



Perspectives on household services

**Expert Reports for the Competence Centre
“Professionalization and Quality Assurance of Household
Services”**

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Equality policy aspects of household services

Potential household services in the transition towards new principles and arrangements for the division of labour by gender beyond the traditional breadwinner model

Expert report

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1 Introduction

Low birth rates, exhausted parents, the unfulfilled life plans of many young women and men as well as the reduction of healthy life years are the result of contradictory and inadequate framework conditions for families in the Federal Republic of Germany. Some instruments of the German family and labour market policy still support the traditional conservative family model and thus the number of mothers withdrawing from working life is extremely high. At the same time, other framework conditions take a completely different direction, after separation or divorce for example. Therefore, the Federal Republic of Germany is still a long way from gender equality. In the face of current data regarding the division of labour by gender, the integration of women in to the labour market (at a comparable level to men) and an egalitarian distribution of unpaid work among partners can still be described as a utopia. Therefore, tailor-made support systems are needed for the successful and gender-equal balancing of household management, child care/maintenance and work for mothers and fathers. There is a lack of a reliable and high-quality care system during the life cycle, from the cradle to the grave so to speak. Household and person-related services have proven to be an important part of family support structures. This is already clearly expressed in the first equality report by the Federal Government (Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) 2011: 158) and its guiding principles upon which this expert report is based:

"We strive for a society with options. The employability of men and women is secured by means of a good education. They are empowered to provide their own livelihood and ensure their own social security. The professional qualifications and skills of both men and women are valued and remunerated equally. The compatibility of career and family is ensured by means of an adequate infrastructure for day-care, schooling and care as well as flexible working hours in companies. Careers are more flexible through career break options or a temporary and reversible reduction in working hours. Society supports the implementation of these parenting, care and training options. There are also special incentives so that the options are used by both women and men in socially desirable fields. The use of these options may not lead to a disadvantage in terms of old-age provisions" (BMFSFJ 2011: 31f).

In contrast to these guiding principles, the gap between women and men in terms of work volume has in fact increased significantly over the last few decades: In 1991 less than 20 percent of women in employment were employed part-time but by 2006 this had increased to 34.2 percent (Allmendinger 2008: 21). The gap in working hours noticeably increases from the age of 25 onwards: It is obvious that the presence of children in a household is crucial to the temporal employment scope of women and leads to its reduction. The opposite can be observed for men: A father's work volume is more than that of women and of men without children (ibid.). The lower intensity of care by the father, quantitatively and qualitatively inadequate range of child day-care facilities and full-time schools as well as the lack of flexible, transparent and affordable household services and the possibility of outsourcing time consuming domestic tasks, are all important reasons for the large gap in working hours between the sexes and the smaller scope for career development for women.

This expert report analyses this connection between gender equality in the context of the division of paid and unpaid labour by gender and potential household services as a step towards outlining guiding principles and new gender arrangements in everyday life beyond the traditional breadwinner model.

To do this, a gender-orientated division of working patterns over time are considered in **chapter two** after the introduction. Particular attention is paid to the development of their legal and socio-political security and the associated consequences - for women in particular.

In light of this, **chapter three** deals with the current state of gender equality in Germany and selected European countries. Here the focus is on the care systems in individual countries. This comparative perspective reveals the areas in which urgent action is needed.

Household services can also be supportive and effective outside of the so-called intersections of employment history (BMFSFJ 2011: 13). The possibilities, demands and limits that arise in tandem with a life-time of customised household services are dealt with in **chapter four**.

The expert report closes with a summary.

2 The division of working patterns and their relevance in the social construction of gender relations

The future of work and the division of labour according to gender are the core issues in the current transformation of gender relations in modern societies (Kurz-Scherf 2007: 269). This is also reflected in the fact that the gender-typical division of different fields of work and the associated values have been the central content-conceptual focal points since the beginning of women's studies (Aulenbacher, Wetterer 2009: 7). For example: the housework debate of the 1970s and 1980s, the concept of female working assets, the thematisation of "for the love of work" and the double socialisation of women theory are still being intensively discussed across the world (ibid.). Similarly, home economics has made a significant contribution in evidencing the volume and social significance of unpaid work undertaken primarily by women and this is now widely discussed in science, politics and in public. From their very first working hour, home economists show that the holistic concept of work has been lost over the course of industrialisation and that a holistic understanding between ethics and politics of work and the economy according to Aristotle is needed in order to successfully overcome social problems (Egner 1952, Richarz 1991, von Schweizer 1991, Meier 1997; Ohrem, Haeussler, Meier-Graewe 2013). Although the roots of women's studies and home economics are closely entwined, the two research areas differed considerably at the beginning (Badir 1992: 151). Women's studies initially focused on the participation of women in gainful employment and adopted the economic independence of women as its central goal. In contrast, the home economists began by mainly focusing on the private sector. Women's studies researchers criticised this new economic discipline, and rightly so, for not initially questioning the basic principle of allocating the welfare management of reproductive activities to the female part of the population (Meier 1999: 157).

Now a productive rapprochement of the two scientific disciplines of home economics and women's studies has taken place. Whereby both disciplines always look at the entire concept, this means they focus on both gainful employment and unpaid domestic and care work and together they seek out new and gender-orientated organisational forms for different, but socially necessary, forms of work.

In general, work is understood as merely a shortened version of gainful employment. Today, both research areas discuss the importance of the relationship between gainful and domestic employment, individual and subsistence work, voluntary and civil commitments, the production of goods and provision of services, private and public care equally (Aulenbacher, Wetterer 2009: 7). A focus in current feminist research, within the topic of work, is basic research into the approach to the social construct of gender through work: In the sense of "*doing gender while work*", the division of labour according to gender is not just reorganised and legitimised but at the same time it produces and reproduces the binary and asymmetric gender classification (Wetterer 2002).

2.1 Development of a gender-orientated division of labour

The division of labour by gender and its remarkable perseverance is based on a very long tradition. The sociologist Max Weber characterised it as the "oldest typical division of labour" in history (Weber 1980). Up until industrialisation, caring for people took place in households with a division of responsibilities. Although this was organised in a patriarchal manner, in contrast to today a woman's line of work was held in high esteem. It was clear to the men of the house that without the work of women, the household could not survive. However, in the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society with economic theories of emerging markets and the political economy, gainful and domestic employment were separated and remain enshrined to this day. The separation of production and reproduction then followed along with their gender assignments and different values (Thiessen 2004: 71). Therefore, "modern unpaid domestic work", based on the capitalist organisation of work including the separation logic of gainful and domestic work and the productive and reproductive spheres, was only invented in the transition to industrialisation (Duden 2009: 21; Bock, Duden 1977: 166). The separation of living and recreational areas from the field of gainful employment leads to women being structurally and mentally bound to familial jobs with the goal of ensuring the acceptance of social motherhood in addition to biological motherhood. At the same time this gender-related attribution of tasks and aspects of life ensures that access to the labour market is restricted for women as well as the reproduction of the labour force (ibid.). Thus, the conversion of the household into a

place of reproduction and a place of relaxation for men was only made possible through the work of their women (Duden 2009: 22).

2.2 Legal protection for the gender-orientated division of labour

The distribution of tasks by gender has been institutionally strengthened and protected by legal regulations over the course of hundreds of years. This was initially manifested in the family, work and people law and is, generally speaking, continually updated today via the work, family, social and tax law (Funder 2011: 164). The generalisation of the nuclear family "as a form of organising unpaid, female domestic work" in particular, was integrated into the tax laws in favour of her husband during the transition to an industrial society (Duden 2009: 22). German law is still based to a large extent on role models that disadvantage an egalitarian and partner-like distribution of work and role sharing (Scheiwe 2008: 51 et seq.). In particular, when splitting the spousal income, the tax class combination III/V and non-contributory co-insurance with the statutory health insurance fund of the partner with the higher level of income, in the majority of cases the husband, set out clear (misplaced) incentives for engaging with asymmetric partnership models. At the same time, other legal conditions take a completely different direction. According to the revised maintenance law, former married couples are responsible for procuring their own material existence. The law does not regulate the security of post-marital status anymore. The effects of these inconsistencies in the legal system are problematic and, often suddenly, require women to change their role as during their marriage they had not been in gainful employment for a number of years or they did not earn an extra living wage in addition to the household income due to the family and tax laws. The employment opportunities available to these women are significantly reduced when they return to the workplace. Added to this are the low wages in professions associated with women which leads to a higher risk of poverty and a dependence on Social Security Code (SGB) II services (BMFSFJ 2011).

2.3 Protection for the gender-orientated division of labour via the matrimonial property law

Another openly formulated form of protection for the gender-orientated division of labour with the simultaneous devaluation of female fields of work was made via the matrimonial

property law at the turn of the century by the emerging middle-class. This has been strongly criticised by women activists since time immemorial. On 1 January 1900, the matrimonial property law was redesigned as part of the civil code (BGB) in a so-called administrative partnership. The term administrative partnership was designed so as to "cover up the true nature of the system, to mark it" according to the then member of the judicial council Otto Baehr (cited in Meder 2009: 139). According to Baehr it only served "male egotism". As in such an administrative partnership only the husband was allowed to benefit and to manage the administration, even when it came to assets contributed by the wife (Meder 2009: 139). In contrast, up until the end of the 18th century both men and women in a household were equally gainfully employed. Over the course of industrialisation and urbanisation the complete and effective separation of unpaid domestic work and gainful employment outside of the household led to the claim by the BGB authors that the wife no longer had entitlements under matrimonial property law (BMFSFJ 2013: 5). In their opinion the wife does not contribute anymore as the husband generates the income alone through gainful employment and therefore he alone carries the conjugal load (ibid.). Henceforth, the budgetary management and bringing up of children by the woman was no longer recognised as an effective asset or even as a socially relevant service (BMFSFJ 2013: 6). Therefore, at the turn of the century the new economic theories were also discussed regarding matrimonial property law as to whether unpaid work in the private sphere is also termed work.

In the alternative draft of the BGB written by women's activists in 1900 it states: "The spousal assets remain the individual property of each spouse" (Proelss, Raschke 1895 cited in Meder 2009: 141). At the time, they aimed for the realisation of responsibility under the heading of legal equality (Meder 2009: 141). The dissolution of the traditional division of labour and equal valuation of household and gainful employment has been called for by the women's movement since then. In 1958, via milestones, collectively accrued gains became valid in the form of the equal rights act with a supplement to § 1360 of the BGB (BMFSFJ 2013: 6). The administrative partnership that followed has been seen as progress by the women's movement, even if the idea of collectively accrued gains is currently critically questioned from an equality perspective. A communal estate in terms of German matrimonial property law has been recommended since the first equality report by the Federal Government (BMFSFJ 2011: 50). In the event of

collectively accrued gains then property is separated during the marriage. In a communal estate, both spouses are already the co-owners of the assets of the other spouse during the marriage (ibid.). After the first equality report by the Federal Government, almost equal negotiating positions for both spouses resulted from a matrimonial property law based on the model of a communal estate (ibid.).

As such, it should be pointed out that according to a study on behalf of the BMFSFJ most women and men today do not know the legal framework of marriage and its indirect and direct consequences (BMFSFJ 2013: 15). Thus, 41 percent of married couples, for example, have never heard of the term spouse-splitting and have no idea what it means (BMFSFJ 2013: 41). It is also problematic if the younger generation do not know of or have only a fragmented knowledge of the legal framework of marriage and its consequences (BMFSFJ 2013: 39). As a result, there are considerable educational needs in terms of schools and training institutions with the goal of conveying preventative life planning skills.

The knowledge of structural protection when it comes to the division of working patterns by gender including its lifelong consequences has proven to be a basic prerequisite for understanding the effect mechanisms that often lead to a return to traditional arrangements. This structural protection leads to the hierarchical arrangement of the two fields of work which gender hierarchy reflects even today and can ultimately be reduced to the patriarchal power structures in politics, culture and the economy (Funder 2011: 164). As a result of the disregard for welfare management, there is a decline in family education processes in the alleged non-reproductive or reproductive spheres as well as the willingness to reliably take on the generative care for needy and dependant family members and for incalculable time periods. Since the acquisition of a separate legal status for women, the right to decide for themselves about their own bodies, their increased education level and the associated access to the professional world, money and the markets that were previously foreign to them, the willingness of women to continue as the "clandestine socio-political resource" (Beck-Gernsheim 1991) has diminished. The consequences of the division of working patterns by gender has massive disadvantages for women in terms of living standard, professional perspectives and old-age provision. Consequently demographers, pension experts, care and home

economics experts predict a dramatic decrease in the nursing potential of daughters (Meier-Graewe 2010, 2013a; 2013b). This is an indication that an economic and social policy with a concept of labour that is still one-dimensionally focused on gainful employment leads to necessary and logical reproduction crisis with massive consequences for the economy and society as a whole.

2.4 Importance of labour market policy

An androcentric focus on work is also found in sociological theory models and concepts as well as in economic theories and the legal system. For example, Madoerin criticises Dahrendorf's thesis on "The Working Society" from a feminist perspective (Dahrendorf 1996 cited in Madoerin 2000). Dahrendorf analyses five characteristics of the working society, by this he means gainful employment only, in a gender-neutral manner and crucially he describes them from the point of view of a male normal biography (ibid.).

1. Gainful employment characterises self-image and people's self-esteem
2. Gainful employment creates important social contacts
3. Gainful employment is the main instrument of social control
4. Gainful employment is the main source of income
5. Gainful employment justifies entitlements to social services including treatment in the case of sickness and old age

The Swiss economist Mascha Madoerin interprets his theses as follows: For points one, two and three Madoerin simply reflects that self-image, social contacts and social control by means of gainful employment are not so important for most women as most female life plans are not unilaterally based on gainful employment like in a traditional male occupational biography (Madoerin 2000: 70 et seq.). However, her statements concerning points four and five are relevant: Here, she stresses that many women only have money from gainful employment indirectly, mostly only that which they derive from their husbands' work. If he loses his job, it is the woman who has to compensate for the lack of funds through budget management. Here, she is "(...) the end of the line where the economic crisis lands and can't be passed on" (ibid.). Women also function as the *last resort* in other respects. On the one hand, although women on the whole undertake more socially relevant work than men (see Chapters 1 and 3), they are

excluded from accessing certain social services as the lion's share of the socially necessary domestic and care work takes place outside of the employment system. Furthermore, by virtue of their primary responsibility for the care of the needy and older people, they are affected if these social services are removed (Madoerin 2000: 71). We therefore not only have a generation gap but also a massive gender problem: "A new social contract between women and men is needed to correct the existing injustice. This must also be the starting point for a labour market policy" (Madoerin 2000: 72).

Madoerin analysed that from a feminist perspective no employment policy can be independent from a private household policy. This is because women are not only increasingly affected by employment, social security and general economic policy but they are also still those who are mainly responsible for the household and family as budget managers, those bringing up children and carers for family members: "Depending on which labour market policy is being followed, its effects on women's time budgets looks very different and the same can be said for the composition of a household's income" (ibid.). The economist stresses that this in turn has a great effect on the balance of power between men and women and therefore labour market policy is always family, domestic and gender policies as well.

A gender-orientated labour market policy must be designed as the opposite of the concept of labour whereby both fields of work are treated equally and it centres on the redistribution of paid and unpaid work between the sexes. This in turn would be integrated into a future economic and socio-political concept should gender equality actually be established.

3 Gender equality in different care systems

The Global Gender Report by the World Economic Forums (WEF) has been published every year since 2015 and assesses gender equality over 136 countries and therefore 93 percent of the world's population (WEF 2013: online). In 2013 these countries were re-examined in four categories:

1. Health and survival chances (for example birth and death rates, average life expectancy)

2. Education (literacy rate, school and university education)
3. Political participation (parliament, cabinet seats)
4. Economic opportunities (wages, management, labour market)

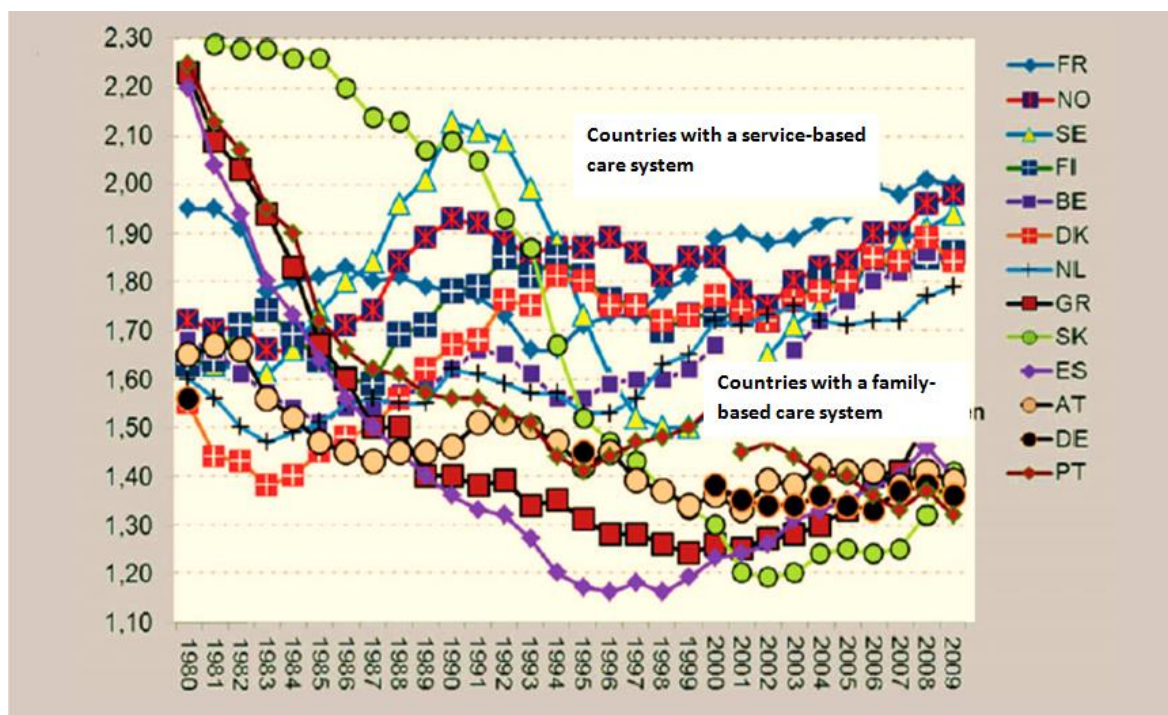
The results showed that rankings of 86 countries improved while the rest stagnated or fell back: "Not one single country in the world has reached equality" (Pitzke 2014: 1). In Germany, the state of equality between the sexes had actually deteriorated dramatically: Germany has fallen from 5th place to 14th place since 2006 (WEF 2013: 8-9). The areas of political participation and economic opportunity are particular poor in Germany in terms of gender equality. The leadership positions in the federal ministries and subordinate authorities are grossly under-represented by women with 150 women supervisors and 715 men (online 2014). The quota of women in German embassies is even less with 17 ambassadors out of 153 embassies (ibid.). According to a press release from the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) on 28 November 2013 the proportion of women on the boards of DAX 30 companies has decreased from 7.8 percent to 6.3 percent (DIW 2013: online). The Federal Government would like to introduce a quota of 30 percent of women in DAX listed companies before 2016. Against this background and perspective, the public sector must act as a role model with quotas and a choice of alternative working time models including shortened full time hours (30-37 hrs/week) (BMFSFJ 2011). The World Economic Forum (WEF) also points out that the gender pay gap is still 22 percent and the gender pension gap is 58 percent. This data shows that Germany is still far from economic independence for women and therefore a long way from one of the key demands of the women's movement.

3.1 Equality in service-based care systems

While the state of gender equality declined in Germany, Iceland and the Scandinavian countries consistently rank top for equality (WEF 2013: 8-9). These countries are also the leaders when it comes to birth rates and the number of women in gainful employment. Political scientist Cornelia Heintze analyses the relationship between demographic change, women in gainful employment and the fundamental orientation of care systems (Heintze 2012): In her comparative analysis of the care systems in five

Nordic countries (Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway) and Germany, she distinguishes between service-based and family-based care systems. She demonstrates their characteristic differences and in particular the consequences they have on the equality of women and men (Heintze 2012). The birth rates for service-based and family-orientated care systems are strikingly different (see fig. 1). Family-based systems (such as those in Germany, Austria, Greece, Spain, Portugal and Slovakia) are characterised by a serious negative demographic change. On the other hand, Nordic countries with service-based care systems have achieved a remarkable rise in birth rates since the 1980s (Heintze 2012: 8 et seq.).

Figure 1: Relationship between birth rates and care systems



Source: Heintze 2012: 9.

These contrary developments are due to two factors according to Heintze. On the one hand, there is clearly a significant relationship between a strong orientation towards traditional gender roles and consequently a lower employment rate of women and a strong decline in birth rates: "A good 40 percent of the variance in birth rates can be attributed to the number of women in gainful employment" (Heintze 2012: 10). The highest levels of women in gainful employment are in the Scandinavian countries which also have a high birth rate when compared internationally (ibid.). On the other hand,

an effect on the full-fledged integration of women into the labour market can also been seen (ibid.). Well-educated women want to practice their profession and be economically independent. Adaptive societies support this process of overcoming structures that stand in the way of women becoming employment orientated and in professionalising the care and support work that is traditionally provided by women they transpose it into a publicly responsible infrastructure (ibid.). Care work is only balanced between the sexes like a family and state partnership in countries where a new social contract exists and women - and increasingly men - can successfully integrate family and career. Such countries have a birth rate of over 1.7. Countries with a family-orientated care and support system have characteristically low birth rates (Heintze 2012: 11).

Lack of equality in family-based care systems

A family-based care system, such as that in Germany, corresponds to a familial-subsidiary principle that is based on a family solidarity system in the first instance and in the second on the solidarity of an entire society (Heintze 2012: 6). According to Helga Krueger, an educational researcher, this principle of subsidiarity is a historical convention and the result of the industrialisation process over the last century, "(...) it specifies that the precedence of responsibility for person-related services lies primarily with the family, then churches and organisations, non-profit institutions and lastly the state" (Krueger 2000: 11). It has the signs of a conservative welfare regime: The prioritising of informal over professional care, less public funding, the narrow concept of care and a fragmented, unclear structure while at the same time having a high susceptibility to the development of a so-called "grey care market" (Heintze 2012: 6). The division of labour by gender is inevitable with such a principle: One partner, usually the man, feeds the family and the woman takes on the unpaid care work which contradicts the guiding principles of a gender-equal life in a modern society that were formulated in the first equality report undertaken by the Federal Government (see Introduction). The principle of subsidiarity is stuck on the antiquated men-as-the-family-breadwinner policy that was enforced during the course of creating the German social state in the Bismarck years and, "(...) thanks to the extensive but unpaid responsibilities of women for pick-up and drop-off services, community work, support and care work as a cost-saving supplement to public (half-day) school policy and the largely privatised

nursery and old age care, this has been expanded to reduce the load and balance on the unattractive employment/low-wage conditions in large areas of public person-related services" (Krueger 2000: 11).

In this context and from an equality policy point of view it is considered questionable that the work group "structure reform CARE and PARTICIPATION" (that is mainly occupied by men) which focuses on developing policy proposals for the sustainable assurance of care and participation in Germany, has the principle of subsidiarity as its fundamental principle instead of emphasising it as one of the structural conditions in modern society that is in need of change (Hoberg, Klie, Kuenzel 2013: 33). If care - in contrast to cure - is defined as the central remit, the welfare management tasks still lose their importance through the clear assignment of responsibility to the family in the first instance, neighbours and through completion "(...) other small units of social self-organisation" (ibid.). In disregard for the relevant scientific findings from economic and socio-cultural developments in the areas of the world of work, gender roles, family arrangements and the decreasing daughter care potential, the principle of subsidiarity in maintaining the care sector is continually set on a family-orientated model as a future model, even today this model no longer works.

3.2 Individual and social consequences of family-based care systems

Today, with 20.6 percent Germany has the highest rate of ageing in Europe and among countries in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has the second highest rate after Japan (Heintze 2012: 8). Against the backdrop of a family-based care system, the number of "double font care" families in employment will increase. These families are responsible for caring for their children as well as family members in need and are often at their physical and mental limits (Ohrem, Meier-Graewe, Haeussler 2013: 235). Studies have shown that women with children who take on the additional care of other family members are particularly vulnerable to ill health. The German Maternal Convalescence Movement (MGW) has already warned about the health of mothers: The proportion of mothers that come to certified clinics in a state of exhaustion, with burn out, reactions to stress and sleep problems has increased by 30 percent over the last ten years (MGW 2012: online). The sociologist Tomke Koenig also studied the division of working patterns in couples with children in different social milieus

and explicitly referred to the severe symptoms of fatigue that exist among mothers in particular (Koenig 2012: 200). Although on the one hand opportunities to complete various forms of work in different couples' arrangement have expanded, according to Koenig the question now is "(...)who should relax from all these types of work and when, how and with what help" (Koenig 2012: 200). In couples where both parents are responsible for taking on gainful employment and care, this leads to extreme physical and mental stresses in most cases (ibid.). The solution to this problem is highly individualised at the moment (Koenig 2012: 201).

The chairperson of the board of trustees for the German Maternal Convalescence Movement states that the everyday conditions for mothers who still shoulder the main responsibility for their family cause illness: "It doesn't matter which family constellation they live in, what education level or income they have: Mothers need help to carry the stresses of their family work" (MGW 2012: online). There is a lack of flexible, household and family support services in the living environment and of the necessary sensitivity of different family-related planners that are often still constrained by traditional role expectations and not infrequently claim women's labour free-of-charge for the smooth operation of their services (Ohrem, Haeussler, Meier-Graewe 2013: 235).

In countries like Germany that possess a family-based care system, it is characteristic that the unpaid care work in private households is carried out by women (Schaefer 2004: 253). Ulrich Beck's thesis on the reticence of men in the sense of a "verbal receptiveness with a largely rigid behaviour pattern" has been proven once more in the area of unpaid work (Meier, Kuester, Zander 2004: 119). Today, men help a little more within the household and there is a larger number of dedicated fathers but a profound structural change towards egalitarian financial management has still not emerged (Jurczyk 2008). The "Illusion of Emancipation" study by Koppetsch and Burkhart (1999) demonstrated in theory that even where couples would like to consciously move away from traditional gender roles, a "partnership" is little more than a cherished illusion. Gender equality is proving to be a nice façade behind which the old gender borders still exist, despite the fact that the idea of equality is fixed in our minds (ibid.).

This has already been shown by the data evaluated by the time-budget study representatives of the Federal Statistical Office. In 2001 the number of unpaid working

hours was 96 billion hours, approximately 1.7 times more than paid working hours with a comparative 56 billion hours (Schaefer 2004: 258). Even when using a very cautious assessment of the unpaid domestic tasks that are usually performed by women based on the net hourly wage of a housekeeper of EUR 7.10 (excluding payment for overtime), the value of a private household is also manifested from an economic perspective: "In 2001, it corresponded approximately to the gross added value of German industry (production industry excluding the construction industry - 472 billion Euros) and the trade, hospitality and transport industries (350 billion Euros) together" (Schaefer 2004: 267).

