Uta Meier-Gräwe · Miyoko Motozawa
Annette Schad-Seifert *Editors*

RESEARCH

Family Life in Japan and Germany

Challenges for a Gender-Sensitive Family Policy

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The editors, November 2018.

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Day-To-Day Work. Why we Need to Reorganise it Within Society and Distribute it Fairly by Gender

Uta Meier-Gräwe

1 Foreword

Since the introduction of income-dependent parental allowances in Germany on 1 January 2007, many expectations have been placed on the young generation of fathers to act as beacons of hope and trendsetters in matters dealing with the division of work between partners. As a recent study by the Berlin Social Science Center (Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin) shows, an increasing number of men are taking advantage of this opportunity after the birth of their child (Bünning 2014). Thus, as a sign of fatherhood involvement, it is essential to acknowledge that in 2012, 29.3 percent of men took parental leave after the birth of their child (Bünning 2014). The positive effects that are generated for shared caregiving arrangements in families (even after parental leave has ended) when fathers assume care responsibilities for at least two months are also worth highlighting: fathers who took parental leave reduce the time they work after returning to their job by an average of 4.5 hours per week and are altogether more involved in caring for children as compared to fathers who did not take advantage of this benefit. The fathers, however, do not seek to be more involved in housework, nor do they increase the amount of time spent working in this area after parental leave is over. Only the fathers who were on parental leave while their partner went to work also did a little more housework later (ibid.).

The question as to who really assumes responsibility for time-consuming day-to-day work, even in partnerships with children in which both partners try to be or are actually equally employed and for fathers who see themselves as more highly involved in the care of their children than as others, remains relevant (BMFSFJ 2003). The same applies to single-parent mothers and fathers who are gainfully employed and must cope with their day-to-day life with children. Even in other phases of life, the problem still arises as to who can actually reliably carry out housework and caregiving work on a dedicated basis, in situations where physical and mental strength deteriorate and their adult children live elsewhere and have their own obligations. In this context, it is worth noting that the public has increasingly become aware of the importance of domestic care services in recent times, particularly as a result of a rise in dementia-related illnesses. Concepts for reform and strategies for the professionalization of outpatient and inpatient caregiving environments, therefore, can no longer avoid integrating household services in equal

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measure and recognising that these are not just merely 'women's issues'. On the one hand, this entails taking charge of care services for people in need of help; on the other hand, it involves interacting with individuals in a delicate manner that respects their still-present abilities and which is aimed at strengthening the resources they (still) have left.

In two respects, the historical development until now of day-to-day work in private households cannot be interpreted as a success story (Scheiwe and Krawietz 2014). A partnership-based division of labour in carrying out unpaid housework and caregiving work in the private space is not a widespread social reality; likewise, the delegation of this day-to-day work to third parties (more specifically to women with other social positions or ethnic backgrounds) has not resulted in good and fair arrangements. This theory is reinforced not only by the consistency of inequalities and disadvantages existing in these fields of activities and occupations, but also by the new inequalities and hierarchies created, especially in the course of globalisation and migratory movements. The transformation of activities involving childrearing, caregiving and household work obviously does not simply follow the path of linear 'modernisation' according to which unpaid work carried out within the family up until now is increasingly being diverted to professionals, who in return receive adequate symbolic and, above all, financial remuneration. New tendencies towards the precarisation of day-to-day work are currently emerging, and are being perpetuated and not resolved by apparently innovative business models such as 'Helpling', which the cleaning industry has just discovered as a billion-dollar business (Scherkamp 2014).

2 A Retrospective Look: Male-Connoted Market and the 'Family-isation' of the Female Half of Society

In the rural subsistence economy up until the eighteenth century, a complementary division of labour between men and women was typical in the management of the 'entire household'—the *oikos*—in order to secure the livelihood of the entire rural class. There was no separation between the productive and reproductive spheres in farming (or even trades-based) family organisations:

The work of all members of these economic associations and symbiotic communities, which included the work of non-family members (slaves, servants, etc.) in addition to that of family members and relatives, was embedded in a reciprocal interplay of different forms of work and activities of indispensable importance to survival, and was acknowledged by the male head of the household (*paterfamilias)* despite the existence of hierarchical and gender-related structures of superiority and subordination. In other words, household work as well as generative caregiving was definitely appreciated by society and was widespread in everyday life. The core objective here was to care for each other across generations using re-

sources which were often scarce and frequently put at risk. In household economics and teachings passed down from antiquity until the eighteenth century, the focus was not placed on the generation of profit. These written documents passed on through the ages contain very different explanations and valuable information on what was called the 'art of proper housekeeping': the well-thought-out arrangement of home and farmstead, the procurement and storage of food, the preservation of health and the defined rules of living together with the aim of ensuring life and providing basic needs over the long run in these economic and symbiotic communities (Richarz 1991).

A fundamental change in the structure of society and the economy took place during the transition to industrial society, leading to a departure from the economic understanding which had been used to provide direction over many centuries since the time of Aristotle's *oikonomia*. In a momentous move, during the transition (begun in the late 18th century) from an agrarian system to a capitalist industrial society, the male architects of the national economy summarily dispelled the notion that all domestic activities (*cooking, cleaning, caring*) were productive work. Moreover, as they devised the scientific system, object- and person-related care work—which, even up until the present day, accounts for a significantly greater number of hours worked than the total volume of labour paid, both in Germany as well as abroad—was henceforth no longer structurally factored into economic models for ascertaining social welfare production. As a result, important dimensions of the care- and needs-based *oikonomia* were abandoned in that they were no longer considered by definition to be a subject of the economy. At the same time, natural law provided justification for women to oversee the various day-to-day tasks: Since this point in time, any duties related to the household and caregiving have been intrinsically attributed to women and declared 'non-work'. Their relevance to the system and value-adding significance for the economy and society has also been systematically ignored.

