis of parent initiatives.

and the Paritätische (non-denominational), Caritas (Catholic) and Diakonie (Protestant) social welfare associations, and especially their health and advice centres (since the early 1980s). As church organisations, the latter two associations are not directly bound by collective union agreements, so that employment conditions tend to be worse there. Private health and advice centres, which used to be able to make a profit of DM 1 per contract, have reached the break-even point since the 1990s and are becoming increasingly competitive. Under the legislation on homeworking and the Social Security Code (SGB), care-workers are normally required to have completed three years of training even for delivering non-residential services. This has driven out the less skilled labour force.

The psychological and emotional demands in this area are very high because of the age of the clients, some of whom suffer from senile dementia. It is also very difficult to obtain job satisfaction, because the staff are often confronted with a variety of problems many of which can only be resolved on a one-to-one basis.

Given these conditions, the hourly rates of pay are rather low; but compared with average pay for other household services (around DM 13.25) they are relatively high.

Nurses and carers earn about DM 20; less-skilled domestic care-workers are paid DM 15 per hour.

Here we must note, however, that the working conditions in hospitals and nursing homes are often even worse than in private households because they are being severely affected by rationalisation.⁴⁵ While domestic carers are paid fairly well, at DM 2 000-3 000 net, this is true only to a limited extent of the drivers of meals on wheels, many of whom are part-timers (wage group II/III).

A major problem for low-skilled workers is their high (usually in their own minds) dependence on their clients and family members, because this is often linked to low self-esteem.

The sector of care of the elderly is extremely diverse; it covers: care in old people's homes, sheltered housing, residential homes and home care; the organisation of leisure and cultural activities, including travel; advice and self-help; social services such as assistance in filling in applications, mobility aids, accompanying clients on shopping trips or visits to the authorities and similar activities; minor repairs in the home and to clothing; domestic cleaning services.

This sector mainly employs women, aged between 30 and 40. On principle, this rather variegated work is regarded as very demanding. In this respect the firms and their managers agree with their employees. Some carers and nurses have to endure shift-work conditions; some have to perform heavy physical work, e.g. physical care and cleaning work. The average gross monthly pay is DM 3 000, while an unskilled worker is paid up to DM 2 450. This

⁴⁵ In a talk show 2 years ago, Claus LUSSEK, member of a senior citizen's association, mentioned that a bedridden patient in an old people's nursing home has to wait an average of 45 minutes before being able to use the toilet. According to him, between 350 000 and 400 000 freedom-impairing incidents would occur in old people's homes per day. He believes that one result of this is that 80% of carers for the elderly leave their job prematurely (WDR: "Boulevard Bio" on 23.10.1998).

corresponds to an hourly rate of between DM 12.50 and 14.50.⁴⁶ This pay does not always ensure a decent living because many women only work part-time in this area.

Permanently employed workers in welfare associations are given paid leave, sick leave, maternity benefit and leave and the opportunity to take short-term leave in the event of a child's sickness. They are also socially protected by law, i.e. entitled to pension payments.

Most of those employed in this segment are women; non-German nationals account for an increasing share of employment. Many women who are highly qualified (e.g. with a higher vocational qualification) work in these jobs. That is why the most frequent answer to the question about the main reasons for taking on this kind of work was:

"Because I could find work there."
(cf. annexed questionnaire)

Employment conditions in the private sector differ in many respects from those in welfare organisations: employees may on occasion be paid above the fixed wage rate (although the contrary is the norm), but then they are required to perform all-round activities that are not really compatible with their qualifications.

The majority of people we questioned live in a family and have children (generally no longer in need of serious care). This evidently places a double burden on women in particular. Most of those questioned replied that it was difficult to reconcile work with family obligations. This is particularly true of women with small children. A childminder often has to replace the real mother while she is at work. Yet many say they enjoy their work.

Some of those questioned, especially those in the higher occupational grades, do nevertheless take on voluntary work (e.g. in the advisory committee of the Alzheimer Association), even though they also have to care for members of their own family.

⁴⁶ Managers can expect an annual income of DM 60 000 and an hourly rate of DM 31.50 in voluntary-sector institutions.

C. Conclusions

C.1 A contribution towards promoting employment?