3.3 Reproductive blindness in family-based care systems

These calculations impressively demonstrate the social relevance of work done in the private sphere. In parallel to these, the German social state is pursuing new guiding principles within the context of an activating labour market policy that are still characterised by a significant reproductive blindness (Gottschall, Schroeder 2013: 166) and are typical of family-based care systems. If the requirements of a family were considered in the 1950s concept of a safe breadwinner model when calculating and negotiating income and consequently expressing unpaid care work - indirectly derived valuation. Then, according to the new guiding principles of the adult-worker model, gender-neutral individualised citizens are used for calculating salaries (ibid.). This means that the new guiding principles abstain from gender attribution and citing a particular family structure which is in contrast to the male family breadwinner model. However, it does not answer the question of how the socially necessary domestic and care work can be reliably organised in a structured manner in the future (ibid.). It is based on a male acquisition model that always has continual gainful employment and a high level of flexibility on the labour market at its disposal. Gottschall and Schroeder show that upon analysing the implementation and impact of this model, there are three problematic aspects. The first shows that once again this model has a politically inconsequential implementation. This means that when combined with the regulations that support the traditional breadwinner model, it results in a lack of political coordination and marked juxtaposition of social and family policy measures that refers either to women in the labour market or family (Gottschall, Schroeder 2013: 167).

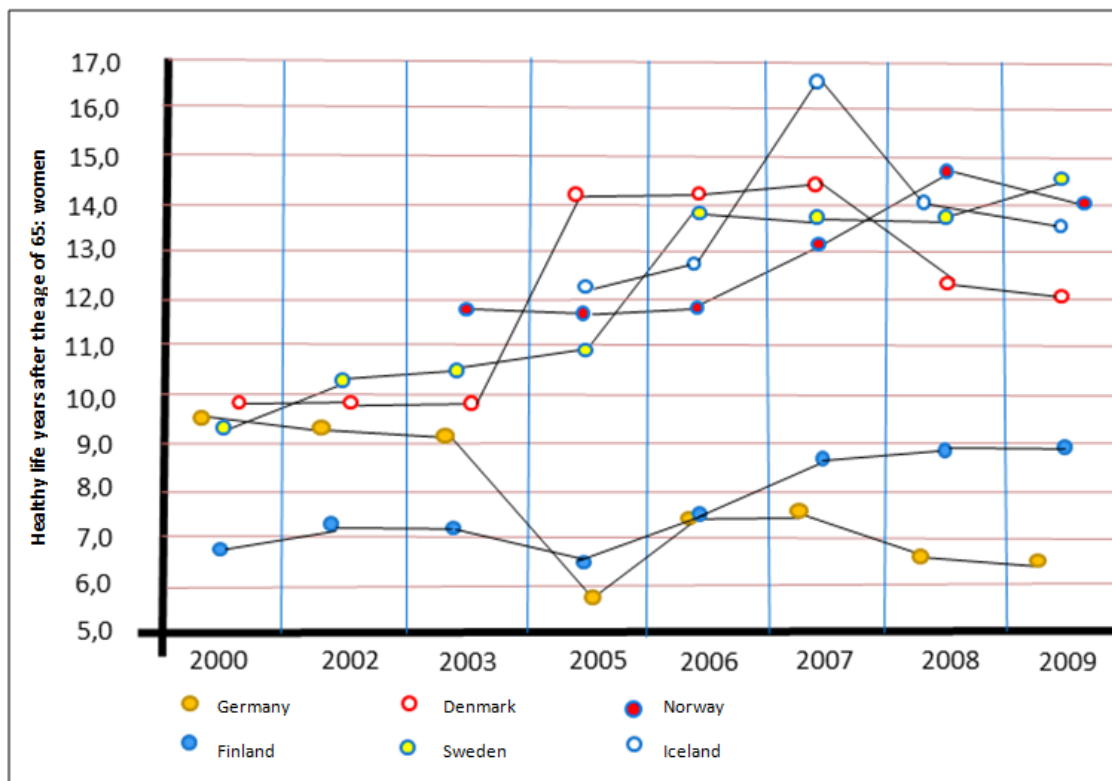
Secondly, due to the low wages in traditionally female occupations and the gender-specific pay gap in high-wage sectors, the independent securing of livelihood through gainful employment (which the principles of the adult-worker model aim towards) is very difficult to realise even for well educated women (ibid.). The third aspect identified by the researchers is that the new guiding principles are biased towards labour participation. The question of who will take on the socially relevant care work in the future, is negated. If this question was considered in the male breadwinner model in the past with regards to the assignment of women, then it is now simply ignored. Gottschall and Schroeder consequently call for a new division of labour between the family, labour market and state and thus, the improvement of supportive and domestic services for families as a prerequisite for a new gender-equal division of working patterns (Gottschall, Schroeder 2013: 168). The equal division of working patterns can only be realised if the distribution of time and material resources for gainful employment between men and women is also renegotiated. As, up until now, the orientation of the adult-worker model has mainly served to increase the dual burden on women but has not lead to an egalitarian division of different areas of work between men and women (Fraser 2001).

It shows that the realisation of a dual career couple under the adult-worker model is only possible by renouncing children or through the massive outsourcing of care responsibilities. The male breadwinner model is orientated towards a generalisation of the full-time employment standard which corresponds neither to the wishes of most women and men in employment, who want more time for supporting, caring and providing for their children and family members in need, nor to the need for family time and care work. New working time models assume an egalitarian division of labour and care work between the sexes beyond the usual full-time and part-time availability. This departure from the adult-worker model towards a dual-earner/ dual-career model takes on the principles of an adult with the responsibilities for the acquisition and care equally, irrespective of gender (Gottschall, Schroeder 2013: 168). Flexible working times, shorter full-time working times such as the 32-hour maximum recommended by the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) and the role models that have been used in the public service sector Scandinavian countries for decades, are examples of best practise models (BMFSFJ 2011, Allmendinger 2010). Once more it is the Scandinavian countries

that show that a fairer division of labour over the course of life and of paid and unpaid work between the sexes can be realised with an overall shortening of full-time working hours (BMFSFJ 2011: This is also achieved through the availability of extensive and high-quality domestic services that are inherent to a service-based care system. In doing so, they take public responsibility for the success of the socially relevant welfare management areas of everyday life. This is in complete contrast to the reproductive blindness of a family-based care system. This is the key to an almost equal participation in the labour market by both men and women. Countries, where such a service-based care system exists, demonstrably promote gender equality.

3.4 Decrease in healthy life years in old age in family-based care systems

If Germany continues to settle for a traditional gender arrangement and assigns the female portion of the population almost all of the future, increasing care work for the ageing population, then according to Heintze the "maelstrom of long-term care" will be hard to overcome. As people who care for family members for years without any support, suffer the exhaustive cultivation of their own health. Germany is sinking into a downwards spiral (Heintze 2012). Thanks to the permanent overburdening of care-giving relatives statistically they will need care themselves sooner. In any case, the number of healthy years in old age is decreasing in Germany. In a clear contrast to Scandinavian countries the last years of life are characterised by chronic disease in Germany (Heintze 2012: 7). This affects women more than men thanks to the traditional division of labour.

Figure 2: Healthy life years of 65-year-old women

Source: Own representation of Heintze 2012: 12.

As shown in fig. 2 women in Germany that were 65 years old before 2005 could still expect a further nine healthy years of life. After 2005, only a further six to seven-and-a-half years are to be expected. This is compared to the Danes who have a further 12 years and the Swedes with 14.6 healthy years ahead of them (Heintze 2012: 12). This set of circumstances refer to an aspect of gender disparity in the context of the division of labour patterns that is not widely known yet nor has it been discussed.

3.5 Family-based versus service-based care systems

Societies that are orientated towards the future promote an egalitarian division of paid and unpaid work and therefore active and prospective gender equality, whereby they have an easily accessible service-based infrastructure for care and support at the beginning and end of life (Heintze 2012: 11). At the same this results in a higher birth rate and an increase in the number of healthy years in old age. Whilst family-based care systems are still firmly stuck on the breadwinner model and thus the traditional

distribution of roles, service-based care systems promote gender equality on multiple levels.

4 Potential household services - on the road to a gender-equal division of labour

Gender equality cannot be achieved solely by integrating women into the labour market. It is also important to answer the question as to how paid employment and unpaid family work can be divided fairly between women and men. The results of a recent survey conducted by the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (WZB) regarding the life plans of today's young women and men pointed towards the crucial significance that the redistribution of different fields of work among the sexes has in order to bring the expectations of the younger generation to life:

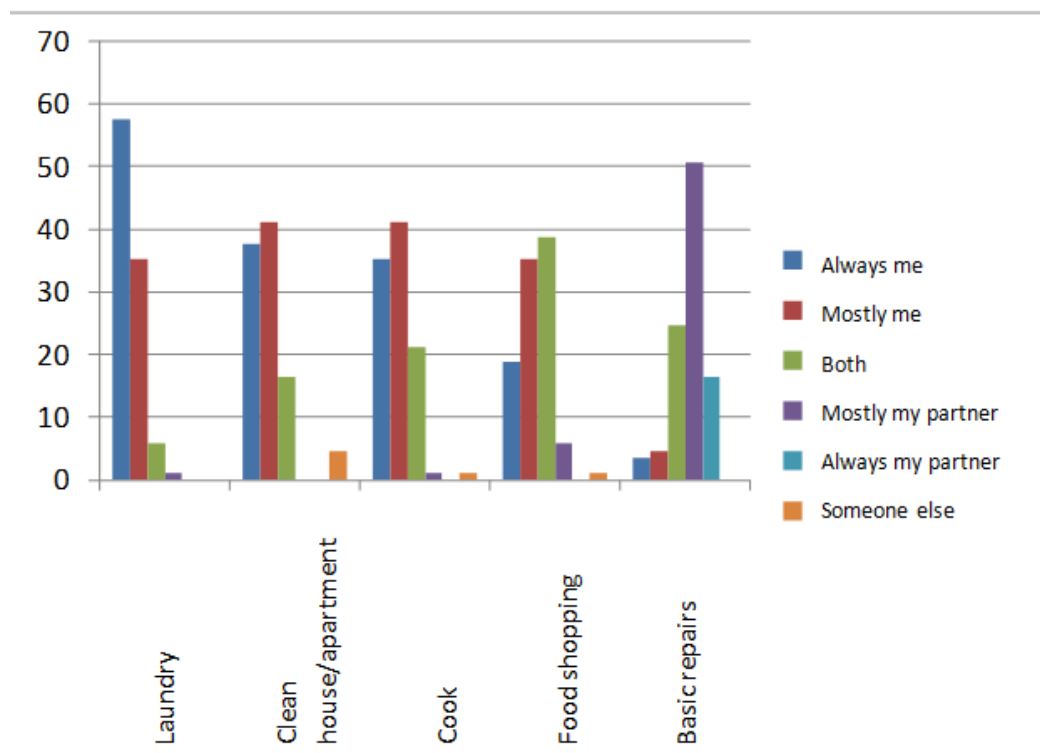
"We cannot talk about work without including house work. A major redistribution of paid and unpaid time between the sexes must be at the forefront of our agenda" (Allmendinger, Haarbruecker, Fliegner 2013: 52).

Reality, however, is still extremely different. The majority of women surveyed (70 percent) are angry as they are the ones who: take on the lion's share of the unpaid work, are discriminated against on the labour market, are seldom in a leadership position and earn less money for the same job (Kirsch 2013: 135). At the time of the first survey, 92 percent of the women surveyed wanted children, however five years later only 42 percent had achieved this desire (Kirsch 2013: 132). Over the course of the five years the desire to have children became even more important. However, on the whole the women surveyed were not encouraged by their men and they see that only full-time workers and long hours lead to success and recognition in the working world (ibid.). Those that had children mostly have part-time jobs whilst those who carved out a career have no children. Allmendinger talks of the "catch-22 generation" (ibid.). On the one hand an urgent reorientation is needed away from the adult-worker model and towards a dual-career / dual-earner model including new full-time working hours of 32 hours per week of life (see Chapter 2) in order to dissolve these gender-divided labour patterns that still systematically run through the genders and reach a fairer distribution of paid employment. On the other hand, structurally anchored

measures for the new and gender equal distribution of socially relevant unpaid work is essential.

Since the 1990s the extent and economic relevance of the unpaid work done by women has been proven beyond doubt by representative studies (see Chapter 2). However, a structural safeguarding of this socially important care work has not yet been adopted in Germany. Thus, even today the responsibility still lies mainly in private and therefore female hands more than 20 years after the first representative time-budget study by the Federal Statistical Office and the determination of a satellite framework for household production. Germany is still on course towards a family-based care system. The transition to a service-based care system is not only urgently needed against the backdrop of an ageing society, for which Heintze gave detailed justification (see Chapter 2).

Figure 3: Distribution of housework in couples



Source: Own representation according to Allmendinger, Haarbruecker and Fliegner 2013: 65.

Women are also the clandestine resource of social policy (Beck-Gernsheim 1991). Current data from the WZB shows that the main burden of unpaid activities within the household falls to women once more, even among young couples (see fig. 3): Doing

the laundry, cleaning the house/apartment and cooking are de facto always and mostly tasks that are undertaken by women (Allmendinger, Haarbruecker, Fliegner 2013: 65).

Partnership arrangements quickly decrease over the course of a marriage: after six years of marriage gender arrangements based on partnership decrease from 43.6 percent to 18.6 percent (Schulz, Blossfeld 2006: 44). In the same time period, traditional gender arrangements increase from 25.5 percent to 55 percent (ibid.). In the transition from partnership to parenthood, the amount of paid work done by women decreases and as the children grow older the men take on less and less of the unpaid work at home (Allmendinger 2008: 21). Often the transition to a traditional gender arrangement is unwanted and, from the point of view of women, takes place behind their backs (Allmendinger, Haarbruecker, Fliegner 2013).

4.1 Illegal employment instead of a gender-equal division of labour

Due to the lack of a modern welfare state structure, many private households have had to resort to informal solutions to their problems over the past few decades (Rerrich 2009: 19). In doing so Germany has developed a new, invisible layer of domestic services. Researchers who analyse the interdependencies between housework and service work in this age of globalisation, raise the issue that this labour market lies almost completely within a grey area and is repeatedly identified as illegal (Lutz 2008: 10). In this context of quasi-feudal conditions, Rerrich speaks of a democratic state (Rerrich 2009: 19). Conditions like those in ancient Greece have become established throughout modern Europe due to the lack of structural safeguarding for socially necessary care work: People working and living here are not covered by labour law nor do they have opportunities to participate in democracy or assert their rights to these (ibid.).

Helma Lutz, a migration researcher, notes that the women's movement's promotion of an egalitarian distribution of domestic work must be regarded as a failure as in a globalised world other methods for a redistribution among women are in practice (Lutz 2008: 208). This reinforces the existing asymmetry between paid employment and care work. The call for a new concept of labour that values both areas of work equally, is still a current one (Ohrem, Meier-Graewe 2012: 28). Without a shift in this paradigm, the traditional gender responsibilities and with it the neo-traditional continuation of the

social division of working patterns will continue via the world market and illegal domestic workers (Lutz 2008: 208). The legalisation of this field of work is therefore a prerequisite in order to overcome the existing asymmetry. However, "(...) our view of today's situation is still clouded by gender hierarchy which comes from a time when services took second place to the development of the production sector" (Krueger 2000: 11). Gender tradition severely blurs the view of changes to value-added sources (ibid.).

There is still a strong orientation towards industry and export in the Federal Republic of Germany. The primacy of production and professions associated with men also continue to have a normative and institutional effect when employment in service has long since characterised the majority of employment relationships. In 1970 almost 45 percent of the 26.6 million people in employment in the former federal territory were employed in the service sector, this was approximately 71 percent in 2003. Current estimations state that in 2025 almost 77 percent of all those employed will work in the service sector (Reuter, Zinn 2011: 463). On the other hand the number of people employed in the manufacturing sector between 1970 and 2003, decreased by almost 20 percent from 46 percent to 27 percent. It is estimated that by 2025 only a fifth of all those in employment will be employed in the secondary sector (ibid.)

The sociologist Martin Baethge described this momentum as "industrialism", a stance that illustrates Germany's "long farewell" from an industrial society on a socio-cultural level (Baethge, Wilkens 2002). In 2000 the educational researcher Helga Krueger had already designated the, still widespread, idea that only industry and trade craft would create assets and person-related services only "devour" money, as an economically obsolete and blind theory (Krueger 2000: 11).

International studies prove the opposite: If care systems are represented not only by a satellite framework for household production in the national accounts and valued in public statements but public responsibility is also taken for this work, then investments are made in a public care system. This leads to well-paid, skilled jobs that ensure growth: "The economy overall moves towards a higher employment path ("high road")" (Heintze 2012: 7).

In this context from an education policy perspective, Krueger calls for school-based

vocational training to be transitioned into apprenticeships that are regulated by the Vocational Training Act and allow quality assurance and payment according to the collective wage agreement and consequently gender equality (Krueger 2000: 11). As the principle for a school-based vocational training education system is differentiated by gender and activity (that historically never prepares students for the working world) and dual vocational training (as a way into a viable profession) "(...) obviously corresponds to the preference for the private sector to be a public service reservoir as expressed in the principle of subsidiarity" (ibid.). This request requires the entire service sector to be structured by profession and not gender (ibid.).

If unpaid work is in fact to be fairly distributed by gender, then the "black/grey mix" of labour market and private household must be carried over into the formal economy. At the moment, among the EU member states Germany is among those with the highest proportion of irregular employment relationships in private households: It is estimated that 90-95 percent of household services are not declared and are carried out by third parties (EU commission 2012: 9). International comparison shows that market-integration aids can lead to the extensive legalisation of this labour market over just a short period of time. The introduction of vouchers in France, Belgium and Austria allowed work that was previously undeclared to be transformed into regular employment. In doing so, social security contributions are made, income tax revenue generated and a considerable amount of social transfer payments saved. Between 2005 and 2009 France alone achieved a 70 percent reduction in illegal employment in this way and created approximately 500,000 new jobs (Larsen 2013: 6).

4.2 Household services promote equality

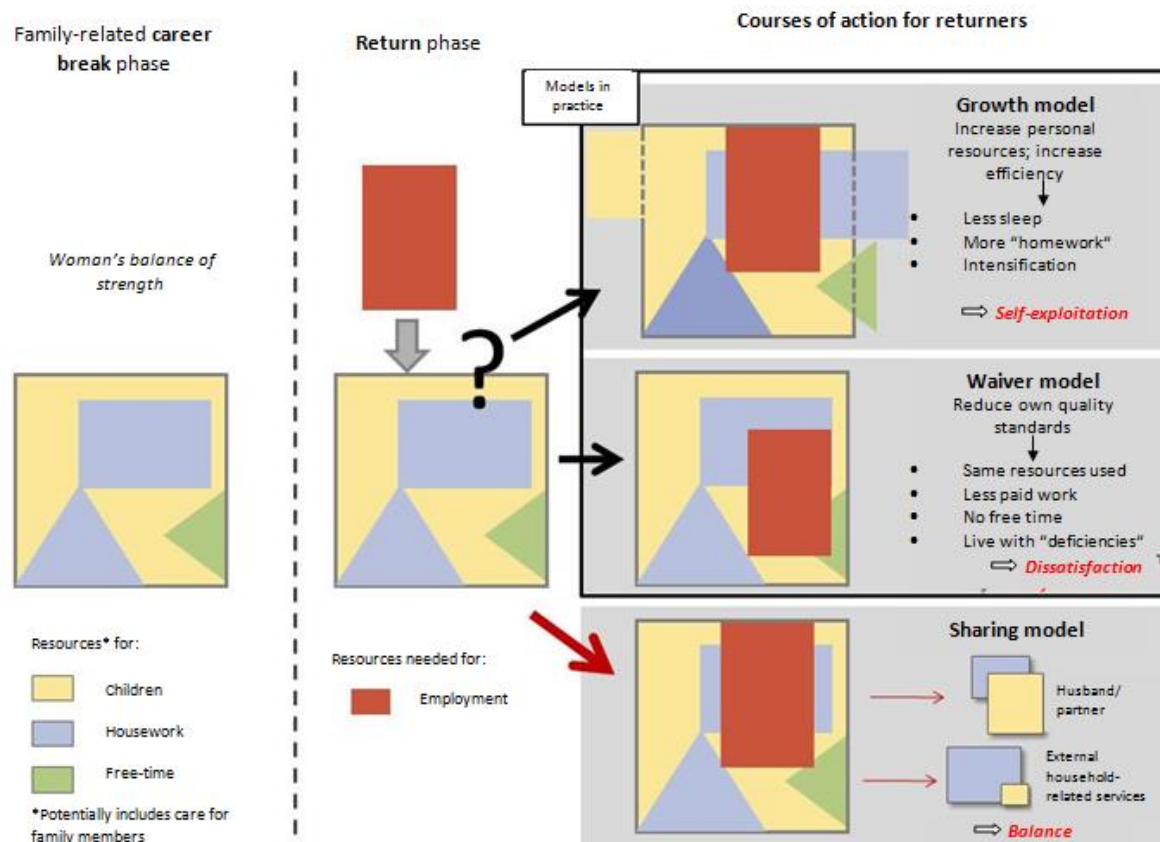
The first equality report calls for the expansion of customised and qualitative high-quality family-related personal and non-personal services in order to overcome gender segregation in everyday life and over a lifetime (BMFSFJ 2011: 173). Household services prove to be an indispensable building block in order to move away from the (new) tradition of gender roles and to balance family, career, social and personal life. Countries that have capitalised on the massive expansion of professional support services for everyday life have registered clear progress in gender equality and securing their independent livelihood (Heintze 2012: 12).

Supporting professional household services frees up time that can be used on a family and career. In doing so the conditions for the compatibility of family and career is improved. Transition points in a career path, such as the transition from partnership to parenthood, returning to the workplace, start of care in the family and retirement, can be made into successes instead of leading to discontinuity and the risk of poverty with the help of household services (BMFSFJ 2011b: 1).

Wippermann analyses the potential for household services to ease the burden on those re-entering the workplace after a family-related break (BMFSFJ 2012: 11 et seq.). His graphical representation of the courses of action shows the models used particularly clearly (see fig. 4). He simulated three different scenarios based on the assumption that before a woman returns to the working world she organised her time around children, the household and leisure activities as well as completing all the tasks to her quality expectations so that her strength was shared out equally. He distinguishes between the growth model, the waiver model and the sharing model.

The growth model leads to self-exploitation in the long-term. This course of action assumes a high-level of resources. Sleep and free time are reduced and recuperation phases extremely restricted (BMFSFJ 2012: 12; BMFSFJ 2011a: 13). The waiver model leads to greater dissatisfaction. Demands on housekeeping and childcare are reduced as is time for family relationships (BMFSFJ 2012, Heitkoetter 2009). Both of these models are a step towards "a detrimental dysbalance" for returners and often lead to the return to work being forfeited (BMFSFJ 2011a: 13.).

The permanent cessation of employment has both personal and societal consequences. For women, this decision often leads to difficulties with regards to their perception of themselves, their life course and last but not least the security of their pension. The permanent cessation of employment leads to the unwanted distribution of roles in a traditional manner including economic dependence on the partner and justified fears of poverty in old age (Meier-Graewe 2013a, Meier-Graewe 2013b; BMFSFJ 2011a: 11). Today, young women have a strong desire for financial independence: "Independence appears to be a prerequisite for becoming closer to others" (Allmendinger, Haarbruecker, Fliegner 2013: 49). The consequences of giving up a return to work are serious for women and their families.

Figure 4: Resources and courses of action for returners

Source: BMFSFJ 2011a: 13.

Permanent unemployment represents unused potential for society, in particular when it comes to well-educated women (Allmendinger 2010): Therein lies an unacceptable waste of educational investment for the public sector, economy and social security schemes in a time of existing shortages (Ohrem, Meier-Graewe 2012: 26) which consequently leads to lower income tax revenue and social security contributions on one hand, and on the other higher social transfer payments and therefore social follow-up costs (BMFSFJ 2011a: 12).

Wippermann's third course of action, the sharing model, represents an alternative. This focuses on the fair distribution of care work in accordance with the guiding principles of modern adults outlined at the beginning. Here, the responsibilities for gainful employment and care work are undertaken equally (see Introduction), therefore the unpaid work is distributed equally between men and women and is supported by external, customised and qualitative high-quality household services (BMFSFJ 2012: 13). This type of gender-equal arrangement based on delegation to external

service providers, has an enormous potential for easing the burden which gives women sustainable career prospects and a balance of time and energy (BMFSFJ 2012: 13).

Household services not only promote an independent, flexible and equal structure between career and family in everyday life and the life courses of adult women and men but they also create a variety rationalisation-resistant jobs in the service sector (BMFSFJ 2011: 173).

4.3 Qualification for household services

In order to ensure the quality of these services, it is necessary to ensure that the labour force has a permanent job with minimum working hours and adequate qualifications as well as good working conditions. "Due to the ageing population and the increase in the level of qualification of younger cohorts and the increasing female employment rate, labour shortages will occur in fields that demand workers with a medium level of qualification" like in household services for example (OECD 2012: 69-70). Research into gerontology confirms that: Regardless of whether care or help is needed, the average costs for household services and activities associated with feeding are decidedly higher than maintenance costs for everyone (Heinemann-Koch, Knorr, Korte 2006: 417). According to and from the point of view of an equality policy, this relevance must be secured by means of the higher valuation, legalisation and public funding of household services beyond qualifications in household services from the vocational courses in housekeeping and up to university qualifications in domestic science. Consequently, the aim is to achieve parity for the care sector alongside medicine and nursing science. This can only succeed if the traditionally female domain of home economics is not already anchored at the lower level of educational structures. Therefore, parity in the educational system for professions associated with men and women is just as important as a university level education. Innovative solutions to future increasing care requirements assume a university-level, differentiated, theoretically-based scientific analysis of the complex subject of care in the private and public sectors.

Permanent room for the development and forceful demand for household services should be made in the canon of welfare state structures in order to actually enforce gender equality and legalise, or rather democratise, a previously "quasi-feudal" labour

market. New forms of solidarity between women and men as well as between the state and market should also be established in Germany. Against the backdrop of the market's neo-liberal tendencies, a critical look is to be taken at the reduction in public structures and the simultaneous offloading of care work onto the market-based private sector. General services and welfare services therefore contradict the exploitation and efficiency logic of the market economy (Gottschlich 2012: 3). Efficiency, in the economic sense, is already practised throughout the health and care sectors and is measured according to work organisation (ibid.) which by no means leads to better care for those in need or the sick. As we can "(...) build cars faster but we cannot care for older people faster nor can children be brought up faster" (Madoerin 2012: 11). Ultimately, the care becomes more expensive and worse. In a neoclassical mainstream, government spending on care work and child care is classified as costs and a brake for the private sector: "Everything must be reconceived; new economic theories must be developed" (Madoerin 2012: 14).

The OECD shows *de facto* in a study on increasingly unequal income that in countries where the state offers more care services the differences in income between families are smaller than in countries with less services (Madoerin 2012: 14). Sweden has a relatively egalitarian distribution of work and income. Germany has a different distribution method for cash flows between households and the state (Madoerin 2012: 13), that is, the formation of a new social solidarity that goes far beyond the explicit subsidiary created family-based care system. A necessary condition for more social justice, i.e. an egalitarian distribution of paid and unpaid work and fairer wages between the sexes, is the provision of public infrastructure for care work. In Germany, the transformation from a family-based care system to a service-based care system, in which demands for household services are also included such as a qualitative, high-quality system for all-day child care, committed full-day schools as well as demand-oriented, high-quality elderly and nursing facilities, is just as vital a marital and tax law, social security contributions and working time legislation from a gender equality perspective. All of which are orientated towards the guiding principles of the first equality report.