A national economist with a classical perspective blatantly framed the ideological basis for excluding female care work from adding value to society thus:

> The justification for this lies in the special character of all these domestic services provided free of charge at the hands of the family: they may also all have an economic aspect […], but they are, in general, considered as far less economic, as they are seen as a certain way of living, lifestyle or act of caregiving practiced out of love. It serves in opposition to the healthy feeling of setting the benchmark for economic evaluation (Jostock 1941: 135).

One of the few economists who recognised the absurdity of this patriarchal theoretical construction was the economist Friedrich List: "He who breeds pigs is a productive man, whereas he who educates people, an unproductive member of this society." (List 1959: 151) One reason for the narrow-mindedness of conventional economic theories is that they have been heavily shaped by the (male) fascination

for the technical upheavals of the industrial revolutions since the mid-nineteenth century, the fixation on profit rationality and an incomparable increase in productivity arising therefrom. Considered the architect of the national economy, Adam Smith defines this objective as follows: 'Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production' (Smith 1950, quoted by Funder 2011: 146). Another reason is the fact that economics is based on the perspective of companies and capital. This androcentric perspective only views households as consumers and not as productive units. These economic theoretical models also see private households as 'destroyers of value', since goods purchased at market are 'consumed' in these living environments.

The structural principle of a hierarchical division of labour between the sexes was simultaneously introduced and institutionalised with the emergence of a capitalist industrial society and national economy. This is also referred to as the Fordist 'reproduction pact': the institutionalised and politically legitimate social organisation of production processes and reproductive processes (Jurczyk 2010). The woman became the *domina privata*, who should concern herself with caring for her husband and children and be content to do so. Her standard of living was structurally supported through matrimonial, tax and labour market policies as well as financially sponsored through the manoeuvres of the male head of the household, who as the *homo oeconomicus* 'sells' his labour in an occupationally organised process of production. This gender-specific division of labour became part of the advancing social division of labour of the emerging capitalist society, which was enormously productive, but which systematically concealed the large part women played in this social progress.

The historically new understanding of private households as consumer units also brought the work carried out above all by women further out of the sight of society, especially with consumer goods such as washing machines, vacuum cleaners and ready-made products that supposedly took the place of household work. Focus was increasingly carried away from the fact that the wide range of routine care-related activities carried out for others do not only provide the social foundation for societal production, but that raising children, carrying out care-related activities to maintain the health and activities of adults as is done in their daily lives, and—last but not least—providing care to the sick and elderly in need of assistance are in themselves productive acts, without which capitalist societies would not be able to survive. Any monetary economy would ultimately collapse if these activities were not carried out (Schmuckli 1994).

The allocation of household and caregiving work to women thus proved to be a well-calculated step by the architects of the newly emerging industrial society in order to ensure social stability in an increasingly individualised society. On the one hand, this construction of gender roles was supported by the codification of gender-specific patterns of assignment; on the other, by the fact that they were represented as being 'natural' and were thus naturalised.

Representatives—in particular medical practitioners, legal practitioners, economists and sociologists—of the scientific system which rapidly diverged in the nineteenth century played a considerable part in the spread of this gender-stereotypical ideology, which compared 'masculine' and 'feminine' principles as being incompatible and irreconcilable. This ideology was associated with a historically new construction of femininity, which reduced the role of women to that of wife and mother and resulted in a standardised course of life for females. This is referred to as the 'family-isation' of the woman as based on natural law. She became the 'angel of the household', an innocent, desexualised dependant willing to sacrifice herself for others. "The modern legal state's necessity for equality incorporated a countermovement which entrusted the female sex with the historical mission to act as the socially stabilising liaison between individuals and society" (Stauder 1999).

3 Androcentric Economic Model

What basic assumptions characterise the popular theories of macroeconomics that have served as a guide since the transition to industrial society? It is assumed that all market participants are based on a 'level playing field' in order to maximise profits and/or gains and are equipped with certain preferences, product information and money as a means of exchange. In other words, they are equal yet autonomous individuals. They merely compete and interact with each other as *homines oeconomici*, as owners of goods in supposedly symmetric relationships, which are embedded in neither social nor ecological lives. Focused on satisfying one's own unlimited needs or attaining the greatest possible gain, they represent the fictional character of a ruthless individual exclusively concerned with following his own short-term interests and demonstrating no concern for others. The fact is that, throughout the life of *homo oeconomicus*

> with changing participants, the mother, spouse(s) and homemaker(s), secretaries, cleaning ladies, courtesans, nurses, and clerks discreetly and anonymously stand by the side of *homo oeconomicus* to mitigate all that which could degrade *homo oeconomicus,* challenge his freedom from social relations as well as his market achievements (Madörin 1995: 20).

This reductionist understanding of economics is marked by a certain degree of self-indulgence and lack of concern, and has currently resulted in a corrupted form of profit maximisation on international financial markets, where only a few market participants achieve unimaginable profits at the expense of the people around them and the social environment they live in (Kennedy 2011, Wehler 2013).

Macroeconomic theories do not take the environment and the social world into consideration; neither natural resources nor those connected to private life—above all any object- or person-related care activities carried out by women—have been

adequately included in national accounts to date. Nevertheless, these are essential for maximising market profits and have always been utilised extensively. This applies to the full production range and the concern for preserving human resources: the birth and socialisation of children, the daily retrieval of workers for the labour market, the committed attention paid to family members affected by unemployment and, last but not least, care for those who are ill and in need of care. These care activities are (re)productive in nature, but are factored into economic evaluations just as little as natural resources are. Both of them, however, are utilised without remuneration and implicitly 'serve' market processes.