Germany – according to the large majority of experts involved in the report DIENSTLEISTUNG ALS CHANCE (service as an opportunity) (1999) – tends to suffer from a qualitative rather than a quantitative shortage of services. Even in the case of household and personal services, however, this leads to a quantitative shortage of employment. So the experts recommend replacing the cost-cutting strategies to reduce services of recent years with strategies to improve the quality of services and to launch a quality offensive. They believed the following quality gaps could be filled:

- poor accessibility of services
- inadequate individualisation of the supply of services in relation to differentiated needs
- over-emphasis on technical rather than personal interaction.

More integrated services were regarded as a particularly useful quality-offensive measure. Integrated services combine individual or partial services that used to be provided by different organisations and, as a complex package of services, can more easily satisfy specific client needs. In regard to the service sectors we are considering here, integrated household services (such as housekeepers) could help improve quality.

The main question, namely to what extent the employment potential in the field of household services can be expanded and to what extent new jobs can be created in this employment sector, can be answered by looking at two aspects:

- a) the extent to which statutory regulatory mechanisms encourage this expansion, for example through tax incentives and simpler legislation,
- b) how these activities can be encouraged through innovative instruments at local level, e.g. an integrated supply and demand policy at company and political level.

re a)

Aside from the national measures that have been introduced here in the past, employment in this area could certainly be improved by reducing the relevant VAT rate. This would reduce market prices, which could at a certain point reduce undeclared work.

re b)

On the supply side of household services, it should be noted that at least four problems need to be resolved:

1. the problem of acquisition: some managers, e.g. in service pools, do not seem to have acquired adequate experience in this sector (cf. Conference "Berlin-Service: Innovative Dienstleistungen", 8.11.1998);
2. the problem of flexibility: employees, especially in job-creation companies, are not sufficiently flexible or willing to provide services outside the usual working hours;
3. the mobility problem: especially in the case of service agencies with a large clientele, the time actually spent with the client is reduced because of the difficulty of access;
4. the problem of undeclared work: clearly, the main problem here is the competition from a black economy with unbeatably low market prices. An associated question seems to be

how far it is possible to transform this work into work paid at collectively agreed rates with good employment conditions.

Assuming that demographic and economic changes give rise to new needs, these needs would seem to be concentrated mainly in the field of childcare and care of the elderly. While there is now statistical evidence of the high employment potential in the first area (200% rise in employment over 20 years), the potential of the second still needs to be identified by means of social marketing analyses. The potential of domestic cleaning services also needs to be looked at in this connection. In our view, further untapped potential lies in the demand from previously undervalued minority groups; their living patterns are changing with the dissolution of large family structures, which is producing a growing need for formal rather than family 'services' (C. WILPERT in an interview on 1.6.1999).

However, improving the employment potential in these areas is not just a question of the quantitative supply and demand structures but also involves qualitative aspects of supply and unsatisfied needs. So it is not enough to undertake marketing and management analyses and strategies in order to expand supply and boost employment; the whole issue must also be looked at in a wider social and economic context.

We were often told that one barrier was the unwillingness of local authorities to support service agencies and firms in providing care for those on income support too (interview with the Wedding advisory service for senior citizens). The authorities tend to provide over-qualified staff such as nurses at excessive prices to people who do not need professional health care, rather than turning to job-creation companies with adequately trained staff. In the end, this leads to sub-optimal allocation, which means that fewer people in need are provided with services, fewer people are employed and, moreover, the community has to pay inflated prices.

Another obstacle, and one that must not be underestimated, is the possibility of expanding and upgrading the value attached to household activities is the reorganisation of training in this area. Proposals to that end already exist. A model project in Bremen (MOBBS) is aimed at providing full-time training in household activities. In terms of teaching, it aims to integrate what were formerly segregated fields of action; in terms of content it aims to develop new quality standards in this field; and in terms of organisation and method it proposes to extend the site of learning from schools to private households and employment agencies.

The objective of this initiative is to professionalise these activities in the following respects:

- to introduce a recognised training certificate for the entire sector;
- to standardise the job contents on a Federal basis;
- to secure adequate pay for these jobs;
- to improve the prospects for further and continuous training and improve cooperation between training establishments.