Investment in gender equality pays off in the long term: The first equality report shows that gender inequality is significantly more expensive than equality (BMFSFJ 2011).

The debate on new standards for prosperity also considers the reduction of social inequality as well as treating nature with care as indicators for wealth (Dullien, van Treeck 2012). As well as material life standards, the focus lies on social indicators such as a pristine environment and the availability of limited resources, educational prospects and the quality of public services (Dullien, van Treeck 2012: 5). Consequently, investments in household services are equal to contributions towards prosperity without any additional resources needed.

5 Summary

The egalitarian distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women is still different to what is practised on a daily basis. It is a basic prerequisite for changing gender relationships on the road to new principles and forward-looking gender arrangements beyond the traditional breadwinner model. This distribution and the different values associated with traditionally female and male working areas have been exercised over hundreds of years and many generations, they are entrenched mentally and have always been secured by structural framework conditions. Even today matrimonial property law, tax law (splitting the spousal income and tax class combination V and III), co-insurance in the social security system and the gender segregation in the labour market, are all still highly influential in working against the egalitarian distribution of paid and unpaid work between the sexes (see Chapter 1).

Against the backdrop of women's high education levels, lack of skilled workers as well as the desired working times and life plans of young women and men that correspond to the guiding principles from the first equality report, the subsequent new adjustments made to the social, tax, labour market and time policies as well as a consistent overall plan are indispensable in achieving gender equality (see Chapter 2).

Household services can take on an important catalytic role in the redistribution of gender-typical working areas. On the one hand, they have proven to be an indispensable part of the reorganisation of gender roles in order to distance themselves from the adult-worker model. On the other hand, it can also be countered that they solidify traditional gender roles if household services continue to be provided on an irregular basis and are silently accepted and tolerated by the majority of the population.

Therefore, a professionalization process is urgently needed at a high level for household services in order to counteract the "refeudalism" between employment and dependency relations as well as the perpetuation of the gender-typical division of working patterns in our society (Gather, Geissler, Rerrich 2002).

In particular, the success of women's return to work after a family-related career break relies upon the delegation of tasks to external household service providers. High quality and affordable services are essential in order for women - and an increasing number of men - to achieve a long-term balance between the different areas of their lives. Household services also offer value added potential. Even if the Federal Republic of Germany still finds it difficult to overcome the traditional orientations towards export and industrialism, the European comparison shows that investments in a publicly responsible and service-orientated care system create a central element, a feasible way towards increased prosperity without having to use additional resources.

The importance of domestic fields of work in relation to the medical nursing field is characterised by the increase in care needs for the ageing population combined with the decrease in daughter care potential upon whom the majority of the care work tasks lie. From a gender equality perspective, this importance must be recognised immediately so that all qualification levels are represented from housekeepers with a vocational qualification in home economics right up to university level domestic scientists. A university level education is the prerequisite for ensuring that the care sector can be negotiated on an equal setting with medicine and nursing sciences. Otherwise the trivialisation of traditionally female areas of work will be perpetuated structurally in the future through the education system, despite the professionalization of household services. Innovative solutions within the care sector also require an academic qualification (see Chapter 3).

Therefore, an integrated service-based care system is needed including reliable and qualitative high quality child day-care facilities, committed full-time schools as well as retirement and nursing homes, in order to achieve this vision of a gender equal distribution of paid and unpaid work. Inherent to such a concept is a reformed tax system that supports an egalitarian division of labour as well as a family-friendly labour market and working time policies that give women and men flexibility and reliability

throughout the course of their lives. Consequently, household services are an indispensable part of these structural concepts during the transition to new principles and gender arrangements beyond the traditional breadwinner model.

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The professionalization of household services from a labour market policy perspective

Expert report

Commissioned by:

The competence centre for the
"Professionalization and Quality
Assurance of Household Services"
(PQHD)

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1 Introduction

For almost 20 years the possibilities and starting points for the development of a household services market, as well as the professionalization of such services, have been discussed in Germany (see Weinkopf 1996 for example). The debate is more intense at some times than at others. In the last few years multiple studies have been undertaken into the different aspects of household or family-related services by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) and other federal and state ministries as well as foundations. In this context, more and more surveys are being carried out on households and (less often) on companies that undertake household services (see most recently Prognos 2012, for example, based on an Allensbach survey from 2010 - and Becker et al. 2012).

By and large it is undeniable that the need for household services has increased and in light of demographic developments (increasing number of women in work, ageing population and increase in number of people needing care) it will continue to increase. Whether this rising demand will lead to a corresponding increase in demand for legal household services and to what extent, depends upon a multitude of factors that affect both the supply and demand sides. It is generally assumed that a large part of paid support for private households in Germany will still come from the black market. This is supported by results from the Socio-economic Panel (SOEP) which show that the number of private households (according to their own disclosures) that regularly or occasionally have paid help around the house was approximately 4 million in 2011, a number that lies significantly higher than the number of mini-jobs registered for private households at the mini-job centre (255,594 in September 2013. See Minijob-Zentrale 2013: 6). A study by Enste et al. (2009: 129) also calculated the share of the black economy for family support services at approximately 95%. Existing studies present different data or estimations regarding the number of relevant professional providers of household services. However, it is undeniable that this market segment is still rather small.

The aim of this expert report is to take an inventory of and assess the current situation in the field of household services based on existing studies and publications on the one hand and on the other, to show the possibilities and limitations of the

professionalization of household services with regards to Germany and in consideration of the experiences in other selected European countries. A key obstacle that has so far prevented the development of a functional market in Germany is, in my opinion, the fact that conflicting objectives have been pursued using the existing support options which on closer inspection are either not compatible with each other or are but only in a very limited sense. On the one side, there is, or there was in any case, the hope that the area of household services and in particular the employment opportunities could be opened up to formally low-qualified workers. On the other side, companies are faced with the challenge of achieving prices that cover the cost of their services. This is also hampered by the fact that the willingness of private households to pay for services that they can do themselves is rather low.

The value of quality and the qualification requirements for developing a market were (and to a certain extent still are) underestimated. It is often assumed that experience gained within one's own household is enough to qualify someone to carry out household activities on a professional basis. The relevant projects and companies have effectively created an experience whereby not everyone fulfils the prerequisites to perform professional household services. Last but not least, this also begs the question as to whether and how the support needs of low-income households and families can be met.

This expert report addresses these topics and is structured thus: In section 2 the report takes a brief look back at the last 20 years of continuous scientific and political debate on the promotion of household services as well as approaches to their professionalization and legalisation. Section 3 analyses the current status of the use and range of legal household services available in Germany based on existing survey results from private households and service companies. The often-conflicting interests of the parties (private households, employees and companies) is discussed in greater detail in section 4. Furthermore, the report will show that the objectives, upon which the promotion of household services in Germany has been based so far, are to a large extent contradictory or even incompatible. Experiences in other countries are the subject of section 5. Finally, section 6 extracts and presents lessons to be learnt in Germany as well as the starting points for the targeted support of the developing household services market.

2 Review

Since the middle of the 1990s numerous service agencies and companies have been established in Germany in order to provide household services for private households. This often takes place by using public start-up financing and with the aim of creating employment relationships subject to compulsory social security contributions. The target group for employees was primarily the disadvantaged unemployed who have hardly any chance at working in other areas of employment.

At that time the cost of household services was extremely variable and often depended on the level of public funding and the target group in terms of private households. Some projects (in particular those at municipal level) focused on support or neighbourly assistance for the elderly or families that are not in the position of being able to pay cost-covering prices. In a nationwide survey of 62 service agencies carried out by the Institute for Work and Technology (IAT) in 1999, the (net) price lay between DM 10 and DM 56.90 per hour (Bittner et al. 1999: 37). In most cases the full value added tax (VAT) of 16% was also added to this. However, there were also projects, or rather providers, which could use the reduced VAT level of 7% or some who had to pay no VAT at all.¹ Almost three quarters of the companies or projects surveyed had received temporary public start-up funding. Most of them operated as employers with employees but even back then there were also those who acted solely or in part as placement agencies for domestic workers.

After the public funding ran out most of the (model) projects saw no possible way in which they could continue their work. In contrast to this, three service agencies from the end of the 1990s still survive today in Aachen, Bochum and Dusseldorf. They received support from various bodies² from the state of North Rhine Westphalia and scientific support from the IAT (Bittner/Weinkopf 2001). This also applies to a number

¹ At the time the criteria upon which this was decided, varied from state to state.

² The sponsor of Picco Bella Haushaltsservice is Picco Bella gGmbH in Aachen. The AGIL service agency is managed from the Gewerkstatt gGmbH headquarters in Bochum and has several subsidiaries in Bochum, Herne, Witten and Dortmund. The service agency in Dusseldorf is called "Casa Blanca" and is managed by the Dusseldorf gGmbH future workshop. The price for this agency for jobs with a volume of at least three hours has been € 17.11 per hour (incl. VAT) since the beginning of 2013, plus an extra flat rate for transport costs of € 3.50 (Dusseldorf) or € 7 (outside Dusseldorf). For jobs of less than three hours, the hourly rate invoiced is € 20.53 per hour and for basic cleaning € 23.95 per hour (both include VAT).

of private sector household service companies that were founded in the 1990s (e.g. Zauberfrau and Faber-Management).

The establishment of private sector initiatives on the market succeeded and thus it also appears to have supported the 2003 expansion of the tax incentives (housekeeping chequebooks (Haushaltsscheck-Verfahren)) that were introduced in 1997 and previously focused solely on the working relationships in private households. Since then the cost of using household services provided by a company has been tax-deductible. At the same time the nature of tax incentives has changed. Whilst the costs for domestic workers were previously deductible from taxable income within certain limits, since 2003 the possibility of a deduction in tax liability also exists. This means that the tax savings for a private household are no longer dependant on their amount of taxable income (at least if ever correspondingly high taxes are due). Table 1 gives an overview of the current tax incentives for household services in Germany.

Table 1: Tax incentives for household services in Germany

| | Tax bonus | Maximum costs eligible per year | Maximum tax deduction per year |
|---|------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Mini-job in a private household | 20% | € 2,550 | €510 |
| Compulsory social security contributions for domestic workers | | €20,000 | €4,000 |
| Household services | | | |
| Care and support | | | |
| <i>Trade services</i> | <i>20%</i> | <i>€6,000</i> | <i>€1,200</i> |

Source: Own summary according to the Hessen Ministry of Finance 2013.

Since 2010 some private sector companies that offer these services have been members of the "Federal Association of Household Service Companies" (BH DU), an organisation that arose from the "National Association of Service Companies for Households and Families" (BAG). The targets specified on the homepage of the BH DU include the development of the household services business field, representation of interests with respect to policy and decision makers, fighting against undeclared work and the creation of employment relationships subject to compulsory social security contributions as well as raising the public image of home economics as a qualified training and employment field (www.bhdu.de/ziele-des-bhdu.html).

Since the beginning of the 2000s, in a "second wave" of support, household services were included in cooperation projects with temporary employment agencies (e.g. Homepower in Rhineland-Palatinate)³ and grants were introduced in some federal states or regions for providing legal household services through companies. One example of this is in Saarland, where for some years agencies providing household work (AhA) can receive a grant under certain conditions. Since the beginning of 2012, the company is given a grant of € 3.50 per hour for up to ten hours per month per client household. In general, the employment relationship for the employees should be subject to compulsory social security contributions. The company is also obligated to pay their employees the minimum wage for cleaning services (currently € 9 gross per hour) (Ministry of Labour, Family, Prevention, Social Affairs and Sport Saarland 2011). Similar support was also available in Hamburg for a short time (until the end of 2011). An overview of the current support and initiatives available at federal and municipal levels is not currently available. However, the study by Becker et al. (2012: 77 et seq.) gives at least a rough overview of the different forms and objectives:

- Online databases maintained by various chambers of industry and commerce and the NRW consumer advice centre for example;
- Initiatives on "Quality Standards and Network";
- Initiatives on "Employment Support and Qualification";⁴
- Initiatives focusing on "Financial Support for the Provider".⁵

3 State of the usage and range of household services

There is no or only partial statistical information available (such as mini-jobs in private households that are registered with the mini-job centre) in answer to the question of how many private households receive paid household services in one form or another

³ The project was promoted by the Rhineland-Palatinate Municipal Ministry of Labour from March 2002 until the end of 2007 (<http://msagd.rlp.de/arbeitsmarkt-und-beschaeftigungspolitik/beschaeftigungssektor-haushalt/>).

⁴ Among them are Casa Blanka in Dusseldorf and prompt GmbH that are supported by Gewerkstatt gGmbH in Bochum like AGIL.

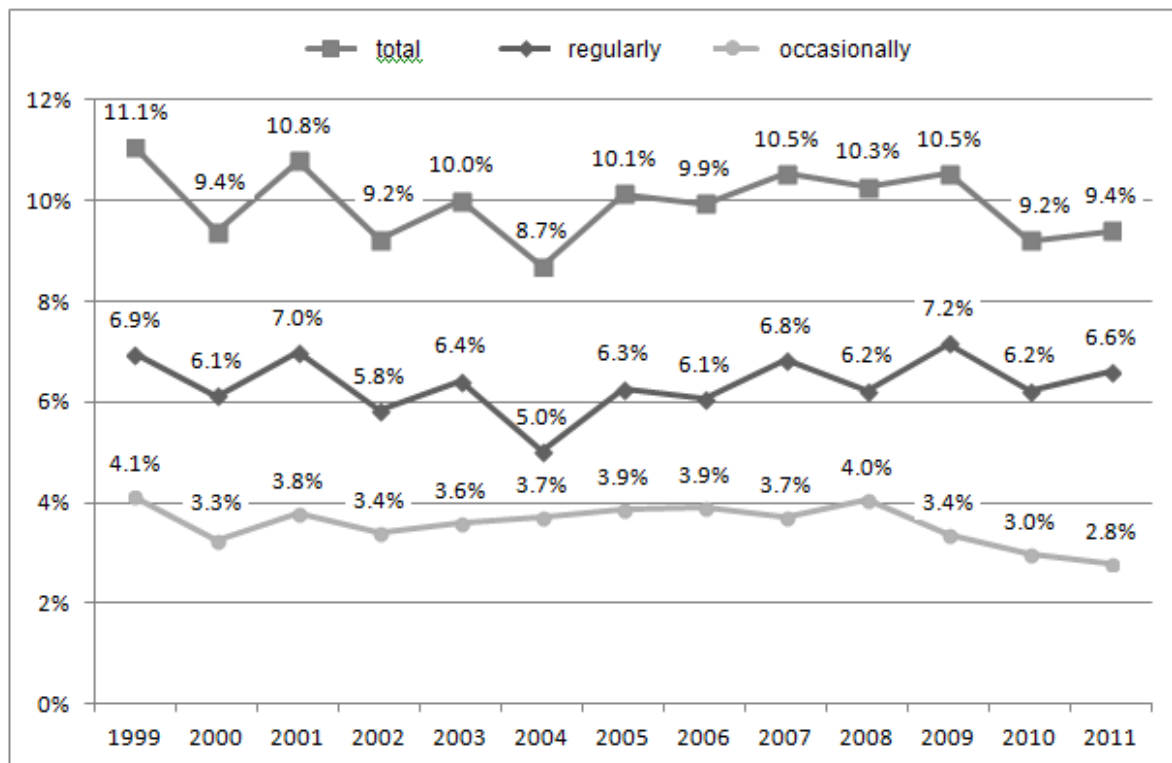
⁵ In addition to the above-mentioned AhA program in the Saarland, there is also a cooperative in Munich that also sells subsidised service hours (for € 4.01 per hour in 2010).

or employ a domestic worker themselves. Here, this is bolstered by the results of representative surveys in particular.

For example, the Socio-Economic panel (SOEP) includes a question related to the use of paid domestic workers. The SOEP is a household survey that has been conducted in Germany every year since 1984 on behalf of the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) in Berlin by TNS Infratest Sozialforschung. A survey is undertaken on a representative sample of households where all persons living there are over 17 years old. The SOEP was created to ask social and economic questions and it includes a variety of household and person-related variables (Wagner et al. 2008). In 2011 over 12,000 households and 21,000 people were surveyed (Bohlender et al. 2011).

Figure 1 shows how the proportion of private households in the SOEP that regularly or occasionally have domestic workers (based on their own disclosures) has developed between 1999 and 2011. Since 1999 the proportion of households with domestic workers has varied from year to year. The smallest proportion was recorded in 2004 with a total of 8.7% and the highest proportion was recorded in 1999. On the other hand, this year, 2011, only 9.4% of households declared that they have regular (6.6%) or occasional (2.8%) domestic workers. The proportion of regular uses is subject to somewhat lesser fluctuations but even here there has been no noticeable growth in use over the course of time. Since 2008, the proportion of households that state they only occasionally use domestic workers has declined significantly.

Figure 1: Proportion of households that declare they have domestic help (occasionally, regularly, overall), 1999-2011



Source: Own representation of SOEP 2011 (Thorsten Kalina).

That the SOEP has noticed no increase in the use of domestic workers overall, is surprising insofar as the number of private households that have registered a mini-job with the mini-job centre has steadily increased over the last few years. This is also not reflected in the SOEP data. Theoretically this could be due to the fact that the use of legal domestic workers has increased in importance but not the overall number of private households with legal or illegal domestic workers. However, this contradicts the widespread assumption of an increase in demand for support at home which is seen to be a result of the rise in female employment and the ageing of society among other things. A further possible explanation for the surprising results could possibly be under-reporting on behalf of households with domestic workers - for instance, where the sense of wrongdoing has increased in households that illegally employ domestic workers and because of this, the question asked by the SOEP is often not answered truthfully.

Another survey focusing on the use of household services was carried out at the end of 2010 by the Allensbach Institute (IfD). Here, 2,000 private households were

surveyed. According to the survey, in 2010 approximately 12% of all households used household services (based on their own disclosures) which corresponds to a projected 4.9 million households. In this case the number and proportion of users of household services is considerably greater than that given by the SOEP results from the same year (2010: 9.2%). A possible explanation for this increase is that the Allensbach survey adopted a wider definition of household services. In addition to the traditional domestic activities of childcare and assisting with homework, it also included support in caring for elderly or sick family members as well as general housework (including simple manual jobs) (Prognos 2012: 1).

A further difference to the SOEP results is that when it is compared to an earlier similar Allensbach survey from 2008 the current number of users of domestic workers is given as one percentage point (Prognos 2012: 37), however, in the SOEP results from 2008 to 2010 a decline was observed of approximately the same amount (from 2009 to 2010 1.3 percentage points alone).

The exact number of companies and employees currently active in the field of household services cannot be derived from existing statistics or surveys. This is also due to the fact that it is difficult to identify and define them. However, two studies undertaken by Prognos and Becker et al. (on behalf of the BMFSFJ), both of which were published in autumn 2012, as well as a study by the German Institute of Economics (IW) published in 2009 provide an indication (Enste et al. 2009). The results however differ significantly from each other to a certain extent, which may be attributed to the different definitions and methods used.

Prognos (2012) puts the number of household service companies nationwide at around 2,500 and the number of people employed at these companies at approximately 25,000 (working an average of 20 hours per week) which equates to 12,500 full-time employees. As has already been mentioned, a relatively wide-ranging definition of household services was used here (including childcare and homework supervision, care work and simple manual jobs). Unfortunately, the study did not infer how the information regarding the number of companies and employees active in the field of household services was determined from the results of the Allensbach survey of private households. Against this backdrop, the self-supporting assessment by Prognos

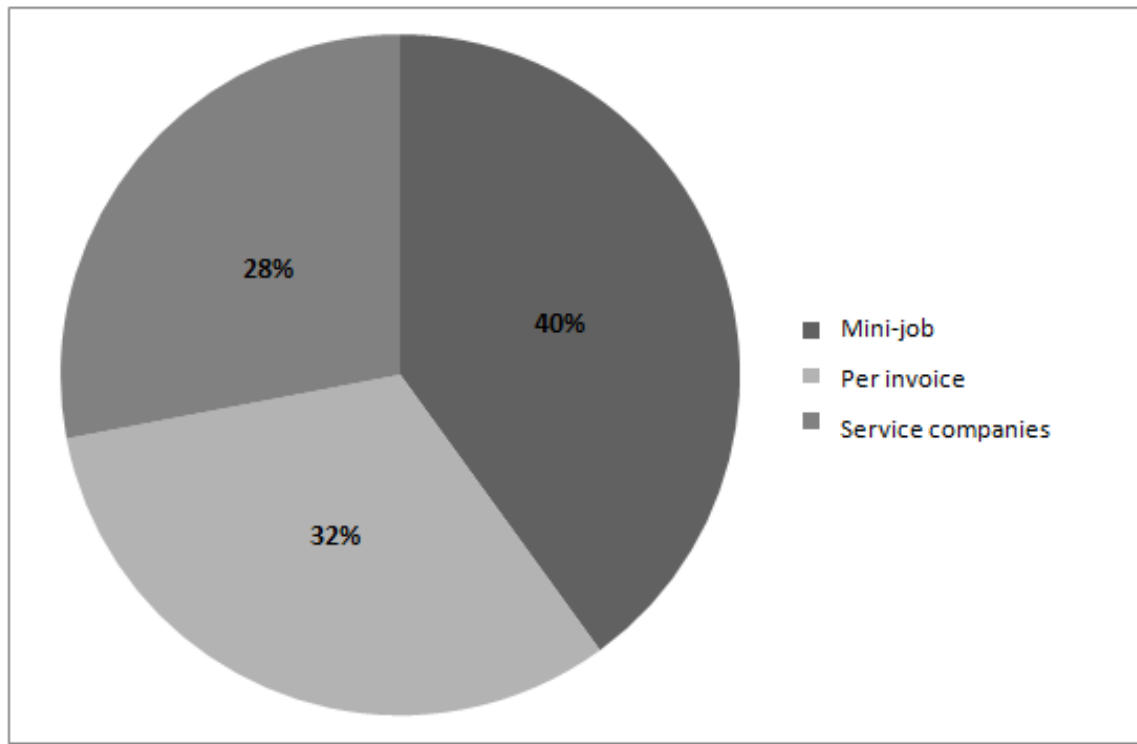
(2012: 3) that "the demand side approach chosen for this assessment (...) gives the first valid empirical evidence of the number of providers" (emphasis by CW), is not very convincing.

Regarding the split between legal and illegal forms of household support services used, the study concluded that around two thirds of household services are not provided legally (Prognos 2012: 25). Here, clear differences were found between East and West Germany. In East Germany the proportion of undeclared work was 49%, this is considerably lower than that in West Germany (68%). The proportion of undeclared work differed according to age groups with users of 70 years old having the higher proportion (Prognos 2012: 57).

The projected total of 1.68 million users of legal household services is disseminated as follows (see also figure 2):

- 40% (710,000 households) said they had a registered *Mini-job*.
- 32% (520,000 households) said that they pay their domestic workers by *invoice*; therefore, these workers are self-employed.
- The remaining 28% (450,000 households) say that they transfer "the wages to the *company* which employs the domestic workers" (Prognos 2012: 25).

Figure 2: Households that state they have legal household services according to the usage type (mini-job, "per invoice", service companies), results of the Allensbach survey end of 2010



Source: Own representation according to Prognos 2012.

A comparison to other existing statistics suggests that the number of users of legal household services in the Allensbach survey is likely to be excessive. For example, the number of households that state in the survey that they employ domestic workers with a registered mini-job, is more than three times more than the number of mini-jobs in private households registered with the mini-job centre at the time the survey took place at the end of 2010 (222,075 according to Minijob-Zentrale 2010). The 24th subsidy report by the Federal Government also quoted the number of private households that declared a tax-deductible mini-job in a private household as 230,000.

There are no comparative studies of statistics available regarding the use of the other two forms of legal household services ("by invoicing" where self-employment is likely, or service companies); however, these figures also appear to be extremely high. Prognos (2012: 25) also pointed out that the total number of users of legally provided household services they identified is very close to the 1.8 million households that declare tax-deductible expenditures for household services. The source of this

information is however just as much of a mystery as the answer to the question of whether the households mentioned include those that declare tax-deductible expenditures for manual services.

The number of customers using self-employed persons and service companies for household services forecasted by the Allensbach survey took into consideration that each household used on average 4.5 hours of services each week (Prognos 1012: 28). On the back of this the plausibility of Prognos' estimation of the number of companies and workers in the field of household services is also brought into question. In extrapolating the total number of hours requested and the volume of work in table 2, Prognos' assumption that 16% of working time for full-time employees can be omitted as it is unproductive (e.g. Holidays, illness, travelling time) was taken into account. Correspondingly, the effective weekly working time of full-time employees is approximately 33 hours (Prognos 2012: 4).

For the sake of simplicity, it is assumed that there is no difference between the working hours of someone who is self-employed and someone who is employed by a service company. Then the volume of work requested can be converted into the equivalent of full-time work. Therefore, in order to cover the amount of legal household services requested by private households at least 132,000 full-time workers or self-employed persons are needed. If it is assumed that a not insignificant part of the workers or self-employed persons work part-time, then the number of people active in legally providing household services (without mini-jobs) is significantly higher.

Table 2: Calculated work volume and full-time work equivalent of self-employed persons and service companies with employees in the area of household services according to the Allensbach survey at the end of 2010

| | Number of client households | Volume of work per week (4.5 hours per household) | Full-time equivalent (33 hours per week) |
|---|------------------------------------|--|---|
| Self-employed persons (one person) | 520,000 | 2.34 million | Almost 71,000 |
| Service companies | 450,000 | 2.025 million | A good 61,000 |
| Total | 970,000 | 4.365 million | 132,000 |

Source: Own calculations according to Prognos 2012.

If the market for the provision of professional and legal household services has already reached this scale, then we can worry less about supporting and developing it. In actual fact, the numbers given by Prognos of 2,500 companies in household services and 25,000 part-time workers are significantly lower than those that can be derived from the household survey.⁶

If the number given by Prognos of 2,500 companies in household services is correct, then every company must provide on average 810 service hours per week and have 180 clients. In order to achieve this, each company needs on average almost 25 full-time employees or a greater number of part-time workers. However, if the 2,500 companies had 25,000 part-time workers (as Prognos assumes) they could provide cover for just one fifth of the total demand for legal working hours.

In another study by Enste et al. (2009) the number of persons employed in the area of *legal* and *illegal* family support services was calculated based on the SOEP results. Their figure for 2007 was estimated at around one million (Enste et al. 2009: 18) whereby the differentiation in the estimation by the authors of the study is not without considerable uncertainty. This equates to approximately two thirds of persons using it as their main employment source and one third as their part-time occupation. At other points the proportion of registered self-employed persons active in family support services is calculated at 5.4% for full-time employment and 8.1% part-time employment (Enste et al. 2009: 46). This would be equivalent to around 64,000 registered self-employed persons. As they work on average just 30 hours (as a main occupation) or 21 hours (as a part-time occupation) per week, the corresponding volume of work therefore lies significantly below that calculated in the Allensbach survey (see table 2).