This separation and elimination of basic care activities of human economies as well as of natural resources, carried out according to the dominant male definition, has an equally destructive effect on both social and ecological aspects. Since, because they are not valued, neither of these are factored into economic accounts, these resources are used excessively and thoughtlessly exploited (Biesecker 2011:10). The common cause of today's social and ecological crisis phenomena lies precisely here. They are all expressions of the same crisis: the reproductive crisis (ibid.). Present-day wealth, economic growth and social welfare, as defined by the mainstream economy, are neither sustainable nor future-proof. This kind of patriarchal economy has a high price, which became increasingly evident for many people during the 2008 financial crisis. It is based on destroying fundamental resources, the productive dimensions of the care economy and the ecological nature (see Gottschlich *et al.* 2014).

In this context, the Expert Committee of the Seventh Family Report of the Federal Republic of Germany emphasised that human resources (i.e. all our actions and values, social coping skills and professional skills whose foundations are laid in the context of private life) which are vital for society can only develop and be maintained when young adults are ready to have children and also devote their time and affection to these children for the sake of their development, or maintain social relationships with parents who have grown old (BMFSFJ 2006). Thinking of these resources as infinite is equivalent to entirely misunderstanding the real development.

At this point, the question needs to be asked why economics and politics have rigorously overlooked such fundamental requirements for co-existence in a cohesive community. This development is very strongly tied to today's pervasive reductionist-androcentric understanding of the economy which still does not consider all activities carried out to satisfy needs and care of others in private life (outside of a paid relationship of exchange) as work and which subsequently does not recognise them as adding any value. From the point of view of life course theory, this concept of labour systematically discriminates against persons who undertake generative household and care work throughout their life, and thus deviate from the 'standard male model of employment' (Meier-Gräwe 2010).

Economic activity, however, is only partly handled through markets and money. "Economy begins with the production of people: by giving birth, nurturing

and educating, so that the survival of every person born is assured." (Prätorius 1997: 254). The creation and maintenance of human resources, which the economy and society depend upon, is fundamentally based on a multitude of day-to-day care activities, which are essentially provided by women in the family in private households, but which are neither classified as a cultural achievement nor an economic activity. Care needs are nevertheless universal and require people to undertake care activities throughout the course of our lives:

> [...] human needfulness, vulnerability and the finite nature of life means that all people must be taken care of, starting at the beginning of their lives, for many at some point in the middle of their lives and for a great many at the end of their lives (Brückner 2010: 48).

4 What Must an Integrated Economic Theoretical Concept Look like so That It Is Geared Towards a Good Life for Everybody?

An increasing number of voices around the world are calling for economic and monetary reform. Regardless of the ambitious goals set at the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, there has been no trend towards sustainable development in recent years. That is why in the run-up to the Rio+20 Conference, high expectations were placed on the concept of the green economy, which seeks to transform the global economic system and achieve improved human welfare, increased social equality and reduced environmental risks (UNEP 2011).

Women have been audibly and clearly involved in discussions about viable methods for a new (global) economic concept and have contributed their own ideas. They criticise the fact that they are obliged to uphold 'repair operations' for environmental problems but have no influence whatsoever on production processes of goods and services directed at maximising profits. Ecologically sustainable budgeting results in more work for women and leads to an additional workload, meaning that this can be classified as a 'feminisation and privatisation of environmental responsibility' (Weller 2004, 2012). Caring for the environment therefore becomes an additional area of responsibility in care work, which is highly gendered (Gottschlich *et al.* 2014). At the same time, debates on the importance of sustainable consumption patterns fundamentally overrate the influential opportunities and the freedom of private consumers to act in industrial societies by not understanding the problem of sustainability as a 'systemic crisis.' The causes of today's crisis lie in the systematic exclusion of the two reproductive areas: unpaid work and the environment (Biesecker 2011: 10). Only when reproduction is visible and understood as productive can the green economy become a care economy, by predominantly focusing on the quality of life instead of the maximisation of profit (Mölders 2010). Concepts of a sustainable, comprehensive care

economy always include concern for humans *and* nature and recognise their productive work as an integral part of a holistic economic concept. From a feminist perspective of home economics, in the aftermath of this analysis, it is essential to conceive the birth of a modern economy as a dizygotic, ambisexual twin birth: The male-dominated market economy *and* the female care economy cannot be separated from each other, although the denial of the female twin has dominated the mainstream models of economics up to the present day (Biesecker 2010). Only when 'all' of the economy is taken into consideration through a –twin– perspective can undesirable developments and crisis phenomena be identified for what they are: not individual cases of misconduct or tragic accidents, but systemic crises (ibid.). Ageing societies such as the Federal Republic of Germany are also confronted by this challenge, because the low appreciation of (paid and unpaid) care work has resulted in a deep structural care crisis.

What is the typical feature of classical care responsibilities? Ecological economist Maren Jochimsen believes it is the restricted ability or complete inability of the person who needs care to act. Small children cannot put diapers on themselves; a critically ill patient cannot wash himself/herself. Some people requiring care cannot even articulate their needs—coma patients, for example. Situations where care is provided are typically characterised by existential dependency, meaning that another person must make "the existential needs of the person requiring care the reference point of their own actions" (Jochimsen 2010). Moreover, a person who must be cared for in a real situation of care cannot provide any return service in the sense of any adequate service contribution. Asymmetry is therefore a typical characteristic of care relationships (ibid.). Typical care situations are thus characterised by asymmetry in two aspects: in terms of the ability of the caregiver and the person who needs care to act and in terms of the material resources which are required for carrying out care activities—for example, if an elderly person cannot afford care, but is dependent on the financial support of his/her family or the state. The dependent person's limited or missing ability to act usually means that they usually cannot leave a care environment for a certain length of time or period (children potentially until they reach the age of legal majority, sick persons until complete recovery, patients in need of care until death). The fact is that care activities of this quality cannot be covered using categories of exchange between autonomous individuals in classic macroeconomics. Other types of care situations resembling market-mediated transactions may be imaginable; however, these categories do not function in classic care situations. Based on these varying complications of care activities, Jochimsen demonstrates the boundaries of conventional economic approaches using the example of the home economic model of Gary S. Becker, Nobel Prize laureate in economics.