C.2 A contribution towards equal opportunities?

With regard to equal opportunities for women and men and the integration of ethnic groups, we find that the legal provisions adopted in the Federal Republic are inadequate⁴⁷. As a result, equal rights in these areas are underdeveloped and the socially weaker population groups in particular tend to work in the black economy.

Discussions with experts and surveys in the most socially deprived areas showed that not only is there a great demand for this kind of service in these areas, but that there is a high employment potential in areas of the Federal Republic that are in many respects disadvantaged. However, state subsidies would be needed to transform this high demand into adequate purchasing power.

Given the very high number of poorly qualified women, especially in West Germany (the situation is less acute in East Germany), as also the very large proportion of ethnic minorities, there is a great potential for achieving equal opportunities among these social groups.

These equal opportunities can be achieved by

1. integrating women and foreigners in the employment market;
2. improving the employment and work situation in the world of work.

Integrating women and foreigners in the employment market depends firstly on subsidising this employment sector. Expanding this sector through discretionary tax relief would have a direct and positive impact on labour demand. Specific employment promotion measures, as in the case of the Berlin service pool, could also boost or stabilise the volume of employment. Allocating services vouchers would do more than household cheques to enhance the demand for household services.

Social enterprises have managed more successfully than in the past to integrate the inhabitants of these districts, especially non-German nationals. It is only by boosting the demand for household services while also increasing and diversifying the supply that this sector can be expanded and that they can achieve equality with men and with German nationals as a whole. Since at the same time unwaged housework is being transformed into paid work, that eases the double burden on women in the household. But that does not necessarily imply that men are becoming more involved in housework – whether waged or unwaged.

C.3 Future trends

Because the areas of activity and sectors of household services are so varied, we cannot make any general statements concerning them. Overall, however, a rise in the need for these services, in demand backed by purchasing power and in employment has been noted and was also predicted in the area of household services.

We are therefore looking at the structure of the individual economic sectors and then discussing the individual areas of activity (segments) in more detail. This seems useful not only because conditions vary very widely from one segment to another but also because at present the instruments of statutory assistance are still geared to the individual sectors. Social

⁴⁷ A comparison with the equal opportunities provisions in the UK shows clear evidence of this shortfall.

projects, undertakings and welfare organisations are usually supported by subsidies or by special funding to provide for needs which are not being met. Private firms can apply for subsidies linked to labour-market and economic policy. The public sector tends to rationalise and above all to economise on staff under the pressure of falling revenue and rising costs.⁴⁸

Yet this 'monocultural' approach to financing is not necessarily the ideal solution, as our recommendations for social undertakings in the tertiary sector will show.

In the **private sector**, the care and nursing segments are tending to stagnate, partly because the market is becoming saturated, partly because statutory care insurance has the effect of reducing employment. At present we can expect no improvements in employment conditions.

Although demand and employment in the commercial cleaning sector are rising rapidly, especially now that Berlin has become the capital, it appears to remain constantly low in the area of private house-cleaning. Only 7% of services offered by private cleaning firms are performed in private households.

In the field of catering, enormous growth can be noted, although this may be to the detriment of the restaurant trade and therefore not improve the rate of employment.

In the **public sector** the population trend (declining birth rate) has led to a fall in demand. Because their revenue is falling, the local authorities are tending to close down *Kitas* and also to cut back the funding of tertiary-sector childcare establishments (as they recently did with the Wedding children's farm), while continuing to finance the welfare organisations.

The **tertiary sector** is complaining that the local authorities are reluctant to support personal and household services; at the same time it is putting increasing emphasis on the cost-saving effect of its educational and preventive services, with a view to defining itself as a supplier for the public authorities. Recently, tertiary-sector organisations have been responding to the national budgetary crisis with an increasing number of service contracts, instead of simply remaining the recipients of subsidies. The Berlin parent-initiative *Kitas* are in the vanguard here in the Federal Republic.

The private sector, which depends largely on market structures, will only expand in areas where purchasing power is rising. Under current conditions, it is not possible to counteract the stagnation in the caring sector. It is also questionable to what extent this sector contributes to equal opportunities and improving employment conditions. Innovations in the area of cleaning services (such as the introduction of quality standards, or bringing company cleaning equipment into the household⁴⁹) not only fill market niches but may to some extent also reduce undeclared work.