A nationwide *Survey of Household Service Providers* was carried out by Becker et al. (2012) on behalf of the BMFSFJ.⁷ For this purpose, 4158 companies were invited to take part in the survey in the summer of 2012. Of these just 583 took part. However, only 373 of the companies asked actually stated that they provided household

⁶ A corresponding email that I sent on 11 October 2013 to the head of the Prognos study has still not been answered.

⁷ As these statistics are not collected, companies from four sectors (caretaker services, general building cleaning, gardening and landscaping, the provision of other services) were taken from the database of an address service provider and the descriptions of their activities were filtered by means of multiple search strings. A further 675 companies were identified through internet research and other means (Becker et al. 2012: 11 et seq.).

services. This also suggests that the Prognos study overestimated the extent of the current legally provided household services market.

The yearly revenue in 2011 for around one third of the companies that took part in the survey was less than € 50,000 while almost 22% stated that their turnover was € 50,000 or more (Becker et al. 2012: 31). The revenue of most of the companies surveyed grew in the three years leading up to the study, whilst just 8% reported a fall in revenue. Almost 60% were small businesses with up to ten employees and just 13% of the companies surveyed stated they had over 50 employees. A not insignificant proportion (30.2%) of the employees stated they worked there as a mini-job whilst 34% were full-time employees and 35.8% were part-time workers subject to compulsory social security contributions.

The average price customers paid per hour of work was € 22.18 (incl. VAT) (Becker et al. 2012: 51), whereby there was a significant difference between East and West Germany (€ 17.72 vs. € 24.50). This conceals a high diversification in prices. A quarter of the companies surveyed (24.5%) stated that the end price for customers was between € 5 and € 15 and 28.8% said it was between € 15 and € 20. In reference to their customer base, 40% of the companies surveyed stated that they (almost) exclusively deal with private households, whilst 17% stated that just 20% of their revenue was generated through private households. This also suggests that the companies surveyed are those that focus on commercial customers.

Based on the SOEP, Schupp et al. (2006 and 2007) determined how the use of household services differentiated in 2004 based on the type of household. The use of household services (regularly or occasionally) was significantly above average for households with at least one person in need of care (31%) or someone of 65 years old (19%) as well as in households with a high income (in the top income quintile, 26%). The Prognos study (2012: 26) also indicates that private households with elderly members in the households or those in need of care as well as households with a higher income level often use household services.

Somewhat contradictory to these results is the use of household services by families with children. According to the SOEP results, on 2004 households with at least one child under the age of 16 are less likely to have domestic help than those without

children with 7% and 10% respectively (Schupp et al. 2006 and 2007). In survey of mothers and fathers between the ages of 25 and 60, which was carried out by Wipperman (2012) on behalf of the BMFSFJ, the proportion of those who receive household services for a fee (according to their own declaration) is significantly higher with 16%. These differences can possibly be attributed to the difference in questions asked and boundaries set.

An evaluation of the market potential for family support services was also made in the Prognos study whereby it is important to note that once again a broad definition was used. Therefore, in addition to the current 12% of users, a further 11% of households have already paid for help and a further 16% can envisage doing so. 21% are undecided and, according to their own admissions, 39% would not consider it (Prognos 2012: 37). If we disregard the last two groups then, in principle, there are a further 11.1 million household potential users of household services. Taking into account further model assumptions (limiting factors, willingness to pay etc.) this potential can be valued at 3.1 million additional users (Prognos 2012: 39).

4 Conflicting objectives and interests

My central hypothesis is that the initiatives for the development and support of a market for the legal and professional provision of household services were overburdened from the beginning by differing objectives that sometimes seem hardly compatible. In the 1990s the promotion of household services took place in the context of a labour market policy support program. Often the aim was to develop *new employment opportunities for the disadvantaged unemployed*. Even then it was obvious that a supply of household services that is simultaneously wide-ranging and market-ready can hardly be developed within such a framework without public subsidies. In addition, at that time the focus was on the creation of employment positions subject to compulsory social security contributions whilst tax incentives were only available for domestic workers employed directly in a household (either minor employment or employment subject to social security contributions).

The value of quality and the qualification requirements for developing a market were (and to a certain extent still are) almost universally underestimated. Thus, Bofinger et

al. (2006) supported the assessment that the provision of household services could be left to those lesser qualified and for a lower hourly wage. The underlying reason for this is the widespread assumption that experience of looking after your own household is enough to be qualified to perform household services. The relevant projects and companies have effectively created an experience whereby not everyone fulfils the prerequisites to perform professional household services. This increases in importance as many customers attach greater expectations of quality to the prices which are, in comparison to the black market, significantly higher (see also Weinkopf 2003).

The classification of household services as needing a "low qualification" level is also problematic because it could undermine efforts to increase the social value of such services. These are indispensable for at least two reasons: Firstly, this is a mandatory requirement in order to increase the willingness of customers to pay and therefore to allow household service providers to run a cost-covering service. Secondly, the underestimation of the requirements needed to perform household activities makes them appear less attractive to employees. On the one hand, this is partly due to the fact that being employed in the household services field offer little variation from their own household duties. On the other hand, we have to take into account that in general customers delegate the most unpleasant household tasks such as cleaning to external providers and undertake the more varied activities such as shopping and cooking themselves.

This theory that staff requirements are systematically underestimated is also supported by the results of the study by Becker et al. (2012) for the BMFSFJ. In this survey of household service companies, almost two thirds of respondents stated that they already had problems with filling vacant positions (Becker et al. 2012: 56). 41% of those surveyed described it as a major obstacle and further 25% said it was a medium obstacle. The results of the survey show that this is not due to a lack of applications in the first instance, but instead due to the fact that many applicants were not suitable.

Furthermore, the support for using household services was and is socially and politically controversial. Does not benefit the wealthy first and foremost? Is it right that they have someone else clean up "their dirt"? Who helps those who need support but cannot afford domestic help? The close link with the labour market policy objectives in

the 1990s provided an opportunity to avoid answering these critical questions. Over the last few years the justification for this has in part been guided towards other areas such as supporting families or those returning to work by reconciling private and professional life.

However, the challenge of making household services available to support low income families still remains a challenge. A starting point could be to offer low-cost or even free services that could be provided or subsidised by the public sector. The introduction of restricted-use vouchers that could be given out for family or social criteria is also very promising. Employers or health insurance companies could also give out these vouchers. In contrast to cash benefits (e.g. for nursing care), vouchers offer significant advantages in that they can only be used for legally provided services.

Wipperman's study (2012: 32) for the BMFSFJ emphasised the popularity of vouchers: 83% of those who were highly likely to want to (increasingly) use household services in the future and 78% of those who considered using household services in the future preferred to have vouchers to cover part of the costs. Even among those who still reluctant to use household services, the majority (58%) found the idea of vouchers attractive. A workshop was held with company representatives within the scope of the study by Becker et al. (2012) in order to discuss starting points for the successful development of a market. Interestingly, a direct subsidy for the end customers was rejected by the majority here - "this only leads to customers perceiving prices as appropriate when in reality they do not cover the costs" (Becker et al. 2012: 85). Vouchers, quality standards, the creation of a nationwide database, image campaigns as well as increased activities in vocational and further training were evaluated more positively (ibid.: 87f).

5 Experiences in other countries

Belgium and France in particular have a significantly more developed market for household services than Germany and to do this they use different voucher systems.

France

In France, almost 3% of those in employment, or rather those employed in the field of household services, are employed in private households whilst in Germany this is only 0.6%. However, in France service cheques (Chèque Emploi Service Universel – CESU) can be used for all family-related services and can therefore be used to pay for childminders and childcare facilities. In 2009 a total of almost 2 million private households in France used one of these two services.

The French service cheque can be given out by banks. Social security contributions are automatically transferred and the cheque is also the receipt for legal transactions and taxation (Ekert 2011). Using the cheques is also subject to high tax benefits: 50% of the costs can be offset against the basis of assessment for income tax up to a maximum of € 12,000 per year. A further € 1,500 is taken into account for tax purposes per child and per household member over 65 years old (up to a maximum of € 15,000, for disabled persons in the household up to € 20,000 per year) (Prognos 2012: 45).

In addition, employers (companies) in France have the opportunity to offer their employees pre-financed vouchers. In doing so, up to € 1,830 per year and per employee can be paid out without making social security contributions and companies who do so are eligible for a tax credit of 25% of the payments (up to a maximum of € 500,000 per year). In 2010, 15,000 companies used this variant for 650,000 employees (Prognos 2012). Both types of cheques for household services are also subject to the reduced VAT rate of 5.5% (instead of 19.6%) (Ekert 2011: 13). The gross cost of promoting household services in France for 2008 was € 14.1 billion (Prognos 2012: 47).

In France since 2004/05 there has been a national agency for providing household and person-related services (L'Agence nationale des services à la personne – ANSP). The ANSP is tasked with implementing and coordinating the so-called "Borloo Plan" which aims to create 500,000 additional jobs within five years and to improve the quality of the services provided (Ekert 2011). In addition, the transparency of the market and the quality of the services should be improved. The ANSP is also responsible for distributing the service cheques.

A further objective for the Borloo plan was to professionalise the market and improve the quality of the services. There are platforms (*enseignes nationales*) that specialise in certain types of services, guarantee specified quality standards and combine services. They store information, mediate with service providers and support them in marketing their services (Ekert (2011: 13). Providers must be accredited with the ANSP with either a simple accreditation or a "high quality" accreditation which is particularly beneficial in the area of care. Moreover, there are measures and services aimed at improving the quality of services and working conditions. Employees are entitled to 20 hours of training per year, with remuneration. Several institutes (including the FEPEM) have developed appropriate training programs. Furthermore, employees have the possibility to have their experience certified.

Belgium

Whilst in France support is focused on the *potential clients* for household and family-related services, in Belgium the focus has been on *providing household services through registered companies and providers* since 2000. Providers of family services can be municipal welfare institutions, private companies, temporary work agencies and non-profit companies. The support aims to develop additional employment opportunities in the field of household services for the *disadvantaged unemployed*. Van Peteghem et al. (2011: 2) state that a further goal is the displacement of undeclared work through regular and more secure employment relationships as well as a better reconciliation of work and family life for receivers of service cheques.

The use of household services is highly subsidised in Belgium. The cheques have a value of € 22.04 (2013) for one hour of service, but the user must pay just € 8.50 per cheque (Wyrwoll 2013) and additionally up to 30% of the costs are tax-deductible (up to a maximum of € 2,560 per year). Ultimately, the costs of € 5.95 per hour for the users are *significantly below the black-market price*, which for 2011 was estimated at between € 7.80 and € 8.60 per hour. The cheques are completely VAT free. In the light of this there has already been discussion for many years regarding room for price increases or to reduce the support of the additional tax incentives (Peteghem et al. 2011: 6 and 16). However, this has not yet been implemented according to current information.

Every resident can benefit from up to 500 in service cheques every year (it was initially 750). In 2011, employees received at least € 9.67 per hour⁸, after three years or longer this was € 10.28 (van Peteghem et al. 2011: 3). In Belgium in 2012, 170,000 people were employed within the framework of the service cheque system in 4,000 companies and institutions. The number of active users was around 850,000 (Wyrwoll 2013) which represents a good 10% of the total population (IDEA Consult 2012: 163). In 2011, around 110 million service cheques were sold (IDEA Consult 2012: 163). The system cost € 2.2 billion in 2012 (Wyrwoll 2013). An evaluation study for 2011 estimates the net cost of the Belgian cheque system to be a good 60% of the gross cost.⁹ In 2011, the gross costs per job were € 11,048 and the net costs € 6,670 (IDEA Consult 2012: 159).

The evaluation study from 2009 showed that not only do the Belgian service cheques legalise undeclared work but they also stimulate additional demand for household services. According to a survey many service cheque users had not previously had any domestic help. Almost a quarter of those surveyed also stated that if the support system was abolished they would use undeclared workers (again) (van Peteghem et al. 2011: 7).

Employees, within the context of the Belgian service cheque system, are almost exclusively women (97%), 90% of whom are employed part-time (van Peteghem et al. 2011: 16). The average weekly working hours for an employee was 24.1 hours in 2011 (IDEA Consult 2012: 163). The initially wide distribution has been reduced significantly after it was stipulated that employees were entitled to a permanent employment contract after three months. Nevertheless, the labour turnover rate still remains high, particularly in the private sector. It is also mainly migrants who are critically debated in Belgium. It is sometimes suggested the service cheque system leads to immigration (van Peteghem et al. 2011: 16).

Van Peteghem et al. (2011: In their paper van Peteghem et al. (2011: 16) point out that the Belgian support system carries the risk of replacing regular jobs with subsidised

⁸ According to Wyrwoll (2013) in 2013 it was € 9.98 per hour.

⁹ Taking other secondary savings into consideration reduces the net costs by a further 23 to 32% (IDEA Consult 2012: 170).

ones. This also applies to the care sector. The use of service cheques is possibly more attractive to people with fairly low support needs than using regular care services provided by specialised providers. This is neither intentional nor desirable as nursing staff need other (higher) levels of qualification than employees that usually work within the service cheque system. Even household services companies and institutions lack the experience and management qualities to deliver more demanding services in the field of care work.

Due to the high costs of the service cheque system, many experts in Belgium believe it is necessary to monitor and control the providers better. On the other hand, they criticise the inconsistent nature of the system: The two main objectives of creating additional employment opportunities the disadvantaged unemployed and supporting families in which both parents are gainfully employed are difficult to reconcile: In regions where unemployment was low there was a high demand for household services through the service cheque system but there were fewer employees available to provide these services. In other regions, the labour supply for these services was high but the need and demand low due to a high level of unemployment 17).

6 Lessons for Germany: Starting point for successful market development

The experiences of France and Belgium show the possibilities in which the demand and supply of legally provided household services can be specifically promoted through the use of different forms of vouchers. However, both support systems come at a high fiscal cost and we must take into account that, in France at least, the use of childcare services is integrated into the support system which makes a comparison difficult. A number of suggestions for future strategies to support the range of services and the demand for household services in Germany can be drawn from the Belgian and French experiences.

All three countries promote the use of household services through the framework of their tax law, whereby the service cheques in Belgium are still considerably cheaper due to direct subsidies which result in costs that are significantly below the black-market prices. In Germany, 20% of the costs (within certain limits) can be offset against

tax liability, whilst in France 50% and in Belgium 30% of the costs can be offset against *taxable income* (within certain limits). Another difference is that household service in France are subject to a lower VAT rate of 5.5% (Ekert 2011) and service cheques in Belgium are not liable for VAT. In contrast, household services provided by companies in Germany are generally subject to the current VAT rate of 19%.

In Germany in the 1990s a reduced VAT rate for household services was already discussed. This could undoubtedly contribute to reducing the high surcharges on the wages of employees and therefore also reduce the prices for customers. However, it remains to be seen if and under what conditions this would be possible both politically and under European law.

The Belgium service cheque system which employed 4.3% of all employees in Belgium in 2011 (IDEA Consult 2012: 163) would theoretically be transferable to Germany. We should also bear in mind though that the use of household services in Belgium is stimulated by means of extremely high subsidies that are not means tested and are also given to households with high income levels. This begs the question as to whether this would be considered politically and socially correct in Germany. With a subsidisation system, similar to that in Belgium, the prices for legally provided household services offered by companies are significantly under the current market prices sometimes by over € 20 per hour. This could undoubtedly lead to a significant increase in the demand for household services.

However, the question remains as to whether a corresponding range of suitable employees could be obtained in order to provide the household services. In this regard, we should remember that the companies and initiatives that already exist in Germany often report varying degrees of staffing problems. On the other hand, and something which is also true for Belgium, is that there are regional imbalances between those that have a high demand for household services but a smaller labour supply for these activities and regions with a low demand for household services but an ample supply of potential labour.

I still think it is concerning that the provision of permanently high subsidies for the demand for non-specific household services would not contribute to increasing the social value of these activities. However, this would be needed in order to obtain and

retain suitable and qualified employees. In addition, up until now the Germany labour market policy has not been orientated towards subsidising the integration of the disadvantaged unemployed onto the labour market like the Belgian service cheque system, but instead only for temporary entry phases (see Weinkopf/Hieming 2008 in detail). These approaches to creating a social labour market provide even longer phases of subsidised employment but target the long-term unemployed with significant placement difficulties who are perhaps not suitable for employment in the field of household services.

Against the backdrop of this rather sceptical assessment of the transferability of the Belgian support system to Germany, the question is which other approaches could be used to promote a wider range of household services. One possibility is to combine the existing measures within the framework of a program of action and to create additional measures in order to support differentiation within the range of services and service companies. Ensuring access to these services for low-income households and families as well as the elderly is a major challenge (see also Weinkopf 2006). A good starting point here would be the introduction of restricted-use vouchers that can only be used for legally provided household services. Vouchers like these could be given out by health insurance companies if families are entitled to support around the house due to long-term illness of one of the parents, for example. So far, in cases such as this, such a small compensation amount has been offered that using legally provided service is not an option.

There is also a fringe area of childcare and care of the elderly that could be developed publicly or by means of nursing insurance. It is important to decide here where the border lies between using private household services and publicly provided services.

A further issue that is rarely addressed is which household services must be provided within the private household and which could be provided externally. The combining and centralisation of certain household services could offer certain efficiency and cost advantages. This means that floors or bathrooms must be cleaned on-site, however washing and ironing can be provided outside of private households (see also Enste et al. 2009: 6).

In addition to this demand-related support, targeted start-up financing and grants would be required or would at least be useful on the supply side in order to attract new providers and motivate existing companies to broaden their existing range of services to include household services. Furthermore, the question also arises as to whether further subsidies are required to develop a wider range of services and how they would be configured. It would also be conceivable to have subsidies for the working hours sold, like the scheme that has been used for years in the Saarland for instance. In my opinion the objective should not be to subsidise the prices down to the level of the black market or (as in Belgium) to an even lower level. This does appear to lead to a higher demand but giving the impression of lesser value does not have a positive impact on market development as this could lead to previously successful bids at higher prices being displaced. At a political level a decision would need to be taken regarding what form the service¹⁰ subsidies should take and what pre-conditions private households and companies must meet in order to take advantage of them. Here, among other things, certain quality criteria for services must also be considered as well as minimum requirements regarding jobs (e.g. compulsory social security contributions and collective pay). I also see the need for further supporting measures, particularly in the areas of public relations, transparency of existing offers as well as qualifications:

- In the context of targeted public relations, a nationwide campaign could be carried out that seeks to widely promote the legal possibilities to use household services and point out the risks of using undeclared workers. A further objective could be to improve the image of these activities with potential employees and customers.
- The greater bundling and networking of offers as well as the establishment of a central, nationwide online database to facilitate access to potential customers and increase the transparency of existing offers (see also Reinecke et al. 2011: 16).
- In my opinion the often-lamented difficulties in finding suitable staff to provide household services and to keep them can only be reduced via a bundle of

¹⁰ In the past, this was discussed with respect to selective demarcation criteria, among other things, e.g. Pizza services and similar.

measures that are focused on increasing the quality of the services. The central issue is in increasing the training and further education activities for employees (see also Becker et al. 2012: 87f) which could be supported by employment agencies and job centres adopting certain conditions.

In a number of studies the definition of *quality standards* or the introduction of *quality labels* are considered conducive towards greater use of household services. In my opinion this should in no way be ruled out. However, it is important to analyse critically whether the not insignificant expenditures are reasonable in relation to the costs incurred (see also Reinecke et al. 2011: 29). As in areas where services are provided on an outpatient basis and decentralised quality is particularly strongly influenced by the qualifications and skills of employees, I believe that educating and training personnel is important leverage for developing more demand for household services.

In the future, *in their role as employers companies* could play a greater role than they have in the past. It is also conceivable that in order to attract or retain qualified professionals these companies (in a similar way to company daycare facilities) will become more involved in supporting their employees through household services (see also Reinecke et al. 2011: 20). This could take place not just through awarding vouchers to employees (like in France) but also through carrying out the services themselves.¹¹

¹¹ A few years ago, it was reported at an international conference that some French hospitals offer their employees the opportunity to do their washing and ironing in the hospital's own laundry in order to support the compatibility of work and private life.

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Professionalization and quality assurance of household services – from a vocational pedagogical perspective

Expert report

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1 Introduction

This expert report will explain the following aspects, contexts of justification and needs for action for the qualification and professionalization of household services from a vocational pedagogical perspective:

1. Increase in household employment and qualification requirements for the private household labour market
2. Occupational classification, home economic education and training requirements in the field of household services
3. Regulatory, curricular and subject-related didactic occupational needs
4. Profession-political and profession-theoretical needs for action for household service occupations
5. Professional needs for academic teacher training for nutrition and home economics as professional disciplines

2 Increase in household employment and qualification requirements for the private household labour market

The area of household service occupations is systematically classified in the field of person-related service occupations into four vocational disciplines, "nutrition and home economics", "health and care", "personal care" and "education and social welfare" (KMK 2007). Currently person-related service occupations are in an ambivalent development process between education and labour market policy risk positions and training policy modernisation requirements. Thus, the growing demands of society in the area of everyday care and support are opposite to those that interplay throughout the dynamic growth and lack of professional quality in person-related and household service occupations and acquisition fields.

Significantly, the sectoral structural changes implemented in the economic sectors over the last decade in Germany have led to the significant expansion of the service sector whilst the primary and secondary sector has decreased in importance. This dynamic of the tertiary sector is essentially caused by the growth of person-related services. In looking at the segmentation of the labour market by gender, it is interesting

that person-related service occupations represent a typical female employment field as over 80% of those employed in this field are women and over 90% of those employed in household occupations are women.

This growth is partly due to demographic changes such as the increasing proportion of elderly residents and their need for everyday support and care as well as the provision of market-orientated services in the areas of care and health. The growing employment rate of women, in particular women with children, has also brought about an increase in demand for family support and household services (see Friese 2010; Kettschau 2010; Meier Graewe 2013). Other reasons for this lie in the increasing economisation and denationalisation person-related activities, in particular in the areas of health and care with distinct interfaces with the area of home economics.

This growth in person-related professions and the associated qualification and professional requirements is not in opposition to an adequate labour market and training structure. On the contrary it is characterised by extremely precarious structures. The forms of employment such as part-time, atypical employment forms and the low-wage sector that are typical for women and in particular for female areas of labour as well as the high number of women included in the employment rate (see Institute for Employment Research (IAB) 2014, p. 16) all accumulate in housekeeping and household services occupations in particular.

The growing share of women who are employed part-time is characterises person-related and household employment structures. In person-related occupations this lies significantly above the male proportion as well as the proportion of women in the part-time labour market. Compared to person-related occupations, the home economics occupational group has the largest proportion of women employed part-time with almost 50 percent. It is also significant that there is a clear over representation of women in low-income brackets as well as an increase in the number of people registered as unemployed in person-related and social professions, whereby in 2010 the unemployment rate of 21.2 percent in home economic occupations was twice as high as the overall average of those employed in positions subject to social security contributions (see Brutzer 2013, p. 125).

The combination of an increase in deregulated employment relationships and displacement in the area of "simple services" as well as the low-wage sector is typical

for person-related market segments. A further effect is the increase in illegal employment via the black market, whereby in Germany private households are the largest buyers of illegal services next to those for manual labour, in particular the construction industry. According to a study by the German Institute of Economics (see IdW 2009), workers are employed in 4.5 million private households whereby 96 percent are not registered. In contrast to neighbouring European countries, the fiscal incentives and subsidies for creating professional service agencies available since the 1980s and, therefore, the potential for regular employment within the household and family support service areas in Germany have only marginally been used. Urgent action is needed here in both the labour market and tax policies.

The reasons for this extraordinarily precarious domestic employment structure lie both in the occupational biographical and structural components of the industry as well as the gender segmented structures of the professional field of home economics. With over 90 percent, home economics is distinguished by an exceedingly high proportion of female employees: The majority of the employees are over 35 years of age and a high proportion of those subject to social security contributions are over 50 years old; the level of qualification is low with a high proportion of employees having had no vocational training (see Brutzer 2013, p.129).

Within the occupational biographical components there are many references to the high proportion of women in part-time employment that on their return to work or lateral entry to the workplace have waived full-time employment in favour of reconciling family and career. The significantly high proportion of unemployment and low wages can also be traced back to the skill shortages.

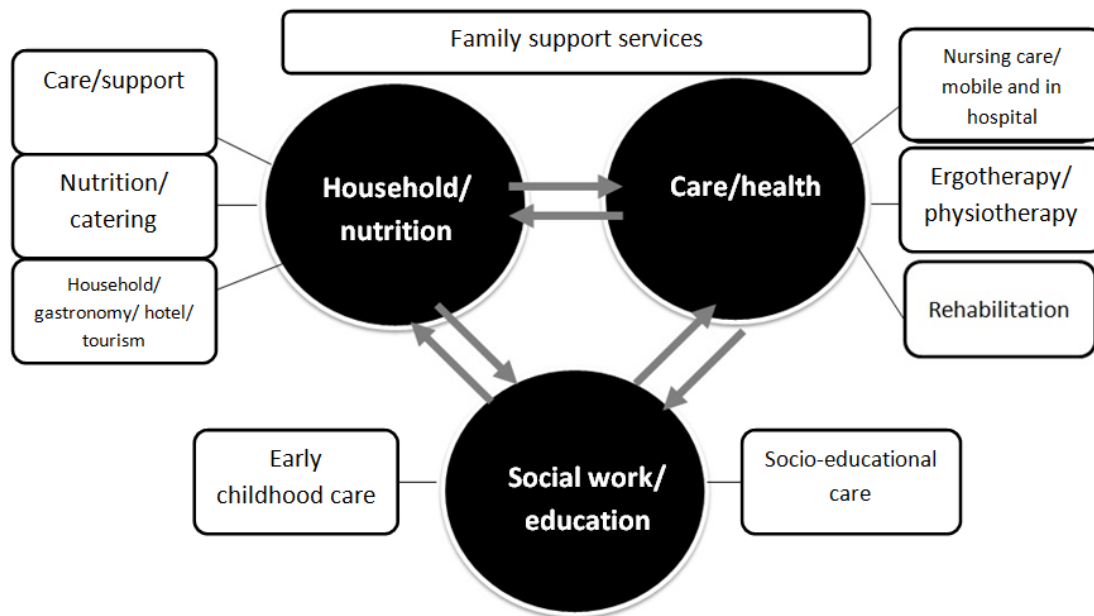
On the other hand, typical gender-specific characteristics of female dominated employment areas also have an effect as well as operational and industry-specific structural problems with regards to financial resources in small businesses active in the home economics field such as domestic service companies and private households. This is also encouraged by the economic transformation started in the 1990s towards atypical employment forms and the de-standardisation of work and occupation (see IAB 2014, p.7).

These problematic employment situations signify the clear discrepancy between them and the qualification demands of person-related service occupations. The demand for

higher professional qualification levels and standardised professional work has increased in both private households as well as in the public service sector, whilst the demand for informal qualifications for simple employment positions has decreased. It should be noted that the high demand for professional quality as well as highly qualified skilled workers also includes professionally qualified service and support staff. Thus, the domestic economy shifts into the overall economy. In particular, by the middle of the 2020s, the medium qualification areas will be threatened by shortages whilst the demand for labourers with no vocational training qualifications will decrease even further (see IAB 2014, p.4). This outlook includes considerable professional education requirements regarding the post-qualification of low-skilled workers.