Although he did indeed attempt to integrate the productive side of the private household into his model by including care shared between spouses in the household as an altruistic behaviour with interdependent beneficial functions, which is compatible with classic economic considerations in that the (husband) man and

(wife) woman have a similar capacity to act (he spends his time in gainful employment outside the home, while she cares for him and focuses on maximising shared benefits), in the beneficial logic of their parents, children nevertheless function as consumers or (production) goods due to their limited capacity to act (!). The example speaks for itself, in fact. It demonstrates the profound incapacity of the mainstream economy to deal conceptually with people with a limited ability to act—with their natality, their vulnerability and their needs for care. They are degraded to passive non-persons, to goods (ibid.).

As an alternative, the conceptualisation of a sustainable economic system would have to equally integrate different sectors of the overall economy (the for-profit sector, the household sector, the public sector, the third sector and the illegal sector of the economy) and then spell out their reciprocal relationships for society and gender equality in detail (Verein Joan Robinson *et al*. 2010: 35 ff.).

5 Long Overdue: The Termination of the Fordist Reproduction Pact

As illustrated, the originally appreciated generative care work of women was devalued to work done 'out of love' (Bock and Duden 1977) during the transition to an industrial society when economic activity was reduced to gainful employment organised on a market basis. Female work was trivialised and de-thematised in a completely unjustified and previously unknown manner. This connotation and connection with its distinct attribution to the female half of society led to the institutionalisation of 'a typical standard biography for females' that was meant to complement the 'standard male relationship' of the 'breadwinner'. The subsequent devaluation of female work in private life was also extended to the labour market. To this day, the professional service careers involving different forms of generative care work are dead-end professions—they are still poorly paid, monotonous, frequently structured as helping professions, without any significant career development opportunities (see for example: Kettschau 1991; Thiessen 2004).

A gender budgeting analysis of the economic stimulus packages I and II, which were put together in reaction to the crisis that began in 2007 in the financial and real estate sector in Germany, shows just how hegemonically devalued this vital and essential day-to-day work has been in the current economic and financial crisis up until now. In the results of her analysis, the author of economic policy attests to adhering to this structural conservatism in industrial societies (Kuhl 2010). Based once again on the socio-political construct of the male breadwinner and the financially dependent (at best supplementary) wife who carries out reproductive tasks at home, this financial incentive policy was unilaterally geared towards promoting classical, male-dominated industrial sectors which were in decline: The scrappage programme subsidised an industry in which more than 80 percent of men work. Short-time allowances measures also mainly benefitted men, with

around 80 percent who were employed in regular full-time jobs in the manufacturing sector. On the other hand, this scheme did not apply to the atypical employment carried out by a large majority of women. The use of the term 'system relevance' in order to legitimise the large cash flows of the economic stimulus packages is quite revealing here. Although it is increasingly obvious that care services (the promotion of health, care, upbringing, education, etc.) are not only 'system-relevant' in the care economy, but are also a system requirement for a society to be vital and perform economically, these care services (including services paid for on the labour market as well as those provided free of charge in private life) are not defined as 'system-relevant' and are therefore not promoted (ibid.), or typically not subsidised.

It is still a widespread attitude today that investments in services which support individuals, households and families can only be afforded when the economy builds momentum, but never in crisis situations. Martin Baethge and Ingrid Wilkens (2010) have described this entrenched culture as 'industrialism,' an attitude that highlights the 'long goodbye' of the industrial society in Germany on the socio-cultural level. A topic which is hardly addressed at the moment is the fact that person-related service jobs have proven to be relatively immune to the crisis on a national level, even growing in the area where employment is subject to social security contributions and possibly gaining in importance in the years to come.

As early as the beginning of the twentieth century, at the time a vocational education and training system was being developed, chambers of trade campaigned against the integration of female craftspersons, using the argument that dressmaking, undergarment sewing or hairdressing were not supposed as actually being trades in the typical sense (i.e. a 'career for life'), but at most an activity for women to undertake before marriage, or 'a very humble way of learning about household requirements' (Lischnewska 1979: 225 ff.). For this reason, female trades would not be suitable for strict regulatory regulation (ibid.). The uncontrolled growth and expansion of careers as helpers and assistants, such as 'dental assistant' or 'dietician', are indicators of the development of female-associated vocational training courses. Other professions that require training, however, such as nurses, teachers, speech therapists, etc., are professions with no significant opportunities for advancement and were historically only conceived of as 'premarital employment.' While trainees are paid in the dual education system and these training occupations are structurally linked to a system of employment and promotion, school fees often have to be paid for training in the female schooling system; more years of education must be completed than in the male dual education system, yet these occupations are associated with lower collective pay after entering the labour market. Furthermore, many of these primary skilled occupations for females are not suitable for subsequent training and career paths (Krüger 2000).

This is why it is urgent for such service professions—for which it can be assumed that there will be increased demand in the future—to be re-examined and

provided with equal pay.[1] One of the striking, unique features of person-related and household-related services that fundamentally sets them apart from the manufacturing sector is the so-called *uno actu* (one act) principle: Service providers and service recipients must be located in the same place, in close physical and temporal proximity, in order to be able to carry out or receive care work. Manufacturing facilities and business-related services can be relocated abroad—a company strategy which is frequently pursued due to financial reasons. Nothing comparable to this exists for the care work of children, the ill or elderly[2]. However, the demand raised by the new women's movement for some time now, calling for the increased integration of well-educated women in the labour market alongside a fair division of labour in the household and family, with both men and fathers assuming their share of care work in the private sphere and ensuring that an appropriate labour market and social policy framework exists, has in no way been implemented as of the present day. Instead, the growing participation of qualified women in the labour market in prosperous North American and Western European countries is—to a certain extent—'bought' through care work often carried out illegally by 'new maids' from poor countries who are paid poorly and receive no or little social security (Lutz 2008, Rerrich 2006). An unprecedented transfer of care and knowledge is currently taking place worldwide. In this regard, the American sociologist Arlie Hochschild speaks of an 'emotional shift' in the context of cosmopolitan care, whose additional emotional value is consumed in the host societies (Hochschild 1997, 2002). In view of economic and political inequalities from North to South and from West to East, in addition to the worldwide hierarchical division of work according to gender, transnational chains of care services have emerged that present a highly unsatisfactory 'approach' to solving the care crisis in rich countries, but which also divert professional care skills and care resources away from the respective home countries of the migrants (Brückner 2010: 44 f.). Nonetheless, the new migration of females also offers women opportunities to escape the poverty of their home country and often domestic violence too.