The public sector, suffering from falling revenue, has already delegated a large number of social tasks to quangos and tertiary-sector organisations, under the principle of subsidiarity. More employment and improved quality is particularly desirable here, because these organisations work in such close contact with their customers and are highly effective. In our view, major development potential could also be created by absorbing the needs of the

⁴⁸ The recent Senate decision, based on a CDU initiative, not to cut any more public service jobs is being furiously attacked by the present Senator of Finance, FUGMANN-HEESING.

⁴⁹ This innovation is being imported from the USA (according to Mrs VEENHUIS).

inhabitants of the various districts (e.g. in the most socially deprived areas) and at the same time creating jobs in these areas, which would in turn have a positive impact on the local economy. In the case of jobs subject to tax and compulsory insurance⁵⁰ this would raise local authority revenue, while the indirect effects such as reducing health costs would also be an advantage for the local government. So it is indeed in their own interest for the local authorities to support community jobs of this kind; but the private sector, especially small local firms, would also benefit from the rise in purchasing power and the improved neighbourhood image.

This led to initiatives in the district of Wedding and more recently the district of Friedrichshain to institutionalise local partnerships in which all three sectors, all with an equal say, give each other a reciprocal undertaking to pool and integrate all their resources in order to promote community-related projects in the interests of everyone concerned. In relation to boosting employment as also to promoting equal opportunities for various population groups, it seems a pity that support for social enterprises in the field of household services is still fairly low on the list of priorities.

⁵⁰ It should be noted that 2% of social security contributions goes to the new Federal Länder as what is known as a solidarity contribution.

D. Annexes

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D.3 List of interviewees

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D.4 Interview themes

Survey of persons employed in Household Services

For the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, Dublin

	Personal data (This data will remain anonymous and will not be passed on!)	
1	Age How old are you? (16-24; 25-39; 40-49; 50-59; 60+) Please underline	
2	Sex	
3	Ethnicity Please look at Card A and tell us which group you belong to! Cf. Card A	
4	Nationality Please enter	
5	Education / Training Do you have a school-leaving certificate? If yes: what is your highest qualification? cf Card B	Yes No
6	Family status Please look at Card C and put a cross where applicable Cf. Card C a) Married b) Separated c) Divorced d) Widowed e) Single Do you live with a partner?	 Yes No
7	Children: Do you have any children: How many? Please enter the number of children Age? Age of children	Yes No

8	<p>Composition of household:</p> <p>How many people live in your household?</p> <p>Employment status of under 16 year olds? Cf. Card D</p> <p>Your family relationship with them?</p> <p>Related Person 1</p> <p>..... Person 2</p> <p>..... Person 3</p> <p>..... Person 4</p> <p>..... Person 5</p>	
	Your current job	
9	<p>What is your job description? Please enter</p>	
10	<p>Could you briefly describe what your job involves? Please enter</p>	
11	<p>How long have you had your job?</p> <p>less than 3 months</p> <p>between 3 and 6 months</p> <p>between 6 months and 1 year</p> <p>between 1 and 2 years</p> <p>between 2 and 5 years</p> <p>between 5 and 10 years</p> <p>more than 10 years</p> <p>Only put a cross against 1 option</p>	<p>€</p> <p>€</p> <p>€</p> <p>€</p> <p>€</p> <p>€</p> <p>€</p>
12	<p>How did you find this job?</p> <p>Newspaper advert</p> <p>Word of mouth</p> <p>Personal decision (e.g. starting up own business / self-employment)</p> <p>Employment Office / employment agency</p> <p>Non-specific job application</p> <p>Other</p> <p>Only put a cross against 1 option</p>	<p>€</p> <p>€</p> <p>€</p> <p>€</p> <p>€</p> <p>€</p>