Furthermore, changes to the competency profiles and roles, which are currently emerging at the different junctures between person-related segments, are also developed alongside the increase in demand for qualifications. These arise in response to the demands for family support work as well as health and care services, particularly in the area of domestic care (see IAB 2014). The growing importance of early childhood education and the need for socio-educational counselling lead to the rise of alternative and new junctures with areas of social work. Further cross overs with home economic occupations arise from the areas of free time, tourism, wellness, hospitality and event organisation (see Friese 2010).

Figure 1: Junctures between person-related occupational fields



Source: Own representation

The graphic is an example of person-related professions which, when combined with the development of a service society, exhibit completely new job profiles and interfaces that are to be taken into account when redesigning training programs and competence concepts. It is important to bear in mind that qualifications for person-related and household services are needed at all vocational levels and for a wide range of services in private households as well as in public institutions and business enterprises. This includes paid and market-orientated domestic services provided in private households such as outpatient nursing services, jobs in retirement homes and residential communities for disabled patients as well as public catering services for children at day-care facilities and full-day schools (see Friese 2010, p.316; Kettschau 2010, p. 777; Brutzer 2013, p. 135).

New customised qualifications can be developed alongside this wide range of new areas of activity at the interfaces of person-related services. In this way, domestic support and care services that were formerly separated can be brought together both spatially and in terms of personnel and be provided "under one roof", for example preparing meals, cleaning rooms, making decorations, budget planning with residents in the community (see Kettschau 2010, p. 776).

On the other hand, social skills are becoming increasingly more important in addition to professional qualifications. Empathy, reliability, care, communication and collaboration skills are expected, in short: the social skills that were always historically seen as the secret resource in so-called women's professions, but were never remunerated.

This profession-political deficit has already critically examined since the 1990s in the educational reform approaches with a view to developing the home economics profession as a modern service occupation. Thus, for example, in the 1990s this gave rise to model projects carried out in Bremen and North Rhine-Westphalia: "Mobile housekeeping service", an innovative concept for the training and employment of home economists (MOBS) (see Friese 2000) and "service in the learning centre network" (DILL) (see Friese 2000a) a plethora of new learning centre-orientated, didactic and curricular approaches to be used in professional development.

On the one hand there is a need to update the social competencies characteristic of person-related occupations over the course of changing home economics into a "modern service occupation" both professionally and in terms of wages but also to enshrine the growing employment demands and changing qualification profiles in the person-related service occupations segment in the overall perspective and to retain the new and future-orientated concepts of vocational education and training as well as the professionalization of the area of household services.

3 Home economics education, training courses and occupational classification in the field of household services

3.1 Occupational classification of household services

There are significant methodological problems with regards to analysing training and labour market data in the field of person-related service occupations. This is due to the fact that for person-related and household service occupations no uniform professional designations or classification systems exist, in particular for those professions that are trained outside of federal law and according to state-level regulations and the BBiG (Vocational Training Act) and the HwO (Crafts Code) (see Friese 2010, p. 317; Brutzer 2013, p. 105). In addition, official training statistics have been redesigned and

professional groups rearranged since the Vocational Training Act was amended in 2005 so only limited comparative analyses can be carried out. These methodological problems are exacerbated by the fragmented regulatory responsibilities of the chamber districts and different forms of systematisation used by the counties responsible for full-time schooling. These vague statistics and methodological limitations make a comprehensive analysis of household training and occupational structures difficult. However, based on the educational and vocational survey data available an approximate overview can be given regarding person-related and household training courses, occupations and the classification thereof as well as the allocation of occupational fields to professional disciplines (see Friese 2010, p. 317).

The employment field of household service occupations can refer to the fields of nutrition and home economics with junctures to the adjacent occupational fields of health and care and education and social welfare.

The area of nutrition and home economics covers a wide range of occupations that are located in very different sectors and occupational areas. The following areas can be structurally arranged thus (see Friese 2010, p. 319; Kettschau 2008, p. 168):

- Hotel and catering sector
- Home economics and food industry professions
- Bakeries, patisseries and confectionery producers
- Meat processing
- Chefs
- Other professions

The overall system consisting of the four professional disciplines for person-related services includes approximately 89 professions, whereby 29 professions come from the area of nutrition and home economics (see Friese 2010, p. 319).

Table 1: Number of person-related professions in each professional discipline

| Professional discipline | Profession |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Health and care | 35 |
| Nutrition and home economics | 29 |
| Education and social welfare | 21 |
| Personal care | 4 |
| Total | 89 |

Source: Own representation

The nutrition and home economics occupational field includes "traditional" home economics apprenticeships such as "home economist", "home economics assistant" or "housekeeping assistant" as well as further education occupations like "master home economist" and "home economics manager". In the nutrition and home economics occupational field a large proportion of professions are in the hotel and catering sector (approximately 10 occupations), others are attributed to bakeries, patisseries and the production of confectionery, beverages and luxury foods whilst traditional professions in meat processing and chefs also belong to the home economics area. In close proximity are training and professional fields such as "child care", "healing care", "nursing care" and further education occupations like "village helpers" or "family caregiver" (see Kettschau 2010, p774). This diversity of professions in household services is associated with regulatory frameworks and curricular formats that are also identified through a high degree of heterogeneity and diversity.

The following table shows the professions within the "nutrition and home economics" occupation field within the framework of an occupational field structure and according to legal bases and training courses:

Table 2: Nutrition and home economics (outside the BBiG/HwO)

| Hotel and catering occupations | Responsibl |
|---|-------------------|
| System catering | VC |
| Service specialist | VC |
| Specialist in European Hotel Management | VC |
| Assistant in the hotel, catering and tourism industry | VC |
| Manager, housekeeper, home economist or home economics assistant | VC |
| State-approved specialist for housekeeping and outpatient care | VC |
| Housekeeping assistant | VC |
| Home economics and social care | VC |

Source: Own representation

Table 3: Nutrition and home economics (according to the BBiG/HwO)

| Occupations in bakeries, patisseries and confectionery production | | Other professions in nutrition | |
|--|-------|---|-------|
| Baker | TI/CS | Dairy specialist | AG |
| Pastry chef | CS | Specialist in food technology | TI/CS |
| Professional confectioner | TI | Miller (processing technologist in the milling and animal feed industries) | TI/CS |
| Ice-cream maker | TI/CS | | |
| | | Home economics and food industry professions | |
| Butcher | TI/CS | Home economist | TI/AG |
| Chefs/cooks | TI/CS | | |
| Occupations in producing beverages and luxury foods | | Hotel and catering occupations | |
| Brewers and maltsters | TI/CS | Restaurant specialist | TI/CS |
| Roaster | TI | Specialist in system catering | TI/CS |
| Distiller | TI/CS | Hotel manager | TI |
| Wine cooper | TI/CS | Hotel specialist | TI/CS |
| Specialist in the fruit juice industry | TI/CS | Hospitality specialist | TI/CS |

Source: Own representation

The list of apprenticeships, training courses and legal responsibilities shows a wide range of vocational home economics professions as well as the regulatory differentiations. It is clear that household-related vocational occupations are mainly trained in the dual system. This is in contrast to person-related occupations that are predominantly trained via full-time school-based training courses: just eight

occupations are trained according to state regulated school professions via training courses at vocational colleges compared to 21 occupations trained according to the BBiG/HwO. However, household-related training courses show similar heterogeneous organisational structures and responsibilities to the entire system of person-related service occupations. In the field of nutrition and home economics alone, the legal responsibility for 29 professions is divided over three chambers (Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Chamber of Crafts, Chamber of Agriculture) as well as public services and state-specific regulations.

3.2 Training courses, educational situation and training requirements

The occupational field of "nutrition and home economics" offers training and further training courses at all levels of qualification and for different target groups from assistants to specialists and managers. The range of offers includes the following five qualification levels:

- Pre-vocational education depending on provisions according to the Social Security Code (SGB) III or state-specific regulations such as the basic vocational training year (BGJ), one year vocational college, training at external institutions, vocational preparation/qualification via qualification modules
- Rehabilitation professions according to § 66 of the BBiG/§ 42, of the HwO such as the 3-year vocational training course as a home economics specialist, mainly in inter-company training centres/vocational training centres
- Vocational occupations, such as home economist for example, at specialist level according to the BBiG in the dual system or the state vocational education system
- University level apprenticeships according to the German Higher Education Framework Act such as a bachelors/masters degree in ecotrophology or rather nutrition/home economics for example
- Further education occupations according to federal or state law such as master of home economics or technician specialising in home economics

These five qualification levels are presented systematically in the following table (see Brutzer 2013, p. 93).

Table 4: The five levels of home economics training

| | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|--|
| Level 1 | Pre-vocational education | Depending on measures set out in federal (e.g. SGB III) or state regulations | E.g. BGJ in nutrition and home economics |
| Level 2 | Rehabilitation professions | Regulated on a federal level according to the BBiG, however content is specified by state authorities/chambers | E.g. home economics specialist |
| Level 3 | Specialist level apprenticeships A) State-approved apprenticeships (dual system) B) Full-time school-based training course | Regulated at federal level according to the BBiG Regulated at state level based on the corresponding framework agreement from the KMK (Kultusministerkonferenz - conference of ministers of education) | E.g. home economist E.g. housekeeping assistant |
| Level 4 | University level apprenticeships | State level regulations within the Federal Higher Education Framework Act (HRG) | E.g. Bachelor/master of ecotrophology |
| Level 5 | | Regulated at federal level according to the BBiG | E.g. master of home economics |

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| | Further professions based on continuing education | Regulated at state level based on the corresponding framework agreements from the KMK | E.g. technician, specialised in home economics |
|--|--|---|--|

Source: Own representation

The demand for these multifaceted training and further training possibilities in home economics is currently limited. Home economics training is losing its attractiveness among the younger generation. The causes of these, by no means new, developments that have been established since the end of the 1990s, are to be found in a complex melange of a demographic-related decline in training numbers, new management processes in vocational education and further training as well as sectoral, industry and occupation-specific changes in the labour market.

Last but not least, occupational biographical components of the target groups of home economics training courses as well as the historically strong normative principle of home economics being a low-valued "women's profession" also have an effect. In the overall perspective of scientific and education policy discourse, the low social image of home economics activities is given as the first justification context and main obstacle to the expansion of household-related training; the second is the gender normative assignments; thirdly the partly unclear job titles and fourthly the precarious employment situation.

Since the end of the 1990s and in parallel to a rise in employment in person-related services, the empirical development shows an overall increase in apprentices in full-time education and person-related training courses. Thus, the number of full-time training courses has increased by 40 percent since the beginning of 2000. This growth is particularly noticeable in the areas of health and nursing care, childcare and social care professions (Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung/Authoring Group Education Reporting 2008, p. 104 et seq.; Dobischat et al. 2009). However, the training figures for home economics training have continuously decreased since it was restructured in 1999, whereby different developments have emerged at the various levels and in various training courses (see Brutzer, p. 108 et seq.).

Taking an overall perspective of home economics training numbers there are signs of different developments at the various levels and in various training courses. The training figures show the predominance of training in vocational colleges compared to training courses organised according to the BBiG/HwO in the dual system. During the 2000/2001 academic year, the ratio of dual system and full-time school-based training figures was almost equal but in the 2010/2011 academic year training carried out according to the BBiG/HwO had almost twice as many students studying home economics and nutrition as the vocational college system (see Brutzer 2013, p. 110).

The reasons for this lie in the different structural changes made to the training system. In addition to a lack of training places in this sector, the dual system also shows increased losses at the transition point for less-able students or rather in migration due to a lack of services. The vocational college system is less affected by these developments than a qualified school leaving certificate or mid-level education (see Brutzer 2013, p. 114).

In terms of numbers the high number of external tests set according to § 43 of the BBiG, which are characteristic for home economics professions, alleviate the education system. These chamber tests offer state-approved certification and are subject to an expanded accreditation scheme thanks to the 2006 amendment to the Vocational Training Act and since around 2008 they have produced ever increasing success rates. A high proportion of the external tests were established for those returning to work and those seeking lateral entry to the profession as well as those with no professional qualifications but with multiple years of professional experience in the field of home economics. On the other hand, it should be noted that a high number of graduates from full-day schools have had their school education validated in this way according to federal law (Frieze 2010, p. 318; Kettschau 2008, p. 7, 2010 p. 775; Brutzer 2013, p. 115). From this perspective, the amendment made to the Vocational Training Act has contributed significantly to the urgent and necessary permeability and equivalence of dual system and full-time school-based training.

Against the backdrop of constantly changing professional requirements, a high value has been placed on further education professions in household-related services. In the further training segment, a distinction is made between advancement training and adaptation training. A prerequisite of advancement training is basic professional

training in home economics and it is orientated towards a wide range of managerial tasks such as further training towards becoming a master of home economics. Currently, the permeability of recognising advancement training for the course of ecotrophology is being tested in debates (see Friese/Brutzer 2012); however, no generalisable findings have yet been presented. The question still remains as to what extent professional competency levels can cover propaedeutic levels of academic studies or can be recognised as specialist knowledge components. There is though a consensus that given the importance of practical experience, it can be counted towards a study course. From a professionalisation perspective, this gives way to new potentials for extra-occupational courses and academic study programmes.

Adaptation training is thematically broad. It ranges from continuing education to target group-specific requirements in home economics and business management training. It is offered by a myriad of public and private adult education providers such as domestic trade organisations (see Brutzer 2013, p. 102). There is great potential and necessity here for developing further modules, courses and post-qualifications for new business segments such as private households for example. This will address the large labour needs and at the same time create opportunities for women who had a family-related career break to return to gainful employment. In creating target group-specific concepts for middle-aged persons and those with family experience, the loss in attractiveness characterised by the younger generation can be compensated for. The findings from the "BertHa" model project confirm the assumption that domestic activities and in particular employment in private households is more suited to those with experience in providing for everyday life (see Friese/Brutzer 2010).

Compared to the continuous decrease in trainee numbers for the "home economist" apprenticeship in the dual as well as the full-time school-based systems, the number of students for specialist practitioner occupations has increased. This increase in specialist practitioner occupations can be partly attributed to statistical reorganisation as well as educational efforts to integrate less-able young people into the school - career transition to vocational training and, therefore, to stabilise the training place market (see Friese 2012; Brutzer 2013, p. 108). However, the tendency here is to open up the home economics field further to less-able target groups and a low qualification threshold (see Friese 2008; Brutzer 2014).

Namely the largest proportion of rehabilitation professions according to § 66 BBiG / § 42 HwO for people with disabilities that are trained for basic domestic occupations, in particular in the area of assistant jobs such as assistant chef, hospitality specialist or childcare assistant. The majority of two or three-year training courses at assistant or specialised practitioner level are carried out according to federal law and are mainly conducted outside of the dual system in various different formats such as inter-company facilities and vocational training centres.

According to the Social Security Code (SGB III), regulated vocational training courses at external facilities are also to address "disadvantaged" young people who would otherwise end up with no professional or educational training even after vocational preparation measures with extra-occupational support. Over the three-year inter-company training course, the workplace is replaced by the educational institution whilst the tuition at the vocational college is delivered together with students in the dual system. Inter-company training courses are accompanied by socio-educational support programs.

On the other hand, the pre-vocational education system as the transition from general schooling to career is important for entry into the household-related training segment. In the area of home economics there are many pre-vocational qualification routes that prepare the way for a vocational qualification as a "home economist". These include the basic vocational training year (BGJ) from training courses regulated by the county education laws as well as the one-year vocational college (VC). Depending on state law, a successfully completed one-year training course can be counted towards a dual system or full-time school-based home economics qualification.

Career choice procedures and vocational orientation offered as part of the general schooling system and in special schools as part of business studies courses also have a significant influence on the transition to household-related services. Home economics is an integral part of the business studies curriculum. By mediating between everyday professional, life and interdisciplinary skills, business studies can significantly contribute to the preparation of young men and women for the diverse eventualities of home economics training (see Friese 2011a). Against the backdrop of the growth and change in importance in person-related and household-related service occupations, there is a chance to expand the career spectrum for both sexes (see Friese 2012).

In order to realise this, it is important to develop strategies aimed at increasing the attractiveness of home economics and optimising concepts for career choice and vocational preparation as well as an information system for training and employment opportunities in the field of household-related services. A pilot project targeting this perspective of promoting skills for gender sensitive vocational orientation is being carried out by the vocational education/business studies chair at the Justus Liebig University, Giessen, under the current name of "Tobias in the nursery and Lena in the workshop?!" (ToLe) and in the context of implementing work placements within the didactics of business studies as well as vocational and occupational education (see Friese/Kuester 2013; Kuester 2013).

Since the middle of the 1990s reforms developed for promoting vocational pedagogical integration have also given rise to "qualification modules" for career preparation and regulated by means of the ordinance governing the certification of basic occupational skills acquired during vocational preparation training (BABVO) from the Federal Labour Office as well as § 69 of the Vocational Training Act (BBiG). Qualification modules usually include (depending on the range of measures) a one-year qualification based on the training regulations and certified by the competent authorities. They can be counted as training or service as a qualification for lateral entry and re-entry to household-related services.

This followed the model project BertHa "Developing Skills for Household-related Services" carried out by education institute "**kiezküchen ausbildungs ggmbH**" in Berlin and supervised academically by the chair of vocational education at the Justus Liebig University, Giessen. The aim of the project was to develop, test and evaluate a qualification concept in the household-related services segment. The concept focused on the one-year qualification in the field of household-related services with a curriculum based on the qualification modules (see Friese 2010a; Friese/Brutzer 2010). The four qualification units of room cleaning, textile cleaning/maintenance, food preparation and service and health and care for the elderly all finished on receipt of a recognised certificate. In addition to opportunities to transition into gainful employment, it also opened up access to a vocational qualification in home economics.

These qualification modules are still controversial in current vocational pedagogical debates as are modular approaches such as the phased approach and training

modules which have been developed since the end of the 1990s through vocational education reform and are regulated via the Vocational Training Act from 2006. There are well-founded doubts as to their short-term use on the labour markets as well as the erosion of the vocation. Even in the last few years there has been an increased tendency towards low qualification threshold measures in home economics training which has been criticised by trade organisations. Particularly in person-related and household-related service occupations and in typically women's domains there is the tendency to discourage this new and increased deportation from assistant professions in favour of training quality and professionalism.

However, positive effects are also to be expected with regards to the training and recruitment of specialist personnel as well as new curricular concepts and professional development. Positive developments can be highlighted in three areas for household-related services: Firstly, as the increase in demand for higher levels of professional qualification in the simple jobs segment also requires new concepts for low-skilled groups, modular concepts for low threshold training can make new qualifications available at the interfaces of simple and qualified vocational training opportunities. Secondly, opportunities for entry and re-entry to the workplace are opened up in terms of qualification and employment opportunities. This type of permeability often accommodates existing vocational career breaks taken by women that arise mainly due to the incompatibility of family and professional structures. Thirdly, the development of modules and partial training courses can be used to qualify people for specific segments. In doing so qualification requirements can be adapted for the new interfaces to person-related segments as well as the specific requirements for qualifications for working in private households.

The overall analysis of the training courses and training situation for home economics professions highlights complex problems. It should be noted that on the one hand home economics demonstrates a wide range of training courses at all levels and in all segments of professional training and further education. On the other hand, the decline in training numbers and loss of attractiveness for home economics training points to an urgent need for regulatory and curricular reforms. In particular, regulatory heterogeneity, lack of monitoring and standardisation or person-related and household-related training and professional structures contribute significantly to

current quality and professional deficits or rather reinforce them. There is an urgent need for regulatory, curricular and didactic action which will be presented below.

3.3 Regulatory and curricular occupational needs for the household-related services field

The major obstacles contributing to the lack of professionalisation in person-related and household-related services are the inconsistent training standards and qualification profiles, the heterogeneity and fragmentation of the training regulations as well as the lack of practical modules to promote occupational competence. Curricular-didactic concepts place a high priority on the standardisation and simplification of the training regulations and job titles as well as the re-adjustment and pricing policy of person-related service occupations which also includes interaction requirements. There is an urgent need to develop and implement suitable quality assurance means for vocational educational mandates that also include differentiated work processes and activities, customer demand as well service and market orientation.

In the context of the European expert debate on the standardisation, accreditation and control of vocational education, new procedures and means for quality development and assurance are currently being tested, evaluated and implemented in vocational education. These can also be used and differentiated for new concepts of marketable and service-orientated competence in person-related specialisations. Important contributions can be made towards standardising home economics training and further education within the context of developing the German Qualification Framework (DQR) (see Funk 2013). The "Home Economics Vocational Training Task Force" working group from the German Society for Home Economics (DGH) is developing competence-based levels with different competency requirements and profiles for selected occupational fields alongside the DQR classifications (see DGH 2011; Brutzer 2013, p. 138).

New curricular concepts are being developed against the backdrop of the empirical growth and creation of new qualification and employment profiles at the interfaces of person-related segments. These should allow horizontal permeability between vocational fields and the necessary professional specifications that meet the complex requirements of the relevant occupational fields and create connections for further training and continuing education. Against the backdrop of increasing demand and the

creation of new qualification and employment profiles at the interface of person-related segments, new curricular concepts for person-related and household-related occupations are necessary. Concepts that are cross-disciplinary on the one hand and on the other map out specific competencies with regards to the unique features of the profession. In this perspective, and with reference to the debate on European core professions and the integrability of the German vocation principle that has been taking place since the middle of the 1990s, a curricular simultaneity of the basic and sub-competencies as well as the structuring of "professional families" with common core qualifications and opportunities for specialisation can be professionally valid (see Friese 2007; Hess/Spoetl 2008).

This structure offers the opportunity to integrate partial training courses or modules into existing training courses for specific working areas - such as for private households. This range of training options can be aimed at different target groups: additional qualifications or curricular modules in vocational training courses are also conceivable. The results of projects like "mobile housekeeping service", an innovative concept for the training and employment of home economists (MOBS) (see Friese 2000) and "service in the learning centre network" (DILL) (see Friese 2000a) can be used for further development. Qualification modules can also be used in the low threshold training field for the concept of post-qualification like in the BertHa model project "Developing skills for household-related services. Professional qualification - recognised certification". The results of the projects show that competence-based qualifications are essentially conveyed in combination with theoretical and practical training and via work-based learning. The existing deficit in practical experience in full-time school-based training courses was reduced in the MOBS project by establishing "private households" as a third study location. The creation of new practice areas significantly contributes to the development of quality in full-time school-based and household-related training courses.

There are also further reform options that can be explored in addition to implementing more practical experience locations in full-time school-based and household-related training courses. These include new forms of learning and improvement, cooperation in the learning environment and networking, establishing training groups, recognising and certifying diplomas gained, pre-vocational qualifications and modular elements.

The amendment to the German Vocational Training Act (BBiG) in 2005 significantly contributed to the curricular-didactic implementation of these approaches. In educational discourse, since the end of the 1990s dualism was required in all vocational training below secondary school according to the Vocational Training Act with a view to finding the middle ground between training place-seeking graduates and the demands of the economy. This gave rise to further openings and reform options in the present day.

In particular, the inclusion of full-time school-based training in the Vocational Training Act and the accreditation of vocational college graduates by chamber organisations have both established the important prerequisites for the necessary interweaving of dual and full-time school-based training principles as well as created permeability from an occupational biographical perspective. Even the part-time vocational training incorporated in the 2005 Vocational Training Act allows the implementation of the work-life balance guidelines in the biographical status passage of training. Historically, at the same time the first regulatory provisions were made that take into account everyday life at the interfaces between the training and occupation systems as well as individual requirements. This not only opens up opportunities for occupational biographical permeability options and the realisation of the "education in life" concept but also creates new vocational training academic options for reconstructing occupational concepts that settled at the interfaces between public and private spheres as well as career and life.

4 Profession-political and profession-theoretical needs for action in the household services field

4.1 Expand profession concepts for care work and entrench them in the curriculum

From a historical perspective and compared to the dual training system, person-related service occupations originated primarily as "semi-professional women's jobs" (see Rabe-Kleberg 1997) that have largely been hidden from profession-theoretical discourses. In light of this, it is important to more precisely define person-related service work both conceptually and theoretically. To do this it is necessary

- To include person-related services as paid, market-orientated work,
- To take into account social and communicative services in a social context in labour market and vocational education systems,
- To develop new parameters that correspond to the process of person-related work and seize upon its specific value,
- To bring together market-oriented activities with occupational moral issues and "working with people".

An approach with a dual fold aim can be used as a basis for conceptual and notional expansions of professionalization for the areas of person-related and household activities with respect to the care concepts established in the 1990s (see Conradi 2001). On the one hand, it describes the ethical and theoretical dimensions of their activities and on the other their professional-orientation. From this care work perspective, the conflict areas between care and commercialisation characteristic of person-related occupations are reduced. This combination represents a constitutive attribute of professionalization in person-related services.

A central desideratum in the profession debate is the masking of gender segmentation in gainful employment and the construction of concerns as family work provided for free or a semi-professional occupational activity. This deficit applies just as fully to the training sector. As a consequence of the intensive profession-theoretical debate that has been on-going since the 1980s which also takes into consideration pedagogical

areas of activity in the context of functionalistic, power theory and interactionist approaches (see Dewe 2006), an action and knowledge-based professional concept has emerged against the backdrop of a knowledge-based society that draws on ability, knowledge and conduct in occupational activities.

This action-theoretical and knowledge-based perspective can also be used for approaches to professionalization in person-related and household service occupations. In contrast to the semi-professional status of person-related activities and their "activity of every woman" label, diffusivity and lack of standardisation, their professionalization must start in the occupational fields of action and working place activities, whereby qualification and activity profiles must be combined with both the characteristic and relevant attributions as well as inter-actionist and logical structure concepts. From a subject-related didactic perspective, practical learning situations are combined with school-based lessons with the aim of promoting comprehensive vocational competence.

4.2 Subject-related didactic justification for modelling social competence

Professionalization is understood not only in the sense of an occupational strategy but also as a process in which the individual acts in a professional way and it is bound to his occupational biographically acquired skills (see Degenkolb 2007). In the current expert debate, the concept of skills and the myriad of descriptions of skill development, measurement and advancement (see Walkenhorst et al. 2009) have in no way been clarified. Nevertheless, the expert debate has given rise to guiding principles relating to competency in actions. These 'bring together own resources, skills and opportunities as well as the existing environmental resources such as people, organisations and the environment.

Combined with the recommendations drawn up in Germany at the 1996 conference of ministers of education, the vocational pedagogical debate initiated a paradigm shift where competence, in contrast to qualification, is orientated towards usability and educational demand and obtained via individual learning success and the ability to take responsibility for individual actions in professional, social and private situations. For pedagogy, this interpretation of competence lessens the original tension between

usability and individuation and creates a bridge between the economy and education. The concept of competence can be used to great effect in person-related occupational fields and broaches the curricular and regulatory issues in the private sector and therefore raises awareness of the living and occupational environments. It is possible to re-shape every day and leadership skills for vocational training and for the person-related training field. These skills have so far been neglected in vocational pedagogical discourse.