Today, the *first* course of action is to significantly relieve women from unpaid housework and care work in their daily lives by shifting these services into monetarised economic sectors, in order to enable them to equally participate in gainful

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1 The first procedure for rating jobs in German-speaking countries, which current EU standards equally observe and which are now under discussion in Germany as well as used by some companies, was developed in Switzerland in 1996. The Analytical Evaluation of Work by Baitsch and Katz (ABAKABA) takes work demands and challenges into account as factors and is thus gender-neutral and non-discriminatory (Baitsch and Katz 1997). It looks past rating female skills as free and leads to a sufficient living wage, instead of structurally continuing to devalue female-associated work.

2 Inexpensive institutional care arrangements, such as those occasionally offered in Sri Lanka or Thailand for EU citizens in need of care, are likely to remain the exception in the future.

employment and to secure an independent livelihood without having to abstain from having children (Madörin 2010). Calculations for Germany show that approximately 461,000 mothers of schoolchildren could be gainfully employed again if a corresponding childcare infrastructure existed. As a result, tax surpluses of around 1.02 billion Euro, as well as an additional 2.65 billion Euro in approximate social security contributions, can be realised (BMFSFJ 2011a). *Secondly,* since there is an extremely large amount of unpaid labour, various measures for the labour market, taxes and family policy are also required which enable people in different stages of their lives who are obligated to look after children or family members in need of care to reduce the regular hours they work or also to put in more time (BMFSFJ 2011b). *Thirdly*, a concept for the consistent social reorganisation of generative care beyond the Fordist 'reproduction pact' must be supported by the traditional attribution of generative care to the female half of society using a set of measures aimed at ensuring a fair distribution of unpaid and paid labour between women and men throughout the course of their lives.

6 Professionally Organised Household-Related and Person-Related Services

At the end of the 1950s, during a time of unprecedented industrial economic upheaval in the Federal Republic of Germany, the French economist Jean Fourastié predicted an enormous expansion of the service sector for developed Western economies. According to his thesis, jobs created in the service sector in the future would compensate losses in the agricultural and industrial sector. At that time, politics and the public hardly took note of this prediction, since West Germany was on its way to becoming an 'economic miracle' in terms of industry and had also already planned on restructuring the Fordist reproduction regime: continuing the gender-specific division of labour in the form of a strong 'breadwinner model' with the husband who continually works and the wife/mother who does not work, but who has been made responsible for carrying out generative care work for free. An expansion of household-related and person-related infrastructures was therefore not contemplated and considered superfluous. Using the GDR as a reference, for example, it was also seen as being motivated by 'collectivist educational' ideology and therefore rejected. Nevertheless, the dream of achieving 'perpetual prosperity' by continually expanding key industrial sectors was over more quickly than expected, due to the 1973 oil crisis. Just as Fourastié had predicted, the elimination of industrial jobs was then justified (Fourastié 1954). Many new employment opportunities were created in the health, education, cultural and social sectors—a situation which, although barely thematised, was enormously important in reality. At the end of the 1960s, the economic theorist William Baumol had already identified a problem associated with shifting from industrial jobs to service jobs. Baumol described person-related service professions—in education and health

care, but also in science and art—as being characterised by a 'cost disease', because they result in lower labour productivity per hour as compared to industry and the trade sector (Baumol 1985; Madörin 2010: 99). In an interview with the German Women's Council, Swiss economist Mascha Madörin hits the nail on the head: "Although we may be able to produce cars increasingly faster, we do not care for the elderly or raise children faster" (Madörin 2012: 11). Although it is doubtful, from a feminist perspective of home economics, that raising humans and ensuring the health of people results in less added value and quality of life than is created by producing cars and machines, Baumol's predictions have now come true in many developed countries:

- There has been a clear shift in employment away from the 'productive' industrial core sectors to personal care service sectors which are allegedly 'less productive.'
- The share of state social expenditures in the gross domestic product has steadily increased.
- The GDP growth rates in many Western countries have declined (at least within the logic and nomenclature of the mainstream economy).

A significant part of the massive job cuts in the commercial/technical industrial sectors were rarely highlighted as positive by politics and business, nor was the fact that only a significant part of these jobs could be compensated by new jobs in the health, education and social sectors. In the years to come, a higher demand for skilled workers in the health, social and care sector than in the IT sector is expected for ageing societies in Western Europe and North America (Baethge and Wilkens 2010: 25 f.; Enste, Hülskamp and Schäfer 2009). It is therefore no surprise that the private sector has now discovered these services as profitable, offering them on an increased basis, even when frequently not based on conditions of good work.

Robert B. Reich, who later became the United States Secretary of Labor under President Clinton, described a paradoxical situation as early as 1992: A single chain of private nursing homes, the Beverly Enterprises, may indeed have more employees than the car company Chrysler. Nevertheless, Americans are much better informed about the car company's financial difficulties than they are about the working conditions in nursing homes (Reich 1992: 176 ff.).