13	Please state the main reasons why you took this job!	
	a) Because I am trained for it	€
	b) Because it fits in best with my family obligations	€
	c) Because it was the only job I could find	€
	d) I wanted to work outside the house	€
	e) I really wanted this kind of job	€
	f) I really wanted to work in this organisation / firm	€
	g) Because I knew there was work here	€
	h) I wanted to work for myself	€
	i) Other reasons – please indicate	€
14	Do you have any say in your job? I am the boss a great deal a fair amount none Please put a cross against 1 option	€ € € €
15	How do you usually get to work? walk fairly long walk bus train car bicycle other Please put a cross	€ € € € € € €
16	How long does it usually take you to get to work? Please enter minutes
17	Do you have any problems with health and safety at work? If <i>Yes</i> , what are they? With colleagues? Please enter	Yes No Yes No
18	Do you belong to a union? Do you belong to a staff committee / an MAV? Do you belong to an occupational organisation?	Yes No Yes No Yes No

19	How much do you earn from this job? Please enter Hourly rate Annual income	----- -----
20	Do you think you can manage adequately on this income?	Yes No
21	Are you covered by the following employment provisions? paid leave continued payment in the event of illness pension payments by the employer maternity protection / leave paid time off from work (e.g. for visits to authorities, sickness of a child) Christmas bonus other Put a cross beside <i>yes</i> or <i>no</i>	Yes No € € € € € € € €
22	Do you have a contract of employment?	Yes No
23	How many hours a week do you usually work? Please enterhours
24	Do you work the same hours every week?	Yes No
25	Do you regard your job as permanent or temporary? secure or insecure? flexible if you so wish? flexible if the employer so wishes? an interim solution? Please put a cross	€ € € € € € € € € € € € € €
26	Are you satisfied with your working hours?	Yes No
27	Have you undergone any further training over the last 2 years?	Yes No

28	Would you like to receive further training in your job?	Yes No
29	What do you think of this activity in general? I like this work very much I quite like this work as a job it is o.k. I do not really like this work Please only put a cross against 1 option	€ € € €
30	Why do you think so? Please enter	
31	Do you think you will still be doing this work in 5 years time?	Yes No
32	Do you have any other jobs just now? If YES: Please describe these jobs! Total number of hours worked per week Please enter	Yes No Std .
33	Could you imagine ways of improving your working life? Please enter	
34	What did you do before this job? Please enter	

Towards equal opportunities : Questionnaire for women only!		
35	Do you believe men could also do this kind of work?	Yes No
36	If YES What work of this kind could men do / or do you think they already do? Please answer in writing	
37	Which men do you think could really enjoy this work? (in terms of age, lifestyle, personal qualifications, personal qualities, etc., phase in life, character traits, etc.) Please answer in writing	
38	Do men and women perform this work differently? Please answer in writing	
39	Are there any aspects of this work that should preferably be done by men? a) in relation to career (management activities) b) in relation to the actual activities Please answer in writing	
40	Have you ever experienced sexual harassment in your field of work?	Yes No

Equal opportunities: Questionnaire for men only		
35	--	
36	<p>Does your work differ in any way from the same work performed by women?</p> <p>Yes,.... Yes, however there are certain aspects,</p> <p>Please answer in writing</p>	
37	<p>Which men could be interested in this kind of work?</p> <p>(in terms of age, phase of life, personal qualities, qualifications, etc.)</p> <p>Please answer in writing</p>	
38	<p>Does it make a difference whether men or women do this work?</p> <p>Please answer in writing</p>	
39	<p>Are there any aspects of this work that should preferably be done by men?</p> <p>a) in relation to career (management activities)</p> <p>b) in relation to activities that women should not normally perform</p> <p>Please answer in writing</p>	
40	<p>Have you ever come across sexual harassment in your field of work?</p> <p>Please answer in writing</p>	Yes No