Advantageous to the structuring of this perspective is the current vocational pedagogical debate regarding standardisation and accreditation (see Friese/Frommberger 2009). There is also a new focus on the question of standardisation and differentiation in social competencies. Historically, everyday life and family skills have been "invisibly" incorporated into occupationalisation processes as "secret resources". The new shift in sensitivity towards to the recognition and accreditation of interdisciplinary and social skills opens up the possibility of including the previously hidden potential of person-related work in quality and profession strategies in vocational training. To this end, it is important that the conceptual interpretation and didactic differentiation of social competencies underpin the differences between "service" as a product-related service and "care" as a person-related service. The promotion of communicative and interactional skills requires a specific understanding of professional skills: "Service for people" is generally aimed at promoting "working on oneself" as well as improving professional skills and everyday competencies. Social competence is also an effective component of professional competence (see Friese 2010).

Within the context of this debate, high importance is attached to the issue of recognising informal skills and family skills. From a vocational pedagogical perspective, there are opportunities and risks here for person-related service occupations: Risks with regards to the renewed tradition of naturalistic concepts that are used unthinkingly for short-term qualifications in the assistant and helper occupations as well as opportunities regarding the recognition and specialist basis for life skills as well as the recognition and accreditation of vocational qualifications. If adequate didactic space for reflection and recording instruments are made available

in the context of skills development and the curriculum, then informal and life skills can form an important base for professional recognition and standardisation as well as permeability in professional training and further education.

5 Professional needs and professional concepts for academic teacher training for nutrition and home economics as professional disciplines

5.1 State of development of German universities and professional approaches

The importance of person-related disciplines in academic training courses has been discussed to an insufficient level in the vocational pedagogical debate in Germany. However, they are gaining a new dynamic through the pressure of professionalization in person-related domains as well as within the framework of restructuring the higher education landscape under the Bologna reform. From a historical perspective, person-related and household professional disciplines were established relatively late in German universities. Compared to the establishment of the diploma in business education at the beginning of the 20th century and trade education courses in the 1930s, study courses in "home economics and nutritional science" were only established in West Germany in the 1960s and for the first time at the Justus Liebig University, Giessen, in 1962. A home economics course was established on the basis of an order from the state of Hessen to the faculty of agriculture whilst executing the Hessian Teacher Education Act of 1958 for higher education in professional, vocational and technical schools. Nutritional science was attached to this. This was followed by institutions in Bonn, Stuttgart Hohenheim, Freising-Weihenstephan, TU Munich and Kiel, whilst in the GDR a nutritional science course was offered at the TU Dresden but not a home economics training course (see Fegebank 2010, p. 580).

Compared to person-related disciplines, the area of nutrition and home economics with career-based approaches through dual and full-time school-based training courses was established earlier than the study courses focusing on full-time school-based training like those in the field of social pedagogy (since the 1970s) and health and care as well as personal care (in the 1990s). However, the "nutrition and home economics" discipline also shows a serious deficit with regards to professionalization and quality

development in academic teacher training due to person-related disciplines being neglected.

An analysis of the current state of development can be carried out in the context of the systematisation of the framework agreement from the conference of ministers of education in 2007 (see KMK 2007). This gives priority to 16 vocational disciplines in vocational teacher training, of which four disciplines can be assigned to person-related occupational areas based on their content-curricular attributes. These disciplines are "health and personal care", "nutrition and home economics", "social pedagogy" and "care". The current state of vocational disciplines in teacher training at German universities is thus, there are approximately 16 universities offering person-related disciplines with around 25 study courses that are split differently into the occupational disciplines. This is however subject to a number of limitations due to methodological problems regarding the statistics and extremely different courses descriptions. Whilst social pedagogy is only offered at four locations and health, care and personal care is offered at 11 locations, the field of nutrition and home economics is offered at ten locations (see Kettschau 2010, p. 778; Friese 2010, p. 313; Gemballa/Kettschau 2011, p. 133; Brutzer 2013).

Table 5: Study opportunities for professional teacher training in the discipline of nutrition and home economics at German Vocational Colleges

| Location | | Institution | Professional discipline | Award |
|----------------|----------------|----------------------|--|----------------|
| | Bavaria | | | |
| Munich | | Technical University | Nutritional science and home economics | B.Ed. M.Ed. |
| | Berlin | | | |
| Berlin | | Technical University | Nutrition/Food science | B.Sc. M.Ed. |
| | Hamburg | | | |
| Hamburg | | University of | Nutritional science and | B.Sc. |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|---|--|----------------|
| | | Hamburg in cooperation with the vocational college | domestic science | M.Ed. |
| Hessen | | | | |
| Giessen | | University | Home economics, food industry, (agriculture) | B.A. M.A. |
| Lower Saxony | | | | |
| Hanover | | University | Food science | B.Sc. M.Ed. |
| Osnabrück | | Osnabrück Vocational College in cooperation with the university | Ecotrophology | B.Sc. M.Ed. |
| North Rhine-Westphalia | | | | |
| Münster | | Münster University of Applied Sciences in cooperation with the university | Nutrition and domestic science | B.Ed. M.Ed. |
| Bonn | | University | Nutrition and home economics | B.A. M.Ed. |
| Paderborn | | University of Paderborn in cooperation with the East Westphalia | Nutrition and home economics | B.Ed. M.Ed. |

| | | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---|---|
| | | Vocational College - Lippe | | |
| | Saxony | | | |
| Dresden | | Technical University | Food science, nutritional science and home economics | Conversion to a one-tier programme (state- conferred degree) |

Source: Own representation

If you consider the teaching degree programs for commercial-technical disciplines and the economic and management disciplines offered at approximately 45 universities nationwide, person-related disciplines are grossly under-represented with just 16 locations. Even if the need for modernisation has been reduced over the last few years with the expansion of teacher training for person-related disciplines, there are still significant demands on the profession regarding quantitative expansion and the structural, curricular and subject-related didactic concepts of the range of study courses. The development of further locations represents an urgent structural task regarding teacher shortages and demand for skilled labour in person-related and household disciplines that exists at all levels of occupational and academic training. This statement is substantiated by the fact that in nine of the 16 federal states there are no facilities available for the "nutrition and home economics" discipline.

Over the last few years a few more locations have been created through cooperation with universities and universities of applied sciences. Currently there are four locations for studying nutrition and home economics (Münster, Hamburg, Osnabrück, Paderborn), all of which offer a cooperative study course for the "nutrition and home economics" occupational discipline (see Kettschau 2010, p. 778). This experience has had a positive effect. From a professional perspective, the cooperative model can be problematic as it can work against the trend of lateral entry and re-entry to the workplace without pedagogical and subject-related didactic training. On the other

hand, productive cooperation has been established between the strong practice-based and career-based teaching at universities of applied science and the professional and business education offered at universities. The "nutrition and home economics" discipline draws on a wide range of occupations including those in the service sector which are represented via both usage-based and academically-orientated curricula within the wide range of disciplines.

Furthermore, the permeability of the training courses for vocational training, technical college training and university education also has a positive effect. Students studying teaching receive vocational training or adequate practical experience in the relevant occupation to their professional discipline. These experiences can be technically and academically reflected as well as underpinned in a subject-related didactic manner in learning by research processes by including practical placements in educational and occupational training and they can be adapted for developing skills and professional development within the teaching profession.

More development is needed with regards to the nationwide homogenisation of study profiles, designations and qualifications (see Rauschenbach/Schilling 2013, p. 10 et seq.). The inconsistent nature and formal complexity of study courses created by the Bologna reform and that repeatedly show a regulatory heterogeneity in person-related training structures at higher education level, are a hindrance to the occupation with regards to the positioning of staffing and academic strategies of person-related and household disciplines within the academic subjects' spectrum. This heterogeneity makes it difficult to move between the states and colleges as well as mutual accreditation.

The list of study courses in the "nutrition and home economics" discipline (see fig. 6) shows that the locations of home economics and nutritional science courses are characterised by different descriptions of the field of study, inconsistencies in awards and related fields of study. Whilst four of the ten locations (Munich, Dresden, Bonn and Paderborn) chose the standardised subject description of "nutrition and home economics" (with "food science" in Dresden), the other locations chose to use different designations: "Nutrition and domestic science" (Münster and Hamburg), "Nutrition/Food science" (Berlin), "Food science" (Hanover), "Ecotrophology"

(Osnabrück); just one location (Giessen) separates the disciplines per occupation field into "Food industry" and "Home economics" (see Gemballa/Kettschau 2011, p.13). At the moment, a merger of positions is taking place at JLU Giessen according to the KMK guidelines with the description "nutrition and home economics".

The pros and cons of the different concepts can be disputed (see Frieze 2010; Gemballa/Kettschau 2011, p.13). In this way, a narrowing of content and specialisation can ensure a greater depth of specialisation with close subject-related didactic references to professional fields of action. Curricular unification affords students greater mobility across state borders as well as the horizontal and vertical permeability of curricular units and the recognition thereof (see Freitag 2009): Against the backdrop of rapidly changing qualifications and skills profiles in professional and academic training, a narrow specialism can also fail to meet future demand and limit the interdisciplinary and inter-state use of teachers.

There are different solutions to be found from different perspectives. Against the backdrop of societal qualification requirements that promote both high levels of professional specialisation as well interdisciplinary competences at junctures between person-related segments, new study courses profiles in academic training can also be developed analogous to the creation of "occupational families" in occupational training. Profiles that include primary qualifying generalised curricula at bachelor degree level for example and knowledge specialisations on master's courses or extra-occupational courses with reference to specific tasks in future fields of work (see Frieze 2010, p. 326; Schaeffer 2011, p. 32). This strategy of both generalising and specialising at the same time can be implemented within the framework of standardised study course descriptions and curricula (see Frieze 2013; Frieze 2013a). The development of a core curriculum for the "nutrition and home economics" discipline is still pending. Against the backdrop of new requirements for interface skills in person-related segments, the implementation of this could prove professionally effective and innovative in the future.

In this model, cross-location and cross-college communication regarding the professional profile of the range of courses for "nutrition and home economics" is to be promoted. A comparison of the course content at the different locations shows that the "nutrition and home economics" discipline is comprised mainly of scientific,

technical/technological and socio-economical content and is mostly orientated towards related fields of study in ecotrophology, home economics or domestic science as well as food science. However, the specialist knowledge components are weighted differently at individual colleges depending on the integration of the disciplines and understanding of individual professors (see Kettschau/Gemballa 2011, p. 135). Against the backdrop of the KMK guidelines that provide 90 of a total of 300 credit points, colleges face the challenge of reducing specialist content whilst at the same time replicating the width and depth of the content of the professional discipline. There are significant problems here with regards to the development of study courses and their feasibility.

A deciding factor for a successful, competence-orientated study course is to offer teaching students, who often study additional disciplines, appropriate support programs to deepen their specialisations on the one hand and on the other to provide, in addition to consolidating compulsory modules, a mandatory choice of modules that take into account the overlap and interdisciplinary links between the specialist areas of the "nutrition and home economics" discipline.

Last but not least, the ratio of specialist knowledge and subject-related didactics as well as academic and basic knowledge needs to be re-adjusted. The focus of subject-related didactics is handled differently at each university. At some institutions, it is predominantly located within the vocational discipline or in educational science in the area of occupational, career and economic education like at the Justus Liebig University in Giessen. A deciding factor for the development of quality in occupational training does not lie primarily in connecting the subject areas but more in the conveyance of the research-based focus, knowledge-based and subject-related didactic content with regards to the occupational fields and vocational training locations.

5.2 Skill requirements for educational staff

In addition to expanding the locations and re-focusing the structure and curriculum of the university teacher training course for person-related service occupations, there are also development needs when it comes to founding didactic-curricular concepts for

professionalization and skill development for educational staff. Forms of knowledge and coping skills are to be developed for person-related and household disciplines. They should show a high-level of general knowledge, differentiated specialist knowledge as well as inter and transdisciplinarity. In person-related professions, in addition to the known characteristics of transferable qualifications such as communication, ability to work in a team and empathy, the occupational competence complex also includes the ability to work within in "unknown parameters" as well as the organisation of procedural learning and working processes. Yet at the same time it requires general skills for managing the "key problems in the world". Thus, today competent handling of the media and the Internet is expected, as is profound knowledge and skills for coping with problem areas in schools and society against the backdrop of increasing social conflict and worldwide risks.

In order to prepare students for the specific qualifications and skills needed for person-related and household occupations, they should be equipped with comprehensive academic-diagnostic, curricular-shaped and methodological and didactic competences. Methodological and didactic approaches are relevant in person-related and household fields for the organisation of a comprehensive approach that includes biographically acquired experience as well as self-reflexive, moralistic, ethical and communicative skills in professional settings. Students particularly need methodological knowledge of case work dealing with risk-bearing biographical transition points. Specialist knowledge of social transformation processes is also indispensable as well as knowledge of heterogeneous vocational and real-life fields of action in person-related occupations.

There are also special requirements when it comes to dealing with socially and educationally disadvantaged students and young people with disabilities who make up a large proportion of home economics trainees (see Friese 2008a). The transition from school to vocational training is a particularly risky transition point for disadvantaged young people. However, choosing a career has proven to be one of the most important prerequisites for coping with the first transition. This is supported by teaching staff via vocational preparatory classes whereby work experience plays an important central role. Against the backdrop of a lack of practical experience in full-time school-based

courses, it is imperative to secure new practice locations and new forms of learning cooperation and to equip students with comprehensive networking skills. With regards to the biographical experiences of pupils and students, it is important to establish offers for individual support that include positive everyday and life skills in addition to improving professionally relevant skills

The gender-orientated professionalization of teaching staff is of particular importance in person-related and household didactics. Gender-equal didactics requires a dual strategy that integrates specific issues on gender relations into curricular and school concepts on the one hand, and on the other a strategy that develops the training of gender competence as a systematic reference point for teaching and professional actions. The implementation of professionalization and gender competence (see Horstkemper 2010) refers to three levels. Firstly, teachers must be informed at a knowledge level regarding gender-specific patterns of socialisation, socio-cultural behaviour and the career choice processes of girls and boys as well as professional structures and be able to reflect critically upon these. Secondly, teachers must be able to use this knowledge critically when organising interaction and communication as well as pedagogical intervention to overcome gender constructs in lessons. And thirdly they must be able to implement this at a school organisation level in gender main streaming strategies (see Friese 2012a).

The foundation of cooperative and networked forms of skill development through regional associations and networks for training and further education is important for teacher training. This gives rise to specific requirements regarding the development of a new culture of cooperation. A prerequisite for successful cooperation within a group practice is the ability for self-reflection in relation to reflection on the interests and positions of the other partners. The foundations for this are knowledge in dealing with cooperation processes, balancing conflicts, creating transparency, reliability and continuity as well organising communication and group processes. In addition to this there is a need for coordination regarding services as well as the establishment of schools and training institutions as regional centres of competence.

Here, new interfaces for cooperation arise for professional training and further education and for synergies between school, vocational and further education. At the

same time, there is the option of providing learning possibilities, learning cultures and plurality in learning locations that promote professional and everyday coping skills that fit with social and individual learning expectations, needs in life and systemic performance requirements. The knowledge and experience gained from person-related training fields can lead to innovations that can affect the cross-functional networks between institutions and socialisation instances from nursery to education in old age via schooling, youth training and further education as well as the necessary networking between the education sector and companies and education policy as well as social and cultural institutions.

There is also a high demand for the development of subject-related didactic concepts for person-related subject areas. The approaches to subject-theoretical perspectives of subject-related didactics and curriculum development as well as standardisation, professionalization and quality development that resulted from the expert debate represent important gains for the academisation of the person-related teacher training sector and its disciplines.

In the field of "nutrition and home economics" the concept of occupational field didactics has a prominent yet disputed place (see Fegebank 2010, p. 581). Based on the framework agreement from the 1995 KMK on vocational teacher training, the modification from 2007 and in the context of the learning concepts adopted in the 1996 KMK, the concept of occupation field didactics was established as a university teaching and research area. Occupational field didactics are orientated towards the claim of including empirical refocusing in the professional fields of action and adapting current didactic tasks and concepts. Conceptually, it is underpinned by the normalised principles of "academic orientation", "occupational orientation" in the sense of vocational field orientation, and "learning location orientation" in the sense of workplace orientation as well as educational teaching structure.

With a view to the (almost) 30 occupations that make up the "nutrition and home economics" discipline and their constantly changing qualification and skill requirements as well as those for the teaching profession, the additional requirements for the educational teaching structure create new skills and professional requirements at various levels of education and curriculum development, diagnostics, interaction and

communication. There is also a myriad of new issues, research needs and tasks for further development in occupational field didactics with regards to quality development and professionalization within the "nutrition and home economics" teacher training course.

6 Summary: Problem areas and the action needed

This expert report highlights contexts of justification and needs for action as well as approaches to professionalization and quality assurance in household services. It is clear that there is a plethora of professional structural, curricular and didactic needs at all levels of training and further education as well as in teacher training. To summarise the following key points can be focused on (see chapter 5.1 - 5.5).

6.1 Development of the labour market and employment structure

From an employment structure perspective, person-related and household service occupations lie in specific tension between growth development and precarious employment. From an employment policy point of view, it is essential that the precarious status of person-related and household service occupations are abandoned in favour of secure "normal working relationships" with new tariff and regulatory rules and a higher evaluation of the person-related and household activity range. The existing reservoir of skilled workers is to be recruited and qualified at all levels of vocational training and further education.

6.2 Occupational classification, training courses and training situation

The field of nutrition and home economics covers a wide range of training courses and professions that exist in very different industries and sectors as well as at all levels of vocational and academic training and further education. The regulatory heterogeneity of training courses is problematic as are the wide variety of chamber responsibilities in full-time school-based and dual system vocational training. Since the 1990s the training figures for the home economics field have decreased. The decline in training numbers and loss of attractiveness for home economics courses point towards an urgent need for regulatory and curricular as well as profession-political reforms.

6.3 Regulatory law and curriculum development

The major obstacles contributing to the lack of professionalization in household services are the inconsistent training standards and qualification profiles, the diversity and fragmentation of the training regulations as well as the lack of practical modules in full-time school-based training courses. There is an urgent need for the harmonisation of training regulations and occupational titles within the curriculum as well as the implementation of new activity profiles supported by empirical research and competency requirements in home economics curricula as well as interfaces to health and social occupations.

6.4 Profession-political and profession-theoretical implications

Household services are insufficiently embedded within profession-theoretical and profession political concepts. The labelling of domestic work as the "activity of every woman" on the basis of it being a "female cultural task", promotes the "semi-professional" status of the role in particular. Profession-theoretical concepts are necessary in order to expand professional, methodological and social interaction-related skills as well as "care" and to implement training and further education and person-related service training in profession political discourse.

6.5 The professionalization of education staff in vocational teacher training

Currently there are approximately ten facilities offering vocational teacher training in the field of "nutrition and home economics" in Germany. These are characterised by very different course descriptions, study profiles, curricula and awards. In addition to establishing further study courses, it is necessary to homogenise the course profile and clarify the curriculum. At the same time, professional profiles should be created at the interfaces with person-related disciplines both interdisciplinarity and generalisation as well as specialisation. In order to train new and comprehensive competence requirements in educational personnel, new concepts based on empirical research must be embedded in the further development of curricula and subject-related didactics in teacher training courses in "nutrition and home economics" as well as at the interfaces with person-related disciplines.

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Decent work for domestic workers – in Germany

ILO convention 189 and its implementation

Expert report

Commissioned by:

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1 Introduction

"Decent Work for Domestic Workers" - the title of the June 2011 convention adopted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO)¹² with the aim of improving working conditions for domestic workers worldwide. This is unique insofar as it is the first time in the history of the ILO that employees from a predominantly informally organised sector are also protected by a legal convention. The then Secretary General of the ILO, Juan Somavía, emphasised the importance of this convention with the following statement: "We are moving the standards system of the ILO into the informal economy for the first time, and this is a breakthrough of great significance (...). History is being made."¹³

With domestic workers, the convention¹⁴ takes into account a group of employees that address a large demand worldwide under the threat of increasing "care deficits" (Hochschild 2000). According to the ILO figures at least 52.6 million people worldwide work in private households. 83% of these are women (ILO 2013) and many are migrants.¹⁵ Women from the global south migrate worldwide to undertake work in households and families in the global north.¹⁶ Some migrants are highly skilled and employed as such (as nurses, orderlies, doctors, social workers etc. in the social service sector) whilst for many household staff qualifications are not needed (except for specific activities relating to nursing care).

The activities included under the heading of domestic work are just as diverse as the conditions under which they are performed. Domestic workers care for the elderly or work in childcare, they do the ironing and cleaning, run the household and take on the gardening. Domestic workers can work and live in their place of

¹² See the official German translation of the Convention in BT printed matter. 17/12951, p. 24 et seq...

¹³ ILO, International Labour Organisation (2011): Press Release: 100th ILO Annual Conference Decides to Bring an Estimated 53 to 100 Million Domestic Workers Worldwide under the Realm of Labour Standards: http://www.ilo.org/ilc/ILCSessions/100thSession/media-centre/press-releases/WCMS_157891/lang-en/index.htm.

¹⁴ The word "convention" with no further explanations, is always meant as the ILO Convention No. 189 on decent work for domestic workers.

¹⁵ As the activities within the scope of application of the ILO Convention 189 are undertaken predominantly by women, the following report uses the form "they" or the female version to describe all persons covered by the scope of application (this includes men). It alternates between female and male forms. All terms are to be understood as gender neutral.

¹⁶ This phenomenon was examined in migration and gender research under the key word "new maid" (in lieu of all others Lutz 2007).

work in private households (so-called "live in" workers), they can also undertake the work on an hourly basis.

The distribution of employment in private households differs across the regions. The paid domestic work sector in Latin American countries is of particular importance as well as in the Caribbean where domestic workers make up 11.9% of the working population like in the Middle East where they make up 8% of the working population (ILO 2013, p.19). The situations of domestic workers are also diverse, however there are some common features pertaining to working in private households: Typical problems include the lack of social welfare, unregulated working hours and low wages, abuse, exploitation and forced labour. Some countries do not allow domestic workers to be members of a union and they are excluded from labour laws. Live in workers in particular suffer from overly long working hours and unregulated breaks (ILO 2013; FRA 2011; for Germany see Emunds and Schacher 2013; Scheiwe 2014). Even if the working conditions are varied from one region of the world to another, they do have basic common characteristics that are largely invisible and are traditionally undervalued because they take place in private. Home economics activities as "work like any other" have enormous value-added importance and cover important social needs and have a future in a service-related society (Welskop-Deffaa 2014) if they are socially organised and recognised as "good work".

The phenomenon of paid domestic work is in no means restricted to countries in the global south. It is carried out in Germany predominantly on an hourly or minor employment basis. The number of employment relationships in private households varies. Gottschall and Schwarzkopf (2010) assume that only 5 to 8% of employees in private households are registered. Estimations put this at more than one million employees (Heimeshoff and Schwenken 2011; Schupp 2011). An important group of domestic workers in Germany are migrants undertaking nursing activities in households. It is mainly women from Eastern European countries that look after elderly people as live ins on a monthly basis.¹⁷ The estimations regarding the number of people active in this type of working arrangement are in the range of

¹⁷ See various articles in Scheiwe/Krawietz (2010) and Boening/Steffen (2014) for situational problems and legal issues regarding East European commuting migrants from CEEC countries.

150,000 to 200,000 (Tiessler-Marenda 2012). However, these figures are not reliable and we can assume there are a high number of unreported cases. This type of care work is distributed via agencies (Krawietz 2014) and private networks but also through the International Placement Service (ZAV) from the Federal Labour Office.

In Germany, the focus is on reducing undeclared work in this sector, which is characterised for the most part by irregular and informal employment, and promoting employment subject to social security contributions. Since the middle of the 1990s, there have been forms of state support for so-called service pools or agencies among other things (see Bittner and Weinkopf 2000). These agencies act as employers for those employed in private households, they distribute domestic work, coordinate work schedules and invoice the private households. However, after the subsidies expired only a few agencies could afford to remain in business due to the high costs compared to undeclared work. The exact number of domestic workers employed by agencies is not available.

When the convention on "decent work for domestic workers" was passed, a set of rules was decided at the 100th International Labour Conference of the ILO in June 2011 that could mean a significant improvement of their living and working conditions worldwide. Under the ILO, there has already been an attempt in the past to create a convention for domestic workers.¹⁸ The approval of convention 189 was accompanied by a massive lobby and campaign (Visel 2013a). They called on their governments to approve the convention and to take steps to ratify it. In the meantime, thirteen states have already signed the convention including Germany as the second European country.¹⁹ The instrument of ratification was handed over on 20 September 2013 in Geneva. According to article 21 of the convention,²⁰ it enters into force twelve months after its ratification by the ILO. It came into effect

¹⁸ In 1936 there was a resolution on domestic workers by the ILO, however it did not lead to a binding convention; a further effort was made to place domestic workers on the agenda in 1951.

¹⁹ http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:11300:0::NO:11300:P11300_INSTRUMENT_ID:2551460 (accessed on 21.05.2014). For ratification in Germany see the draft law by the Federal Government and the memorandum on ratification (BT printed matter 17/12951) as well as the recommended resolution and the report from the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs 17/13303).

²⁰ Article without any further details are those from convention no. 189 on decent work for domestic workers.

in Germany in September 2014 (art. 21 of the convention). According to article 18, every member has measures that they must carry out in order to adapt existing laws or expand them to domestic workers or develop specific measures for them.

On the occasion of the ratification of the ILO convention by the Federal Republic and its entry into force in September 2014, we take the opportunity to address the issue of which legal and political consequences are associated with it. To do this, a short introduction to the mandate, structure and function of the ILO will be given (2) before dealing with the essential content of the convention (3). In another section (4) the compatibility of the agreement with German law regarding domestic workers will be discussed, in particular the problem areas of private households as the workplace, regulating working hours, minimum wage, remuneration in kind as well as social protection for those domestic workers in minor employment. Recommendations for the improvement of the working conditions of domestic workers will be given (5) and a conclusion drawn (6).

2 How does the ILO work?

2.1 The International Labour Organisation - mandate and structure

The International Labour Organisation is the oldest specialised UN agency. It was founded in 1919 with the aim of creating world peace through social equality. The special feature of the ILO is its tripartite structure. The decision-making body at the annual International Labour Conference (ILC) is made up of representatives from the member states which consist of employers, employees and governments each of which hold a third of the vote. The ILO's mandate includes a standardisation process - formulating conventions and recommending international labour and social standards. Furthermore, it provides technical assistance for implementing these standards in different countries. Another of its tasks is providing information via the ILO administrative staff (Senghaas-Knobloch 2010, p. 17f).

Since it was founded, 189 conventions have been approved. In terms of content, these conventions relate to industry-specific standards in the first instance and later general minimum standards regarding the working conditions of employees (Senghaas-Knobloch 2009). The ILO began a substantive realignment with the

"decent work" agenda that was adopted in 1999. This formulated the goal of bringing workers outside of the regular labour market under the protection of labour and social standards as the majority of people in developing countries do not work in formal regulated employment and in industrialised countries also have precarious and atypical forms of employment. This decent work agenda formulated four objectives: The promotion of rights at work, employment support, social protection and social dialogue. The incorporation of domestic workers as a particularly vulnerable group into a special convention is, therefore, clearly linked to the developments within the ILO. The ILO already addressed employees in unprotected of atypical employment relationships in the convention on part-time work in 1994 (no. 175) and the convention on home-based work from 1996 (no. 177). In 1998 by means of the adoption of the "Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work", the ILO committed to recognising these as basic protective rights. They are part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1949) and the Civil and Social Covenants (1996) and include eight ILO conventions that were thenceforth summarised as "core labour standards". The core labour standards concern the right to freedom of association and collective bargaining, the prohibition of forced labour and child labour as well as the prohibition of discrimination. There is a comparatively high rate of ratification for this convention. ILO member states that have not signed it are subject to an annual reporting obligation regarding the reasons for opposing it. Thus, the core labour standards have a special position within the ILO system.