Parallel developments and observations are being drawn in Germany today. More than 730,000 people are now employed in child and youth welfare services. Around 750,000 people work in the automotive industry, which was by far the most important industrial sector in the Federal Republic of Germany for a long time, but which is now on a downward trend (Rauschenbach 2013: 6). The child and youth welfare service sector has thus become an important growth market—this trend, however, is not yet reflected in the perception of the public nor in corresponding wages and salaries. In 2010, the service sector, at 71.2 percent, already accounted for a large percentage of the gross value added. This share is by no

means produced by business-related services alone. It cannot be ignored, however, that in the course of social and economic structural change within the service sector, new hierarchical relationships are already being constructed and defined socially. Industry-related services, which for the most part are carried out by male employees, are frequently considered productive, whereas person-related, female-connoted jobs are considered unproductive because they supposedly do not have any effects on growth. Thus, even when looking at the development within the service sector, the tendency to divide the labour market according to gender can once again be seen. While the expansion of the service sector is definitely now acknowledged as positive for the overall macrosocial development of the labour market, the real controversy still remains untold: The highest rates of growth within the service sector were not achieved by computer-related and/or business-related services, but instead in person-related services, social services and society-driven services. In the past twenty years alone, employment in the education, care and social professions has quintupled (Lehndorff 2002). This development is taking place throughout most of the European Union; the differences between countries, however, are significant. For example, around 30 percent less hours are worked in this service group per capita of the employed population in Germany than in Denmark and Sweden. What is more, in Germany, there is less need for so-called 'simple' services, but rather for 'high-quality' services such as childcare, education and geriatric care. As early as fifteen years ago, Helga Krüger, a researcher of female gender studies and (vocational) education based in Bremen, sarcastically described the characterisation of person-related services as being unproductive as an 'economic blind flight' (Krüger 2000). Decision-makers in business and politics largely ignore the fact that, in the global market, such services are increasingly becoming economically relevant and are required more than ever to provide and secure the social, political and cultural framework as well as qualifications for the production of materials (key word: global value added chains). Person-related services do not only affect material production, but also the generation of knowledge, the everyday economy, life courses or even the attractiveness of cities: Cities that manage to attract young people or recruit them from elsewhere through family-support infrastructures are the most successful communities in the world.

Gender-based research has long since thematised generative care work in private life not only in its political but also in its economic dimensions (Behning 1997). As a result, the concept of the human image of *homo oeconomicus* has been expanded to include the dimensions of his natality, vulnerability and mortality (Prätorius 2000). At the same time, it is currently necessary for relevant institutions having an effect on one's life course to develop a social structure to enable the normalisation of male and female biographies to become an integral part for others in education, paid work and generative care work.

7 Implementation of the 'Professionalisation and Quality Assurance of Household-Related Services' Competence Centre (PQHD) at the University of Gießen

The implementation of the 'PQHD' Competence Centre represents federal politics' timely response to create the First Report on Equality in the Federal Republic of Germany as based on the expert committee's recommendation to take firm action: It suggested expanding household-related and family-support services to better reconcile work and family life, as well as promoting the attainment of more control over one's time and quality of life into advanced ages of life for people living in different conditions and pursuing different ways of life. In this regard, a study by the German Institute for Employment Research (IAB) concludes that nearly half of regular part-time female workers and two-thirds of women employed in 'mini-jobs' would like to increase the number of hours they work so that unused work opportunities could be tapped into (Klenner and Pfahl 2009). Thus, in this context, the 'Prospects for Re-entering the Workforce' campaign by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth is an initiative based on an increased need for support in terms of time and infrastructure when returning to work after a longer family-based interruption of employment, which can be satisfied by a spouse/partner but also by providing household-related and person-related services (BMFSFJ 2013). This stops transitionary life phases from turning into conflict-ridden status passages which lead to interruptions, the abandonment of the desire to return to work and subsequent risks of poverty over the course of one's life. Instead, such services can free up time for women to make successful transitions and provide them with fair wage opportunities at junction points in their employment history. The expansion and availability of household-related and person-related services generate a 'double' dividend, since the national economy also benefits from the reallocation of female workers, who are urgently required because of the foreseeable shortage of skilled labour. A transformation of investments in the education of women can also occur, which in turn leads to adequate returns on education on the labour market. Higher incomes strengthen the purchasing power of women returning to work, whereas cities and communities benefit from additional revenue generated through the payment of employment tax and social security contributions. The crucial requirement here, however, is to use targeted initiatives and changing incentives to transform irregular (often illegal) private employment (which usually takes place on the 'grey and black' labour market) into regular employment opportunities and, for example, bring them together in service agencies.

The establishment of the PQHD Competence Centre is also associated with European developments and strategies. A growing demand for professional household and care work is predicted for many European societies. In addition to initiatives for expanding digital industries and creating 'green jobs' in low-emission,

resource-efficient economic sectors, so-called 'white jobs' in the health and social sectors are gaining importance in all EU countries. There are also, however, time-consuming services in the private sector whose job-creation impact has only just been 'discovered' after being marginalised for a long time. They are now regarded as an indispensable part of the EU strategy 'A Job-rich Recovery' in times of fiscal consolidation (European Commission 2012). According to the European Commission, person-related and household-related services can contribute to an increase in the employment rate by better reconciling professional and private life, drive gains in productivity and direct undeclared work over to the official labour market. In Europe, these services are predominantly provided by low-skilled women with a migrant background in precarious part-time employment that does not provide a living wage. Without state support, formal employment in this area is relatively expensive for the majority of the population and the supply of such services is limited on the formal market. As a result, a considerable proportion of the household-related and person-related services in private households are informally provided by undeclared workers employed illegally (BMFSFJ 2011c: 8 ff.). In order to ensure the quality of these household-related services in the future, different concepts are being developed and implemented throughout Europe with the aim of adequately training the mostly female workers in the private sector, providing them with permanent employment with a minimum number of guaranteed working hours and strengthening their rights (European Commission 2012). Belgium and France were able to have a significant impact on employment within a brief period of time by initiating state-subsidised service cheques[3]: In Belgium, this number is estimated to have risen to around 100,000 employees active in household-related services between 2005 and 2008. Approximately 60 percent were employed in regular full-time jobs through this initiative, with more than 43 percent of these workers previously being unemployed. In France, the total number of persons employed legally in this sector was two million at the end of 2007 (BMFSFJ 2011c: 27).