	Balance of employment and family work: For everyone!	
41	<p>How well can your work be reconciled with your family obligations?</p> <p>Very well Quite well It is very difficult to reconcile them It is difficult to cope with all the work PLEASE PUT A CROSS AGAINST ONLY ONE OPTION</p>	<p>€ € € €</p>
42	<p>How do you manage with your everyday domestic duties (cooking, cleaning, children)? Cf. Card F</p> <p>a) Everyone shares the work equally b) I do most of these jobs, but with support c) I do most of these jobs, but with occasional support d) I do everything e) Someone else does these jobs f) Someone else does these jobs, but I help occasionally g) Someone else does these jobs, but I help on a regular basis PLEASE PUT A CROSS AGAINST ONLY ONE OPTION</p>	<p>€ € € € € € € €</p>
43	<p>Answer only if applicable What is the situation as regards looking after your children or others in need of care? Cf. Card F</p> <p>Everyone shares the work equally b) I do most of this work, but with support c) I do most of this work, but with occasional support d) I do everything e) Someone else does this work f) Someone else does this work, but I help occasionally g) Someone else does this work, but I help on a regular basis</p> <p>Put a cross against only one option</p>	<p>€ € € € € € €</p>
44	<p>Answer only if applicable When your children are not at school – does someone look after them outside your household? Cf. Card G</p> <p>a) Unpaid childcare b) Paid childcare c) Mutual assistance d) Childminder e) Afternoon day-care for children / Playgroup f) Au pair or other help g) Babysitters Other – please specify</p>	<p>€ € € € € € € €</p>

45	Does your household make use of any service for the elderly or handicapped? Day centre Hospital Residential care Non-residential services (domestic help; nurse/carer; delivery of ready meals) Other	€ € € € €
46	Does your household make use of one of the following services?: Domestic cleaning Home repairs Gardening Self-service (McDonalds, etc) or other deliveries of ready meals You may put a cross against several options	€ € € € €
47	Do you take part in any voluntary / unpaid or community activity? If YES, please indicate the nature of this activity and the hours spent per week Does this in any way affect your paid work? Please answer in writing	YES NO
48	Have you any suggestions as to how people in your situation could best create a balance between work and family life? In relation to: pay, working hours, more flexible working hours, etc. Please answer in writing	

Many thanks for the interview.

We hereby confirm that neither your name nor your personal data will be used when this study is published and that they will not be passed on to anyone else.

Thank you for your support.

Card A Ethnicity

Please look at this card and tell me to which group you belong.

- a) German origin
- b) Turkish / Kurdish origin
- c) Eastern European origin
- d) Western European origin
- e) Other origin

Card B Qualifications

Please look at this card and tell me what your highest level of education / training is:

- a) Secondary school certificate
- b) Vocational training
- c) Qualification in a caring profession
- d) Teacher training
- e) Diploma from university for applied science
- f) University degree
- g) other (please specify)

Card C Family status

Please look at this card and tell me what applies to you at the moment:

- a) Married
- b) Divorced
- c) Separated
- d) Widowed
- e) Single – not married (at present)

Card D: Current employment status

Please look at this card and tell me what applies to other adult family members in your household:

- a) Self-employed
- b) Full-time employed
- c) Part-time employed
- d) Unemployed
- e) Retired
- f) Maternity leave
- g) Housewife / Househusband
- h) Full-time student or pupil
- i) Disabled or handicapped
- j) In an employment promotion scheme (ABM) or retraining
- k) Other – please specify

Card E

Please give the main reasons you took up this work!

- a) Because I am trained for it
- b) Because its fits in best with my family obligations
- c) Because it was the only work I could find
- d) I wanted to work away from home
- e) I really wanted to do this kind of work
- f) I really wanted to work in this organisation / firm
- g) Because I knew there was work here
- h) I wanted to work on my own behalf
- i) Other reasons – please specify

Card F

Please tell me what statement applies most closely to your position in the family

-- household work such as cooking cleaning and shopping?

– caring for children or other members of the family (elderly or handicapped members of the family)?

- a) Everyone shares the work equally
- b) I do most of these jobs, but with support
- c) I do most of these jobs, but with occasional support
- d) I do everything
- e) Someone else does these jobs
- f) Someone else does these jobs, but I help occasionally
- g) Someone else does these jobs, but I help on a regular basis

PLEASE PUT A CROSS AGAINST ONLY ONE OPTION

Card G

Please tell me what kind of childcare service you currently use:

- a) Unpaid childcare
- b) Paid childcare
- c) Mutual assistance
- d) Childminder
- e) Afternoon day-care for schoolchildren / Playgroup
- f) Au pair or other help
- g) Babysitters
- h) Other – please specify

EF/00/117/EN