2.2 Implementation of ILO law in national law

The ILO constitution differentiates between legally binding conventions and non-binding recommendations. The member states must be regularly informed about the implementation of ratified conventions. The reporting obligation on behalf of the countries exists internally on the one hand and concerns the associations of employers and workers. In turn, these have the opportunity to comment on the reports. This participation of the social partners is the strong point of the ILO reporting system (see Senghaas-Knobloch 2009, p. 137). On the other hand, the reporting obligation also applies to the ILO itself who has the reports checked by an independent expert and puts them on the agenda at their annual International

Labour Conference (IAK) (Andrae 2004, p. 141f.). The ILO's supervisory and monitoring systems contain a legal instrument for controlling the implementation of this in the member states (see Daeubler 2013; Zimmer 2013). Specifically, the ILO constitution offers different procedures for the implementation of the labour standards:

- The reporting procedure (art. 22 ILO constitution) and the associated "exposure" of a signatory state that does not adhere to the agreements. This *naming and shaming* counts among the most commonly used mechanisms and with which the ILO has the most experience.
- According to article 26 of the ILO constitution, each country can lodge a complaint against another one if they suspect that a ratified convention is not being properly implemented. In practice this complaint mechanism has little significance.
- According to article 33 of the ILO convention, coercive measures may be imposed on a state. The decision as to the type and implementation method for these sanctions (e.g. economic measures) is taken at the International Labour Conference. Sanctions have been very rarely used during the ILO's history.²¹

3 ILO convention 189 - Content and implementation mechanisms

3.1 Contents of the ILO convention 189

ILO convention 189 is a legally binding convention that is accompanied by a non-binding recommendation (ILO recommendation 201) and contains notes for the implementation of the convention. It has two objectives: On the one hand, it is reminiscent of the already existing ILO standards (in the form of conventions and recommendations) under whose protection and scope domestic workers fall. It stresses that these standards are to be fulfilled for work in private households in

²¹ In the history of the ILO these have only been used once. In 2000 the sanctions were imposed against Myanmar based on art. 33 of the ILO convention in order to counteract forced labour. The last sanctions were lifted in the middle of 2013.

the same way as for other work. This includes the fundamental work rights and principles as well as labour and social protection. Thus, the convention is aimed at equal treatment for domestic workers on a par with all the other employees. On the other hand, the convention recognises the special features paid domestic work. It emphasises the special situation of private households as workplaces and in some articles, it proposes special regulations for domestic workers. The articles of the convention are subdivided accordingly into the principle of equal treatment and certain requirements on the structuring of rights (Scheiwe and Schweich 2012; Visel 2013b). The concrete requirements which encompass the particularities of domestic work and the disadvantages of the sector include, for example, the articles on working time and on-call time (art. 10 para. 2 and 3), a safe and healthy working environment (art. 13) as well as employment agencies (art. 15).

3.2 Scope of application and exceptions

The convention broadly defines domestic work as work that "takes place in or for a household" (art. 1). The convention's scope of application includes all persons that undertake domestic work as part of their employment. Thus, it covers all form of paid domestic work be it part-time or full-time, in the household of the employer (live in), for one or more employers, as a migrant or in their own country. The description "within a work relationship" also includes domestic workers that are employed by an agency or other third parties. It is important to note that this broad definition also includes migrants "without papers" or with irregular residence status. Excluded from the convention are au-pairs and other groups who only work occasionally. As the convention only applies to dependent employees those who are self-employed are not included in the scope of application.

This definition of domestic work does not refer to the activity itself but instead to the place in which the work takes place, the household as a workplace (Tomei and Belser 2011). Groups that (as a minimum) have equal protection such as groups of persons that "have particular problems of a substantial nature" can be excluded from the convention's scope of application. It should be emphasised that these exceptions to the nature and aim of the convention to protect all domestic workers are to be strictly interpreted. Exceptions can only be made after consultation with the relevant associations of employers and employees as well as the

representatives for domestic workers. In this context, art. 2 para 3 refers to the regular reporting obligations of the countries in which they must detail the reasons for the exceptions and the efforts being made to expand the convention to cover the excluded groups.

3.3 Fundamental rights and the abolition of child labour

Initially the convention is reminiscent of the fundamental rights for domestic workers that apply to all workers. This includes general human rights protection, protection against abuse, harassment and violence as well as the core labour standards (art. 3). As it is illegal for domestic workers to join a trade union in many countries, the core labour standards and in particular the freedom of association are important. The convention is also against all forms of discrimination on the grounds of age, gender or origin (art. 2). In many countries, domestic workers are often minors. Article 4 of the convention refers to the ILO convention on minimum age as well as the elimination of worst forms of child labour. Governments must ensure that access to education is not affected for under-age domestic workers.

3.4 Working times and employment conditions

The convention also deals with the specific working and living conditions of domestic workers in terms of working times, remuneration, safety in the workplace and social protection. The principle of equal treatment stresses that domestic workers are entitled to the same rights as all other employees. This applies to working times (art. 10), remuneration (art. 12) and social security (art. 14) for example. Domestic workers are a particularly vulnerable group when it comes to working time regulations. More than half of all domestic workers worldwide have no legally regulated working hours according to figures from the ILO and approximately 45% are not entitled to weekly rest periods or paid annual leave (ILO 2013, p. 66). The convention stipulates that the same labour-law provisions apply to domestic workers as to other workers. Furthermore, the hours in which domestic workers must be on-call should also count as working hours in accordance with the respective national legislation. For the definition of holiday and rest periods, the convention focuses on equal treatment on a par with all other workers in accordance with national legislation. The convention only sets out a

specific time period as a minimum standard in the case of the demand for a weekly rest period which is sets at a minimum of 24 consecutive hours.

3.5 Social protection, safety at work

In terms of social security, the principle of equal treatment on a par with all other workers applies once more within the framework of national labour and social legislation. Maternity leave is emphasised here as it is important for the predominantly female workforce (art. 14). With regards to health and safety in the workplace, the convention also stipulates equal treatment on a par with all other workers (art. 13). A controversial debate took place on how this protection could be implemented. As a consequence, a formula was inserted here in order to allow flexibility with regard to the special characteristics of domestic work (art. 13 para. 2).

3.6 Remuneration

Where national minimum wages are concerned, domestic workers cannot be excluded from this protection. The convention does not lay down an obligation for introducing a minimum wage. Furthermore, the level of remuneration must be set without discriminating on the basis of gender (art. 11). In general remuneration should be made in cash; payment in kind is only permitted to a limited extent and only on the consent of the worker. It must be for their own personal use and needs and the monetary value paid must be fair and reasonable (art. 12).

3.7 Migrants and live in workers

Migrant domestic workers belong to particularly vulnerable groups alongside under-age domestic workers. Their rights are set down in the convention. Minimum requirements regarding privacy and accommodation are set down for live in workers. The convention requires that all domestic workers should be free to choose whether they wish to live in the same household as their employer (art. 9a). In particular, it is not mandatory that domestic workers who live in the household remain there during daily and weekly rest periods or during their annual leave or stay with a member of the household (art. 9b). For migrants working in private households, it should be ensured that before they arrive in the host country

they receive a written offer or contract that outlines the fundamental working conditions (art. 8 para. 1). Furthermore, the convention requires explicit provisions regarding repatriation and repatriation costs (art. 8 para. 3).

Domestic workers often have their identity papers confiscated by their employer or employment agency. The convention wants to counteract this so that employees are not exposed to the arbitrariness of the employer without any protection. It is explicitly referred to that domestic workers are entitled to retain their travel and identity documents (art. 9 lit. c). In this context, article 15 of the convention also makes detailed provisions regarding employment agencies that play an ever more important role in the placement of domestic workers worldwide and whose activities are as yet subject to little regulation (Tomei and Belser 2011, p. 436):

3.8 Right to information

The convention also reinforces the right to information for domestic workers. They must be informed about their working conditions (e.g. working hours, remuneration and payment procedures, specific tasks as well as rest periods and holiday entitlement) in a comprehensible manner and, if possible, in the form of a written employment contract (art. 7).

3.9 Law enforcement

Ultimately the convention deals with the implementation of labour laws and the access to justice. In addition to complaint mechanisms, it also deals with access for the labour inspectorate to the workplaces of domestic workers. This is a particularly difficult point as the workplace is also concerns the private life of the employer. The convention takes this into account in that it requires labour inspections to be implemented whilst respecting their privacy at the same time (art. 17). Furthermore, the convention is committed to ensuring effective legal protection and other dispute resolution and complaint mechanisms for domestic workers (art. 16, 17).

3.10 Implementing a convention

In order for an ILO convention to take immediate effect in a state, it must be ratified by that state. This is done in Germany in the form of an act of assent according to

art. 59 para. 2 of the basic constitutional law (GG). In this way, a convention becomes part of national law and has the status of a federal law. As a result, the German courts must take into account the provisions of such a convention as standards according to international law in their rulings (Zimmer 2013, p. 31, 41). If national legislation is already compatible with the international requirements before the convention is ratified then there is no need for adjustments. Insofar as national law does not fulfil the requirements at the time of ratification then it may be gradually adapted in the subsequent period.

The federal government saw no need to adjust German law when they introduced draft law for convention no. 189 in the Bundestag. The following examines whether this view can be sustained.

4 The compatibility of German law with ILO convention 189

The aim of the ILO convention to place domestic workers on a legal par with other employees largely complies with German law. However, equal treatment is deviated in some areas.

German labour and social law generally applies to domestic workers as well, insofar as they are employees and work in private households and are not expressly excluded from the relevant regulatory area. A prerequisite for the employed status is that the person concerned is committed to working for another due to a civil law contract. These requirements exist for domestic workers in all cases (see Kocher 2012, p. 6 et seq.). They are not affected by the qualification of the employee, inclusion in the common household, duration of employment or its scope as well as the effectiveness of the regulations in the employment contract (see Kocher 2012, p. 6; Scheiwe and Schwach 2012, p. 334). It also includes employees who are employed by a third party e.g. an agency and are sent out to a private household.

The title of employee in German labour law is more wide-ranging than the convention stipulates as occasional or sporadic activities e.g. babysitters and au-pairs are also included- The scope of protection in labour law also applies to foreign employees working in Germany insofar as they received an employment contract.

As a result, nationals from other EU member states are already on the German labour market thanks to their guaranteed freedom of movement in accordance with art. 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). Even if a residence permit is missing this does not result in the invalidity of the employment contract (Kocher 2012, p. 11 et seq.).

Due to the special employment situation of domestic workers, there are some special features to be noted. Their unique position is due to the fact that the place of employment is the employer's private household or in the case of employment by an agency of "service pool" the client's household. This is accompanied by a specific social proximity to the employer or contractor (even more so for live in workers) but also a relative isolation compared to other employees and uncertainty regarding employment relationships (Kocher 2012, p. 1; Scheiwe and Schwach 2012, p. 335).

In art. 2 para. 2 the convention enables the signatory states to exclude limited categories for employees, with regards to the special problems of significant importance, in part or in whole from the scope of application of the convention. Art. 2 para. 3 further restricts the freedom of a member state that invokes the exemption clause by enforcing the obligation to state the reasons and measures for the removal of the special legal status. The Federal Republic has made use of this by not extending the provisions of the Working Hours Act to all domestic workers.

4.1 The private household as a business

Employment in a private household is subject to some specifics of employment law. Thus, some regulations governing safety at work are linked to employment in a business such as protection against dismissal (§ 23 of the Protection Against Dismissal Act (KSchG), § 622 para. 2 of the German Civil Code (BGB)) or co-determination rights (§ 1 para. 1 of the Works Council Constitution Act (BetrVG)) Even in literature, according to case-law and the majority view, a private household is not a business even if staff are employed there. The justification for this is that employment in a private household only covers private needs (Franzen 2010, § 1

recital 28; Kloppenburg 2010, § 1 recital 13) and it is not within the meaning of the BetrVG to intervene in private life (Loewisch and Kaiser 2010, § 1 recital 8).

A "business" in the sense of the BetrVG is "an organised unit whereby the employer carries out certain working processes that do not satisfy personal needs either by themselves or together with the employees employed by them" (Koch 2013, § 1 BetrVG recital 8).²² However, the most common constructions and reasoning for excluding private households from the scope of application are not convincing. The underlying idea is that work in a private household is not considered production but pure consumption and the economic importance of this work is devalued.²³ Even though private life is affected by the employment of a domestic worker. This concern already arose from the role of an employer on the labour market and employment within a private household which has an employment relationship with specific rights and obligations (e.g. in labour, social and tax law). Although the objective is not profit maximisation as is the case in many companies, they still act as if they want to achieve this objective namely ensuring their service needs are met. However, neither a profit maximising aim nor the economic importance of the work organisation are defining features for a business. This also covers non-profit organisations and micro-companies (Kocher 2012, p.16; Scheiwe and Schwach 2012, p. 337). It is incomprehensible as to why a domestic worker employed in an economically participating household has a different legal status to those employed in a business in the conventional sense. In view of the proximity and dependency of domestic workers on their employers as well as the associated isolation from other similarly employed workers, special support is needed to represent their interests.

With regards to protection against dismissal, domestic workers are not entirely unprotected. Thanks to the dismissal protection regulation in §§ 621, 622 para. 1, 629 f the BGB, they have a minimum level of protection, minimum notice period on dismissal as well as free time to search for a job after dismissal. In doing so

²² For different terms, in particular in the BGB see *ibid.*, fn. 7 and Preis (2013), recital 5: A company is an organised unit where persons carry out certain work tasks with the help of personal, material or immaterial resources (former general labour and works constitution company terms that are now differentiated).

²³ For an analysis of the history of the domestic services from a home economics perspective see Meier-Graewe 2014.

German law meets the provisions set out in the convention (art. 6 in conjunction with no. 18 from recommendation no. 201). Even it doesn't seem plausible that a private household is not understood as a business within the meaning of law, based on case-law in this area, German law is in line with the requirements of the convention.

This is different in terms of co-determination rights. Industrial constitution law offers the opportunity for companies with at least five employees to choose a works council (§ 1 para. 1 BetrVG). It legally grants special rights for participation and co-determination. As the formation of a works council within the meaning of the law requires a business, domestic workers are excluded from this form of association to pursue their rights. However, there are only relatively few cases where five or more employees are employed within a household (Rose 2011, § 1 recital 31). The principle of excluding workers employed in a household from this type of participation is nevertheless problematic with regards to the convention. According to art. 3 no. 2b, freedom of association and effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining are basic rights and obligations when it comes to work and which the signatories are committed to implementing and promoting. The exclusion from forming a works council limits these rights.

4.2 Working time regulation and exceptions to the ArbZG

According to art. 10, member states are obligated to ensure domestic workers and employees receive equal treatment with regards to working times, remuneration for overtime, rest periods and annual leave, whereby the special characteristics of domestic work are to be taken into account. Furthermore, a weekly rest period of at least 24 consecutive hours must be ensured and time in which domestic workers are on-call must be recognised as working hours.

The Working Hours Act (ArbZG) is applicable to domestic employment relationships and meets the requirements of the convention in many areas. The right to 24 hours rest per week (art. 10, para. 2) is ensured in German law by the prohibition of employment on Sundays and legal public holidays as well as special provisions for support, care and domestic work (§§ 9 para. 1, 11 para. 3 and 4

ArbZG). Furthermore, on-call time is also generally classed as work time (Kocher 2012, p. 19; Scheiwe and Schwach 2013).

German law is deficient when it comes to live ins and employment relationships in which domestic workers are included in the common household. Empirical studies show that through the live-in situation they are confronted with unregulated working times, rest periods and exploitative working conditions (Scheiwe 2014). It is estimated that up to 200,000 (Tiessler-Marenda 2012) foreign nursing staff undertake nursing activities in German households, most of whom are from Poland and other central and Eastern European EU states. Their work is usually limited to just a few months. For the time period in which they are not employed in Germany, they do not receive any remuneration.

The applicability of the Working Hours Act is excluded in the case of live ins if the domestic workers live in the same household as the person entrusted into their care who they care for, educate or support independently (§ 18 para. 1 no. 3 ArbZG). In principle, this regulation does not contravene the convention. The signatory states are allowed to exclude limited categories of workers with regards to their special problems with significant importance, whether in part or in whole from the scope of application of the convention (art. 2 para. 2a). The Federal Government has made use of this. The justification for this is that a clear distinction between leisure time and working time cannot be made in this area.²⁴

The scope of the exemption provision is only very limited (see detailed description in Scheiwe and Schwach 2013, p. 1116 et seq.; Scheiwe 2014). The independence required by law only exists if the employed person receives no precise instructions on how to provide the care, education or support services. This is highly atypical form of work organisation for dependent employees. The provision also includes employees that do not only live with the person entrusted into their care but they also keep house together (Anzinger and Koberski 2009, §18 recital 21). This suggests that the law is justified. When wording the exemption, the legislator took the living and working conditions of parents in children's villages with SOS Children's Villages into account. These are structured in a familial way so a strict

²⁴ Memorandum from BReg. BT printed matter. 17/12951, p. 18.

separation of work and free time is difficult to establish. However, the holiday and free weekend arrangements for SOS Children's Village parents show that this is not impossible (Scheiwe and Schwach 2013, p. 1119; also 2012, p. 338). On the other hand, free time and working time can be relatively easily ensured for 24-hour care, by introducing a shift plan for example. Ultimately, an alternative interpretation of the norm contradicts their function as an exemption.

4.3 Minimum wage

According to art. 11 of the convention, the signatory state must ensure that domestic workers receive a minimum wage insofar as it is included in national law. The regulatory purpose of equal treatment for domestic staff on a par with other employees is not a remit to create specific minimum wage regulations.

In German law, minimum wages have been based primarily on collective agreements up until now. A generally binding collective agreement for the employment of domestic workers does not yet exist.²⁵ Country-specific wage agreements apply to some domestic workers, agreements that were negotiated between the Regional Trade Union Association for the Food, Beverages and Catering Industry and the State Association of the DHB - Network Household (Berufsverband der Haushaltsführenden e.V.) and provide different gross wages.

Furthermore, the minimum wage set down in the regulation concerning compulsory working conditions for the nursing sector is also to be taken into account for domestic workers. A minimum wage must be paid for inpatient and outpatient care (§ 2 Care ArbStättV), at the moment this amounts to Euro 8.00 gross in the new federal states and Euro 9.00 in the old federal states.²⁶ This regulation applies to care operations that are defined as "businesses and self-employed operations departments which provide mainly outpatient, partial inpatient or inpatient care services or outpatient nursing services for those in need of care" (§ 10 p. 2 Law on Posting Workers (AEntG)). Employees who provide mainly outpatient care

²⁵ This type of collective agreement fails from the outset as for a declaration of general applicability at least 50% of the workers that fall under the scope of the collective agreement must be employed by the employers bound by the agreement.

²⁶ Statements according to § 2 Care ArbStättVO. The provision diminishes §§ 10-12 AEntG and comes into force at the end of 2014.

services in private households are covered under the scope of application of the regulation. However, according to prevailing opinion, employees in private households are not covered as a private household is not a (care) business.²⁷

Therefore, the scope of application of the regulation should also apply to employees of private households insofar as they mainly provide care services as it is not clear as to why employees of outpatient care businesses that work in providing care at home are subject to minimum wage protection but those who predominantly provide care services are not. Both groups of employees fall under the scope of the convention and the disparity in treatment is not justified. There is also a disparity in treatment between care workers employed by a household acting as an employer and posted care workers from a foreign agency, as a minimum wage for care applies to the latter according to the Law on Posting Workers.

At the moment, the Federal Government is drafting a law which should introduce a general statutory minimum wage.²⁸ The draft was approved by the Federal Cabinet on 02 April 2012. It should be adopted in July by the Bundestag and in September by the Bundesrat. According to the draft, every employee has the right to remuneration amounting to Euro 8.50 gross per hour from 01 January 2015 (§ 1 para. 1 and 2 draft Minimum Wage Law (MiLoG)). Although the regulations pertaining to the Law on Posting Workers, the Law on Temporary Employment and the statutory ordinances based on these precede the regulations in the draft MiLoG insofar as the amount of the established minimum wage for the industry is not below the amount of the minimum wage (§1 para. 3). The higher minimum wage always applies.

However, there are also exceptions to the draft in particular regarding the employment of those who were previously unemployed and apprentices. The area of domestic activity or the subsections affected by the convention are not covered

²⁷ The Federal Governments response to DIE LINKE to the minor enquiry "minimum wage in the care industry": "It does not cover persons that are primarily employed in a household to care for others. A private household is not a business of self-employed department" (BT printed matter 17/2833, p. 6).

²⁸ Draft of a law to increase remuneration autonomy (remuneration autonomy law), Art. 1: Law on regulating the general minimum wage (minimum wage law – MiLoG), http://www.bmas.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/PDF-Pressemitteilungen/2014/2013-04-02-gesetzentwurf-tarifpaket-mindestlohn.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (Accessed on 20.05.2014).

by the exemption regulations. In its current form the draft meets the requirements of art. 11 of the convention.

To sum up, the current minimum wage is directed at those domestic workers that are covered by the scope of application of county-specific wage contracts or the regulation on mandatory working conditions for the care industry. If the draft law is translated into the Minimum Wage Law as it stands, a minimum wage to the amount of Euro 8.50 is mandatory for all other domestic workers. Thanks to the favourability clause in § 1 para. 3 of the draft MiLoG, in the case of overlapping minimum wages, the highest wage applies.

4.4 Payment in kind: Accommodation/meals and offsetting wages

Art. 12 of the convention contains provisions regarding the type and manner of remuneration. Thus, domestic workers are to be remunerated on a regular basis and at least once per month in cash or, with the consent of the employee, via a cashless payment transaction. This ostensibly calls for domestic workers to have the remuneration at their disposal. These claims also apply under German law, whereby generally remuneration is to be provided in Euros (§ 107 para. 1 of the Industrial Code (GewO)) and at regular intervals (§614, p. 2 BGB). These intervals must meet the requirement of international law that is set down as "at least once per month" (see Kocher 2012, p. 24).

The second stipulation in art. 12 is more problematic. According to the article part of the remuneration can include payment in kind insofar as it is provided for in national legislation. However, it must be ensured that employees agree to the payment in kind, that it serves their personal uses and needs and that the monetary value attributed to it is fair and reasonable. Moreover, the relevant legal provisions may not be less favourable than those that apply to other groups of employees.

Under German law it is possible to agree payment in kind for part of the remuneration. The prerequisite for this is that it complies with the interests of the employee or the nature of the employment relationship and at least part of the non-assignable remuneration is paid for with money (§ 107 para. 2 GewO). Money can only be substituted by payment in kind within limits. The agreement must be

approved by the employee and an objective benchmark set in terms of individual usefulness and needs (see Kocher 2012, p. 24; BT printed matter 14/8796, p. 25).

This provision does not comply with the provisions in the convention. In this respect, enough has been done to satisfy the convention regarding the granting of payment in kind under the prerequisite of the consent of the employees and the objective usefulness of the concrete payment in kind. Furthermore, a limit has been set for remuneration in the form of payment in kind. However, this restriction does not take the form intended by the convention. Only a limited part of remuneration is intended to be paid in the form of payment in kind according to art. 12 para. 2. However, current German law does not include a limit on the amount but instead does not allow the contracting parties access to a minimum amount. Domestic workers who work mainly in the low-wage sector are not negatively impacted by the German legislation.

The legal requirements are often not taken into account. One problem is that sometimes an amount for accommodation and meals is set and then deducted from the remuneration which is included as a flat rate in the Social Security Compensation Directive (SvEV) for calculating the amount of remuneration subject to social security contributions. Flat rate sums of EUR 224.00 for board and accommodation or EUR 183.60²⁹ for inclusion within the household are calculated. This takes place regardless of whether the payment in kind is actually worth this amount. The convention stipulates that the value of payment in kind must be fair and reasonable; this is often not the case in practice. This would require that the amount for the payment in kind is calculated on an individual case basis instead of a flat rate amount.

The real problem is that in calculating payments in kind the assignable limits are not observed. Therefore, if food and lodgings is estimated at Euro 407.60 then a net salary of at least Euro 1620 must be agreed so that the non-assignable income from the net salary can be paid out in money. A salary of this amount does not often represent the remuneration of domestic workers and payment in kind reduces the amount of salary paid out. The legal consequences of such unlawful

²⁹ The flat rate for providing accommodation was EUR 216 in 2013 but according to the legislator is to be reduced by 15 percent if the accommodation is in the household. Therefore the new flat rate is EUR 183.60 (§ 2 (1), SvEV).

agreements lie in an adaptation to the employment contract - as agreed, lawful (deduction-free) remuneration applies. If the legal minimum wage is introduced as set out in the draft MiLoG then it would correspond to a minimum wage of Euro 1360 gross per month (with 20 working days and a 40-hour week) so that a corresponding remuneration of the net minimum wage does not exceed the non-assignable income and there is no room for the deduction of payment in kind.

Regarding the legal situation for the limited recognition of payment in kind such as board and accommodation, according to German law only very few domestic workers and employers should actually be informed. Furthermore, the information deficit mentioned above and the existing language barriers substantially impede the implementation of the legally allowed remuneration. The notes from art. 14 of ILO recommendation 201 on the restriction of payment in kind should also be taken into account.

4.5 Social protection in minor employment

Art. 14 of the convention requires member states to ensure that measures are taken to ensure that in the area of social security domestic workers are no worse off than any other groups of employees. In principle, this provision is already included in German law, social security contributions are mandatory upon the existence of an employment relationship and thus this group of domestic workers is also protected by the employed statutes (§§ 3, 7 SGB IV).

Special welfare regulations exist in the Federal Republic in the area of minor employment. In particular, the employees are not only subject to mandatory social security contributions but the employer must pay a flat rate contribution to the amount of approximately 30% of the remuneration. There is no compulsory insurance for the statutory health insurance system; the contributions made by the employer to the statutory health insurance system do not constitute an insurance relationship. Moreover, no contributions are made towards unemployment insurance so that the employee also has no claim to unemployment benefits.

Employment in private households predominantly takes place under employment relationships where the proportion of full-time employment or regular part-time employment is significantly lower than in other sectors of the economy (Gottschall

and Schwarzkopf 2010, p. 19 et seq.). Therefore, domestic workers are often inadequately or not protected at all. This is aggravated by the fact that this inadequate protection is often even less than that of other persons in minor employment (see Scheiwe and Schwach 2012, p. 324f.) This is due to the fact that in the field of so-called domestic minor employment, the employer's flat rate contribution is reduced again to 12% of the remuneration.³⁰

Although all persons in minor employment have only reduced pension entitlements any person in minor employment who began work before 01 January 2013 could invoke full pension protection by renouncing their right to choose their own insurance program in accordance with § 5 para. 2 SGB old version VI. For all employment contracts beginning after this time, the different flat rates apply. Under the obligation to pay insurance that has existed since then, a corresponding pension protection is brought about by paying the difference between the flat rate contributions and the full pension insurance contribution. This difference must be paid by the employee themselves. Whilst an employee in the commercial sector can achieve this by renouncing their freedom from contribution payments by means of a top-up to the amount of 3.9%, an employee in the context of domestic minor employment must offset a higher difference of employer contributions to make up the full pension insurance contribution. This requires a top-up to the amount of 13.9% (see Reichert 2011, ch. 14 recital 6). Although it is possible to be exempt from the compulsory insurance, in this case any entitlement to statutory pension insurance is omitted.