In the 21st century, time-consuming household-related and person-related services offer a wide range of employment opportunities for different education and skill groups. They provide women and men with intermediate levels of education and relatively low-skilled workers with a variety of employment opportunities to cover the costs of living, when their service in private households occurs in a co-ordinated manner, and jobs subject to social security contributions (for example,

[3] The service cheque system entered into force in Belgium on 1 April 2004. Since then, every individual living in Belgium can buy service cheques and use them for a variety of different household-related services. Services purchased using a cheque are provided by the workers employed in recognised service companies. A cheque can be bought for 7.50 Euro but has a total value of 20.80 Euro. The social security fund provides young mothers and females returning to work with 105 service cheques to facilitate their return to work (BMFSFJ 2011c: 51).

through concentrated and regular employment in a certified service company) are created. Such initiatives to exploit the employment potential of household-related and person-related services can only be successful if education and training in the professional domestic fields is simultaneously readjusted, which includes the revaluation of these professions and the creation of professional development perspectives. The portfolio of household-related and person-related services also includes demanding leadership, coordination and management roles for highly qualified employees.

Today, household and family support services generate a considerable share of the value added to society—a trend that is likely to intensify over the next few years. Different international experiences show where the opportunities and barriers exist in transferring undeclared work performed in and for the private sector to the official labour market using national and local market-integration aids. The Federal Republic of Germany also urgently needs to raise awareness for the opportunities that accompany the regional development of employment, which will help to relieve social and health care budgets and increase tax revenues and social security contributions.

The demand for person-related and household-related services is already currently high and shall continue to increase in the coming years due to the ageing of European societies (Enste, Hülskamp and Schäfer 2009). These services partially include simple jobs which are important for ensuring a successful work-life balance on a day-to-day basis as well as a high quality of life. Private households (as potential 'employers') also place high expectations on the quality of household-related services to be carried out: Providing non-family members access to one's household means providing them with insights into one's private life and intimate home environment as well as negotiating specific standards of cleanliness and quality expectations with external service providers. This is why trust, reliability and confidentiality are among the social skills employers require of the people they hire to work in the home environment and who are unfamiliar with the household. Various requirements are also placed on flexibility and professional household-related skills.

Providing relief to caregiving family members as well as creating suitable everyday arrangements that reconcile the balance between professional life and care work also open up employment opportunities to providers of household-related services. In this case, however, care work takes on a much broader definition than the simple definition of care. Contrary to public belief, jobs directly related to care are not as time-consuming as other domestic and care services which contribute considerably to ensuring a standard of living for elderly people requiring assistance. These findings should be taken into greater account in the future than has been previously done when developing tailored care environments suited to day-to-day life (Feulner 2014).

This underlines how long overdue a transformation of the image of person-related and household-related services is here in Germany, supported by a modern

service concept—which, in addition to possessing the relevant knowledge, also requires a high level of social skills such as reliability, empathy and the ability to communicate.

In order to comply with the requirements for expanding person-related and household related services as set down in the First Report on Equality published by the Federal Republic of Germany, it is necessary, among other things, to invest *in training workers,* to provide *greater market transparency and information* as well as to use *local networks to ensure better communication in terms of promoting an image.*

These requirements comply with the strategic considerations within the European Union. According to the European Commission, person-related and household-related services provide an opportunity to increase the employment rate by better reconciling professional and private life, to drive gains in productivity and to direct undeclared work over to the official labour market. In Europe, these services are predominantly provided by low-skilled women with a migrant background in part-time employment. Without state support, formal employment in this area is relatively expensive for the majority of the population and the supply of such services is limited on the formal market. As a result, a considerable proportion of the household-related and person-related services in private households are informally provided by undeclared workers employed illegally. In order to ensure the quality of the services, workers should be provided with permanent employment with a minimum number of guaranteed working hours as well as proper training and good working conditions.

In the case of the Federal Republic of Germany, the OECD Economic Report determined:

> With an ageing population, the increase in the skill level of the younger cohorts, and the increase in the rate of women's employment, labour shortages shall occur in areas where there is a need for medium-level skills, for example, in the household services industry (OECD 2012: 69f.).

The use of household-related services could, above all, help provide relief to mothers and thus lead to a more gender-equitable division of labour within the family[4]. A flexible, transparent and affordable range of such services can provide useful support, especially when re-entering the work force, and can also provide better

[4] Siemens, for example, calculates 14,000 vacant positions (currently: 3,000) by 2020, if potential specialists and managers with children or dependent family members are not provided with any noticeable and reliable relief for everyday work and care work in the private sphere. It will not simply suffice to invest in childcare. Household-related service providers could be used to deal with the wide range of activities revolving around the day-to-day organisation of work and family life. This would create a win-win situation for both parties.

chances for women already employed in a part-time position or mini-job to increase their working hours.

Since its establishment on 1 May 2013, the Competence Centre has dedicated itself to:

- Interdisciplinary scientific management, including the coordination and implementation of the tasks connected with the subject of 'Professionalisation and Quality Assurance of Household-Related Services';
- Commissioning expert reports on home economics, vocational education studies and labour funding policy;
- Reviewing training and further education measures offered in Germany in the field of household-related and person-related services and evaluating them;
- Reviewing models of modular vocational training in selected European countries and evaluating them;
- Initiating expert dialogue between 'the domestic economy and private households' the 'service and labour market';
- Organising, documenting, and announcing technical events;
- Realising regional multiplier seminars;
- Writing articles for scientific journals.

8 Outlook

Looking at the future of working society means, above all, analysing the transformation of value-added processes and their sources, whilst also recognising the new type of work in the service-based economy: interactive work (Baethge 2011). Unlike industrial society, which focused on the productive work of craftsmen and industry, the human resources of the knowledge society represent a combination of infrastructure, quality assurance and the achievement of education and health. From this point of view, it makes little sense to pit investments in future-oriented industries (e.g. alternative sources of energy) against investments in the field of household-related and person-related services aimed at educating and caring for human resources as an 'expense factor' deemed as unnecessary but which must inevitably be implemented. When creating a vital, high-quality infrastructure of social services for family services and childcare, as well as for geriatric care and private households, it is important to clearly identify where catching up is required and to satisfy this need on a good level in the future, by supporting it with a mixed infrastructure of national-local, private and non-profit providers and organisational structures. In this context, one of the most urgent organisational tasks for the state lies in establishing and defining appropriate quality standards (that are binding for all service providers) in the areas of primary care and support services,

upbringing and education, but also nutrition, health and care. The fact that young start-up companies with flexible business models have only just discovered household-related services as a billion-dollar market, without even factoring in political regulations in terms of quality assurance and adherence to criteria of good work and fair wages, shows the necessity of this aforementioned task. Instead, a threat is posed through the increase of the precarious self-employment of local workers as well as migrant women (Scherkamp 2014).

In the interest of their future viability as well as in the interest of maintaining their economic stability and vitality, modern societies are under pressure to find historically new solutions adapted to changing social conditions in order to ensure social cohesion as well as potential for solidarity. Social policy that looks towards the future and is aimed at equality between the sexes must answer the important question of how the willingness to undertake generative care for others aimed at developing and maintaining human resources can be structurally ensured and organised in the future, with the goal of creating conditions for economically and socially cohesive communities. In terms of life course theory, the issue here is to dissolve traditionally gender-separated pathways of life and to realign all institutions that support a person throughout their life so that the connection between education, paid work and family (as the basic pattern of a person's course of life) does not depend on one's gender and can be experienced in different forms and with flexible transitions. Such a task would require a re-assessment of all forms of work which are vital for society and which are thus inextricably linked to fundamentally reshaping the existing gender norms of modern societies. This is bound to abandoning the current 'hegemonic concept of masculinity,' redefining the male role and engaging in reflective gender-based discourse. On the other hand, this means no longer structurally or normatively defining generative care work as 'feminine' and 'free.' Only once the equal ranking of male- and female-specific fields of activity and experiences replaces the current hierarchizing of male-associated life patterns, skills and experiences, which puts the 'typically female' ones at a disadvantage, shall advanced societies have an opportunity to endure as vital societies with sustainable economies (Meier-Gräwe 2007). The 'patchwork' courses of life, already experienced by a much greater number of women today, are to be regarded in this sense as future models of adult life with multiple responsibilities, which—if they are to become culturally commonplace—must be appropriately supported by educational policy, labour market policy, and social policy (BMFSFJ 2006). The model of a gainfully employed person who simultaneously oversees tasks related to caring for the family throughout the course of their life can only be achieved if continuity in the history of employment for both sexes is firstly aspired to and secondly interruptions throughout the history of one's employment are made reasonable; only then can the history of employment be adapted to requirements, for example, for (further) education or care obligations in terms of 'guaranteed options' (Klammer 2006). This includes greater support

for making transitions from one life phase to the next, from working with the family and pursuing further education to finding gainful employment and vice versa. Support for re-entering the workforce after taking parental leave or taking a break to care for someone is also required, as well as the possibility to switch between full-time and part-time work. This is the only solution to gradually resolving the issue of the 'rush hour of life': a phase that sees many responsibilities intensify during middle age, with professional commitments, the formation of a family and caring for children and elderly family members all having to be dealt with at once. The arrangement and combination of different life paths of both genders between educational, occupational and family systems would also be supported by expanding a variety of tailored person-related and household-related services. In the next few years, many jobs will arise in these areas specifically, which could open up interesting employment perspectives for both sexes. A look at Sweden shows that the proportion of people employed in the public service is three times higher than in Germany and that wages and salaries in this sector are three times that of those in Germany. It is also possible to imagine that an extensive dynamic of supply and demand may arise by combining state, non-profit and private providers, if these providers cooperate with each other instead of mutually excluding each other. Both sexes would benefit equally from dually oriented courses of life: In this modern concept of society and the economy, care-related fields of experience also shape the life history of male children and adults, both normatively and factually, instead of further establishing the 'normal biography' from a one-sided male-centred perspective of employment as socially acceptable (Methfessel 1993, Schlegel-Matthies 1998). This would not only be beneficial for the relationship quality of individual partnerships, because it would thus prevent the excessive demand for 'super-mums' often complained about today—namely, woman assuming sole responsibility as a (married) woman, mother and working woman all at once and, in certain phases of life, taking on the role of the caring daughter who attends to her parents and parents-in-law. Overcoming traditional gender roles in the course of life, both structurally and normatively, also opens up historically new employment opportunities for men in the expanding service sectors of education, support and care sectors typically associated with women (BMFSFJ 2011b). The relevance of person-related and family-related services is closely linked to how high a country's female employment rate is. Neighbouring European countries, which have been developing the public sector in the areas of childcare, geriatric care and household-related services for many years now have lower unemployment rates, higher birth rates, less child poverty and higher female employment. In an EU-wide comparison, there is a significantly positive correlation between the employment rate of women (in full-time equivalents) and the volume of work in this service segment. More women in the labour market increases both the demand for these services and the supply of workers looking for employment in this field.

Lastly, the challenge still remains in recognising different forms of work, which are vital for society and which have long been overlooked, as equivalent as

well as in distributing this work equally among genders within and outside the household and labour market. Good governance to ensure good service work, which in no way may be inferior to good old-fashioned skilled 'German' labour, thus requires a social framework and supervision of professional standards and quality standards of specialised person-related, household-related and family-related service work as well as their supervision within the everyday work life of the employee groups concerned. This involves putting overcoming gender-segregated service work on the political agenda and resolutely opposing illegal employment and precarious self-employment in order to gradually achieve equality in male- and female-associated jobs.

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