Therefore, domestic workers in minor employment receive poor security compared to other employees. The requirements of art. 12 of the convention have therefore not been fulfilled; unequal treatment must be eliminated (Kocher 2012, p. 28; Scheiwe and Schwach 2010, p. 343).

4.6 Lack of effective law enforcement and needs for action

As shown, German law corresponds in large parts to the provisions in the convention and there are relatively few points that must be adapted before

³⁰ 5% pension insurance, 5% health insurance, 1.6% accident insurance, 2% taxes and 0.84% levies.

ratification. This does not mean that there is no need for action apart from the points above. Rather the point is to be made that the convention only formulates minimum requirements and calls for the "effective support and protection" (art. 3 para. 1) of human rights for domestic workers. Therefore, it calls for the active implementation of obligations under international law that must be started where there are infringements against the national legal requirements.

Irregular employment relationships are known to be widespread amongst private households. On the one hand this is often seen as "trivial" and there is a lack of awareness of the injustice. On the other hand, incorrect or unclear conceptions prevail regarding legal positions and which sanctions and consequences are associated with "undeclared work".³¹ The employment contract between employers and employees to pay salaries under the table without taxes and social insurance contributions does not invalidate the employment contract. Only the non-payment of contributions and taxes is void not the entire remuneration agreement. If taxes and social security contributions are not made in the case of illegal employment, then a net remuneration is agreed (§ 14 para. 2 s. 2 SGB IV). There are also other legal entitlements to holiday, sick pay and protection against dismissal.

However, in contrast to popular opinion, an undeclared employee is also legally protected against accidents at work. An employer who does not register an employee for accident insurance, as they are obligated to do, must pay extra contributions for a period of four years in the event of an accident.³² The rest of the social security contributions can also be additionally claimed from the employer in which case they must then pay both the employer and employee contributions. In the event of deliberate non-payment of social insurance contributions, a limitation

31 Recently a ruling by the BGH from 10.04.2014 (Ref. VII ZR 241/13) was published and inaccurately interpreted by the *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* under the headline "Undeclared employees don't need to be paid" (<http://www.faz.net/aktuell/finanzen/meine-finanzen/geld-ausgeben/nachrichten/bgh-urteil-schwarzarbeiter-muss-man-nicht-bezahlen-12889589.html> [Accessed on 20.05.2014]). The judgement of the BGH was not one on dependent employment relations and the consequences of irregular employment for employers and employees but instead on false information contained in a work contract between a contractor and a contracting party regarding the price of the work. The validity of a work contract due to an infringement of § 1 para. 2 no. 2 of the Act to Combat Undeclared Employment (SchwarzArbG) does not mean that the employees employed by the contractor lose their claims against the employer.

32 The accident insurance agencies can recover the expenses for claims incurred as a result of undeclared work from the employer (§ 110 para. 1a SGB VII), e.g. the cost of rehabilitation etc.

period of 30 years applies. Undeclared work can also be pursued as a criminal offence (§§ 8 et seq. SchwarzArbG, § 266a Criminal code).

At the moment, there is uncertainty about their rights in connection with irregular employment and this makes it difficult for domestic workers to recognise and track this. According to art. 16 of the convention, domestic workers must have effective access to justice and dispute resolution mechanisms and may not be subject to less favourable conditions than other employees. Art. 17 also requires compliance with the legal provisions for the protection of domestic workers through effective and accessible complaint mechanisms. In Germany, there are many de facto obstacles. However, the convention required member states to instigate initiatives in order to break down these obstacles.

As the convention's scope of application is linked to the employed status of domestic workers, they are subject to the same legal process as other employees. However, in the context of legal protection a private household is not recognised as a business and domestic workers are therefore not afforded the protection of the provisions in industrial constitution law. In this case, the obligation of the employer to appoint the necessary complaints bodies in accordance with § 84 BetrVG and § 13 AGG does not apply. Access to these complaint mechanisms is of particular importance for domestic workers due to their close proximity to and dependence on their employer.

The monitoring of worker protection standards is also more difficult for employment in a private household. The reason for this is that a workplace with the protected area status according to art. 13 of the GG corresponds to another fundamental right. This impacts the structure of basic law. This means that entering and visiting living places for monitoring compliance with the Working Hours Act has exacting requirements: Either the consent of the owner or the presence of an urgent danger to public safety or public order (§ 17 para. 5 ArbZG) is needed. Without this consent, there must be sufficient probability of damage to legally protected rights. The same applies to inspections carried out based on the police general clauses in state law or controlling undeclared work (§ 3 SchwarzArbG).

These restrictions are consistent with the convention as the special characteristics of domestic work and the private life of the employer must be taken into account

(art. 17 paras. 2 and 3, see also Kocher 2012, p. 31 et seq.). On the whole and considering the above-mentioned impediments, the lack of legal protection for domestic workers is increasing. It is not only the existing arrangements that require complete legal protection. On the contrary it is the mostly de facto barriers that do not allow effective legal protection due to problems in the enforcement and monitoring of the law. Therefore, the special situation of domestic workers must be covered by special legal provisions. Starting points for the effective promotion of opportunities to enforce the law are offered by focusing on the recommendations for the convention.

5 Recommendations

The non-binding recommendation (ILO recommendation 201) that accompanies the convention reads like a manual for the implementation of the convention. It contains specific information regarding the implementation of the convention and the issues that were controversial in the convention negotiations and have therefore not made it into the convention. In what follows, we want to give a few further concrete recommendations for the implementation of the convention in Germany.

5.1 Legal clarification

- The regulation on mandatory working conditions for the care sector (Care ArbStättVO) should be amended to the effect that its scope of application is extended to those employees working in private households that are predominantly concerned with care services. This encompasses the principle of equal treatment from art. 11 of convention no. 189.
- The provisions of Industrial constitution law should be extended to include the private household as a business in order to ensure equal treatment for domestic workers on a par with other employees in the area of co-determination.
- The exceptions in the ArbZG (§ 18 para. 1 no. 3) regarding employees that live together with the persons entrusted to them and whom they educate,

care for or support independently must be strictly handled. They can only be correctly applied to "SOS Children's Village Parents". A review and reformulation of § 18 para. 1 no. 3 of the ArbZG should be considered. The public opinion that live-in workers in private households are not covered by the ArbZG is incorrect and should be counteracted by the relevant information. Art. 8 to 12 of ILO recommendation 201 contains instruction on how to define and regulate working house and free time as well as on-call time for domestic workers. These issues are dealt with in Germany's first report to the ILO regarding the implementation of the convention.

- Domestic workers in minor employment receive poor security compared to other employees. This is a breach of the equal treatment principle in art. 12 of the convention. This unequal treatment must be eliminated.

5.2 Reducing bureaucracy

If workers (within the sense of § 8a SGB VI) are in minor employment in a private household, a simplified reporting and contribution procedure comes into effect between the employer and the mini-job centre (Minijob-Zentrale), the so-called housekeeping chequebooks. With the aid of a simple form, the employee can be registered and de-registered for social security. No separate contribution statement is needed from the private household - the mini-job centre bases its calculations on the information given for contributions, levies and relevant taxes and takes the amount for the so-called housekeeping chequebook directly from the employer's account.

In order to keep the costs associated with bureaucracy as low as possible for employment within a private household, similar facilities such as the housekeeping chequebook for minor employment, should be afforded to other employees in a household who are above the minor employment limit. A simplified registration procedure would not only make the stop towards employment subject to social insurance contributions easier but also help to stem the flow of undeclared work.

5.3 Alternatives to minor employment in private households

In addition to the legal problem of unequal treatment in minor employment in private households and in minor employment in general, there are also problems associated with so-called mini-jobs and gender equality issues in particular (BMFSFJ 2011, p. 142; Visel 2010). Mini-jobs were originally conceived by the legislator as purely additional income (e.g. for students and pensioners) but in light of the rapid increase in this form of employment this no longer the case. Minor employment cannot be the only way of combating undeclared work in private households. More effort should be made to bring employment relationships subject to social security contributions and stable employment to and for private households.

5.4 Promoting service pools or agencies that offer qualified household services and fair employment conditions

Studies show that private households often have service needs of just a few hours per week and it is therefore logical to consolidate a number of employment relationships into a regular part-time or full-time job. Service agencies act as employers for those employed in private households, they distribute domestic work, coordinate work schedules and invoice the private households. Service agencies are beneficial for households and employees:³³ They relieve households from their duties as employers and save them time and organisational costs when seeking and registering domestic workers. Those working in private households have a job subject to social security contributions and better opportunities to earn money by working more hours. The employees can also escape the isolation of working in a private household as they have contact with other colleagues and integration in a company structure. The agency management can also mediate in disputes between the worker and the private household. Thus, service agencies contribute to the professionalization and quality assurance of household services. Assessments done by service agencies have shown that customer interest was high but many companies could not afford to continue after the subsidies expired. Therefore, we recommend continued support for agencies and pools.

³³See Bittner and Weinkopf; BMFSFJ 2008.

5.5 Consultancy and support concepts for domestic workers

In order to inform domestic workers and in particular migrant support workers of their rights and to provide them with support, they need a contact point for consultations. The German Union Association (DGB) already has advice centres in the framework of the "Fair Mobility" project.³⁴ There is another advice centre for migrants working in private households in Stuttgart under the umbrella of Diakonie Württemberg. This advice centre supports women in irregular employment relationships in a private household³⁵ by telephone or via the internet. However, advice is not guaranteed everywhere. Consultation at local level is desirable. A mobile, flexible consultation service for support workers is needed in rural areas in particular as they often work in partial isolation. The introduction of an online advice centre would also be useful whereby the domestic worker can ask for advice anonymously and, where possible, in different languages. The opportunity for consultation via the internet would to a certain extent compensate for the partial isolation of domestic workers and break down barriers to access (see Krawietz and Visel 2013).

5.6 Law enforcement for migrant domestic workers

Migrant workers are often the subject of legal violations in private households such as withholding wages, non-compliance with free time or dismissal and cannot enforce their rights as they have returned to their country of origin or cannot afford legal assistance. The concrete proposals from ILO recommendation 201 include the establishment of a nation hotline with interpretation services and the establishment of a public advice service to inform domestic workers of their rights in a language that they understand.

Other way of enforcing the rights of domestic workers judicially are also conceivable. A legal aid fund should be set up to fund representative actions of domestic workers. Opportunities to take advantage of the legal aid should be structured in the same way as those for the existing legal aid fund for victims of human trafficking or extreme forms of exploitation that are established with the

³⁴ <http://www.faire-mobilitaet.de>.

³⁵ <http://www.vij-stuttgart.de/willkommensagentur/faircare-beratung.html>.

German Institute for Human Rights.³⁶ The legal aid fund to be established should also be available for support and exemplary proceedings in "normal" legal disputes for domestic workers in order to enforce wage claims and other rights arising from convention 189. As there have been hardly any proceedings in this area only a few domestic workers are union members (and therefore have no trade union protection) and the fact that law enforcement should be promoted due to the often irregular employment relationships, this would be an appropriate means to this end.³⁷ On the other hand the establishment of a non-bureaucratic ombudsman service or complaints office for domestic workers is desirable (see art. 7 of ILO recommendation 201).

In addition, the right for associations to bring class actions to represent the interest of domestic workers should be introduced. This could be structured based on the class action brought by environmental protection associations or in accordance with § 13 of the BGG (Equality for Disabled Person Act).³⁸

5.7 Monitoring the implementation of the convention

On a political level, the implementation of the ILO convention for domestic workers in Germany is still a process that is to be supported. In the context of the regular reporting procedures to the ILO, the Federal Government must justify the exclusion of domestic workers from the scope of application of the Working Hours Act according to § 18 para. 1 no. 3 and to whom the convention does not apply in this respect. When discussing this report, representatives from interest groups and NGOs must also be included. In this way, they can be made aware of the reporting obligations of the signatory states. Representatives from science and practice (NGOs, advisory bodies) can contribute towards rights for domestic workers through various activities and establishing networked lobbying.

³⁶ This legal aid fund is certainly relevant for enforcing the right of domestic workers but is only for use in cases of human trafficking and extreme exploitation.

³⁷ <http://www.institut-fuer-menschenrechte.de/projekt-zwangsarbeit-heute/rechtshilfefonds.html> (Accessed on 20.05.2014).

³⁸ This right to bring a class action allows associations that are recognised according to § 31 para. 3 of the BGG to bring class action lawsuits and investigate infringements of the prohibition of discrimination (§ 7 para. 2 BGG) and of the Federal Government's obligation to accessibility without having to prove that the rights of individual people with disabilities have been infringed.

5.8 Increase legal understanding

Knowledge of domestic workers' rights is only partially understood by those affected, such as employers. A generally widespread view is that irregularly employed domestic workers have no rights. Education work at various levels is needed here. Domestic workers can be informed by means of a short brochure in different languages (*know your rights* / the rights and obligations of domestic employees). Local initiatives such as FairCare by Diakonie Württemberg are examples of how domestic workers can be reached e.g. by distributing information brochures at bus stations.³⁹

As is proposed in art. 6 para. 3 of the recommendations, in order to improve legal understanding a *model contract for domestic work* should be developed and communicated in consultation with the proper associations for employers and employees as well as associations that represent domestic workers. A good example of a model contract is the one in Switzerland which is available in multiple languages and includes very detailed explanations of the rights and obligations.

If board and accommodation is given, then the non-assignable income must remain untouched. Remuneration under this limit must be paid out completely in cash without any deductions for payment in kind. The legal situation is very clear; however, this is still largely unknown.

5.9 Employer awareness

Empirical studies show that employers of domestic workers often feel overwhelmed by their obligations as employers (Emunds and Schacher 2012; Krawietz et al. 2014). They consider domestic workers to be part of the family and not employees with rights. An important step towards improving the conditions for domestic workers is to clarify and inform employers about their rights and obligations. For example, in the case of nursing activities in households, this could be addressing the family members and bringing to their attention the fact that round the clock care cannot be provided by just one person under labour and human rights laws in Germany. Another measure could be to extend a simple registration and

³⁹ Kai Schneider (vjj) lecture at the "Support workers - no rights despite existing rights?" from 13.05.2014 in Stuttgart.

automatic transfer system, like the housekeeping chequebooks for minor employment relationships via the "Minijob-Zentrale", to those in employment subject social security contributions in private households.

5.10 Increase the organisation of domestic workers

Other sectors and regions show that employment conditions for domestic workers always improve when they are collectively organised. Trade unions in neighbouring European countries like the Netherlands and Switzerland manage domestic workers and implement improvements to their working conditions.⁴⁰ Art. 2B of ILO recommendation 201 states that measures should be taken to improve the organisation of employees' and employers' associations.

6 Summary

Although there is still a long way to go before the aim of the convention for "decent work" for domestic workers is realised in all corners of the world, it is still a historic step in the long history of eliminating legal discrimination and the exclusion of particularly vulnerable workers. Now it is up to the will of national legislators and social parties and interest groups, as well as employers, to bring the convention into effect worldwide. This includes the ratification and implementation of the convention into national legislation; the implementation of effective strategies to ensure it can be enforced; making domestic workers and their employers aware of the legal issues as well as monitoring these rights and measures in order to effectively enforce their rights.

According to art. 3 para. 1 of the convention, every member state is to "takes measures to ensure the effective promotion and protection of human rights for all domestic workers as set out in this convention". Even if the legal situation in Germany largely complies with the convention - Germany does not fulfil the obligations in the convention if the existing rights of domestic workers, and in particular migrant care workers, are not complied with or protected. "Law in the

⁴⁰<http://www.unia.ch/Hauswirtschaft.4327.0.html>;
https://www.fnvbondgenoten.nl/site/branches/zakelijke_diensten/schoonmaak/downloadblokken/42810.

books" is not effective enforcement of the law. An offensive policy is urgently needed to bring rights violations and the widespread precariousness of these employment relationships to the fore within the sense of the convention.

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Equality and employment policy perspective for household and person-related services – The situation in the Netherlands

Expert report

Commissioned by:

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1 The Dutch welfare state in crisis

Like other European societies, the Dutch are also suffering from the change from a welfare state with a comprehensive supply to a neo-liberal policy where the fundamental needs of the population are no longer as secure as they were a few years earlier. This affects the decline of unemployment insurance and the simultaneous increase in unemployment (8.2% of the population of working age; double for 15-24 year olds), an increase in precarious employment relationships through flexi-contracts, insecure pensions and pension prospects, an increase in those receiving social welfare and the long-term unemployed, austerity measures in the area of care for the elderly as well as a shortage of affordable housing and day-care centres which affect young families in particular (Schnabel 2013). In the 1990s, housing companies were converted into independent companies without state subsidies. This led to high-risk speculation within the sector in which some of the largest companies went bankrupt instead of producing social housing. Combined with an irresponsible mortgages policy this led to a deepening crisis on the housing market.

The Dutch welfare state over the last 40 years can be split into the following periods: In the 1970s the post-war welfare state reached its height. The services related to generous unemployment support, health care, education and support for a number of specific population groups including migrants. By the beginning of the 1980s this system was no longer financially viable. Thanks to increasing unemployment, social expenditure increased, tax revenue decreased and national debt increased. Over several Christian Democrat governments (1982-1994), the services of the welfare state were cut back due to rigid savings and rationalisation measures. Since the economic and financial crises of recent years and under increasing pressure from Brussels, the state has sought a balance between savings measures in the public sector whilst stimulating the economy at the same time. This is done via a neo-liberal policy that focuses on the free market economy (see below) and removing, cutting back and/or privatising former socio-political services.⁴¹

⁴¹ If you access the website www.welzijnnederland.nl there is information on the activities of 350 organisations in different sectors of the welfare state, these are by no means all of them.

For a long time, the Dutch were renowned for their *Polder model* (and admired and envied by other countries). The parties seek practical compromises at all levels of society in the case of conflict in accordance with the motto: give-and-take. This phase is over, social, political and economic contrasts are dealt with openly under the diktat of economic constraints (Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling 2009; 2013a). However, the Dutch tradition of a "round table" has not been lost, the same can be said for the so-called *gedoog policy*. At a round table the municipal politicians gather together with teachers, social workers, representatives from the police, youth and health care and housing companies in order to work on conflicts in detail and develop new horizontal policies under the key word *new governance models*. At governmental level, the politicians "tolerate" (gedogen) it when their practices from the economic or social bureaucracies are known that actually require quick intervention.

Although the Dutch population and the public media have a growing unease in recognising the developments in society, it should not result in not one-sided conclusions say political scientists:

"If you listen carefully to what people say preoccupies them and what they hope and fear, they are different. It shows that they find a sense of community important and are worried about the quality of public spaces. They feel connected to their environment and with each other. They want (to give their life meaning. They complain about) all kinds of developments and they are bitter or outraged (about social deficits). This can be problematic... But it certainly does not show indifference." (Borgmann et al 2012, p. 519).

Compared to other European countries, the Netherlands is located in close proximity to the satisfied Scandinavian countries on the pessimism/optimism scale (Euro barometer 76.3) and the UNICEF children's surveys regularly show the Dutch children and young people are among the happiest in the world.

In light of the crisis in the Dutch welfare state, the innovative *civil society* concept is of utmost importance in socio-political and socio-educational discourse. It should encourage citizens to face up to the difficulties they experience in their daily lives, to bear in mind their overall well-being and be there for others. In particular, it should discourage citizens from expecting too much from the state ("recessive state"); do-it-

yourself. This includes the promotion of volunteer work: it should protect the society from splitting into anonymous groups and disengaged individuals and in turn it decreases public spending as citizens help other citizens (RMO 2013). Volunteer work is at the heart of communitarianism and is promoted as a counter-strategy against a largely individualised society.

Over the last few years and decades the emancipation movement has created a more equal gender balance both within the family (keywords life-work balance, "new father") as well as between people with a migration background and the Dutch population. A policy focusing on special migration groups (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese) and their integration into Dutch society is no longer being pursued. Instead the support measures focus on providing general educational help and early childhood development opportunities in pre-school and within the family. It is accepted that a "parallel society" has developed to a certain extent with heavily segregated urban areas (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague).

The "empowered" user of state services is also part of the emancipation movements: they are no longer passive and obedient recipients of social benefits but have instead become active consumers through mergers and lobbying who potentially claim their co-determination rights in court such as the healthcare system in the case of medical oversight or the education system in the case of discrimination. Such representations of interests arise in all public sectors that protect citizens from state or other arbitrariness (even in the market economy):

In a time where it is clear that the global financial crisis is penetrating the real national economy, it is also unclear how the state budget can handle this crisis, which population groups will benefit and which potential and real losses are to be counted.

One sector that is completely awry thanks to the financial crisis and an irresponsible mortgage policy is the *housing market*. As the banks no longer offer affordable mortgages and the housing companies have neglected their main task to build social housing in favour of speculation on the capital market, it is virtually impossible for young adults and prospective parents to find an appropriate living space for their family. This imbalance cannot be compensated for over a short period of time and is one of the most serious problems facing all social strata not just young parents.

Overall the Dutch are suffering from demographic changes as are other European countries: more and more elderly people must be sustained by less and less younger people; the intergenerational contract is coming under pressure.

The cursory statements up until now paint an ambivalent picture, a base coat that we are going to fill in with many different colours and shading.

Tendencies and strategies

In our overview, more and more developments and structural characteristics that pertain to welfare and social policy become obvious. In what follows we analyse them based on our materials and present in detail the contradictions that emerge.

Privatisation

State and municipal facilities, real estate and public services are (partially) privatised in order to save on costs and to create revenue. This type of privatisation is legitimised and legalised on the part of the state through references to increasing efficiency and healthy competition. This can be seen in the school and day-care sectors for example where local and smaller facilities are fused together, resources are pooled, unprofitable departments or services removed and, as is the case for school associations and hospitals, the public money is used to speculate on the stock market. Any losses must be compensated by the state and made up out of tax revenue. On the other hand, privatisation can also lead to selective increases in the quality of the services offered and the sale of these to interested parties such as quality curricula in day-care centres and private schools. Other examples can be found in the social insurance sector if a former public service for care of the elderly is still paid with public funds but is undertaken by private sector guided associations that operate according to business principles. These areas are, for the most part, *partially privatised* whereby the public sector bears the main costs but the execution is carried out by a private company.

Decentralisation

The decentralisation of state welfare goes hand-in-hand with the privatisation and partial privatisation of facilities at a local level. The state delegates rulings to the lower decision-making levels. This is currently taking place in the sector of youth welfare and help sector that should be or have already to a certain extent been transferred to

municipalities from 2015. Municipalities receive a budget for this which they can assign according to their needs (population composition; city-country; problem groups; local preferences and priorities). These measures (and their legal regulations) should bring about more transparency and above all efficiency in these sectors after decades of fruitless experiments: help can be faster and more targeted as they are "closer" to the clients and can be directly contacted by them such as helping parents with difficult children. The other side of decentralisation is that it leads to the "de-standardisation" of the youth policy as the municipality can set other priorities. This is not just the case for youth aid but also for caring for the elderly and the disabled that are also being transferred to the municipalities.

Bureaucratisation

With decentralisation, there is a universal tendency towards further bureaucracy. As the state is ultimately responsible for the general welfare services and tasks that are delegated. Therefore, it is necessary to arrange a control apparatus to prevent the misuse of public funds or deviations from the generally applicable values and rules. This takes place via an extensive catalogue of measures, statements of accounts, evaluations etc. and via supervisory boards that in turn hand over part of their functions to private providers that are eventually paid from public funds. Over the last few years and decades a vast number of consultancy offices have emerged that live off contracts such as these.

Professionalization

Even compared internationally, increases in efficiency and quality control lead to a tendency towards professionalization that reaches across all educational, family care and health and care of the elderly sectors. Professionalization is a strategy for balancing out deficiencies in the system. This is evident in the educational sector: the human capital that advanced societies depend upon is produced here and the shortages in the system are recognised quickly here, even by the outside world, e.g. PISA (Meyer/ Benavot 2013). Professionalization does not just serve to increase the general level of education such as in teacher training or the training of nurses and nursery school teachers but it also legitimises saving measures for example if so-called teaching assistants in schools or helpers in day-care centres with lower levels of

training take on teaching and educational tasks and therefore the facility is saved the costs of more expensive personnel.

A large proportion of staff in the areas of social welfare and education have a vocational education that can be elevated through training courses if desired. This range of courses is also used by the majority of the private sector and is purchased by the organisation for their employees - or (sometimes) by employees for themselves. The quality of these refresher, follow-up training and retraining courses differs and it is therefore difficult to regulate (as it is decentralised and partially privatised) and to compare the data.

It is expected that the workers in these sectors will (must) complete higher levels of and more standardised training. This is also done with a view to increasing labour mobility across national and international borders.⁴²

Fragmentation; medicalisation

Modern societies are constrained by a continued division of labour, a trend which Max Weber has already observed and described. Work processes are becoming more complex and happen in complex organisations. To cope with this many different qualifications are needed in order to increase the number of professionals and decision-makers. This can be observed and documented in the healthcare and education sectors. The topic of infants, pre-school children and school children is no longer conceived holistically but instead it is split into individual aspects that are "handled" by different professionals (with different qualifications and qualification levels): Teachers are responsible for formal education, social workers for those with family circumstances affecting their learning, healthcare and psychology experts are brought in to make diagnoses, test psychologists design performance tests etc.

The healthcare sector operates in a similar fashion: the (older) patient passes through a series of highly specialised facilities and measures which do not see them holistically but in separate sections before they are "accepted" by other different professionals

⁴² In the long-term this does not contradict the fact that a relatively high proportion of the low(est) qualified workers are active in the NL: 30% and this proportion has the tendency to increase. They also experimented with so-called evc's - Recognition of skills acquired outside of school (Harchaoui et al. 2013, p.12; 27)

and lower qualified workers. This separation of symptoms is an annoyance particularly for elderly persons.

This is coupled with the trend towards further developing medicalisation that should be counteracted by the planned reforms: the extension of the welfare system has led to the enormous differentiation of help for newly defined target groups. In doing so, mild and temporary antisocial behaviour in children and young people leads over time to serious problems and the (expensive) treatment of these by specialists. This tendency should be counteracted by means of de-specialisation and the delegation of problems at lower levels which particularly includes networks (see below):

The solution to this paradox of holistic vs. specialised and fragmented treatment is one of the biggest challenges facing modern societies.

Experimenting

The type of problems and contradictions of the Dutch welfare state during the crisis are not significantly different to Germany in terms of structure. However, the Netherlands differs from the situation in Germany in that it seems to experiment with models and grass roots approaches in order to find solutions and then learns from these experiences. Party political preferences and requirements play a role but success extends beyond party borders.

2 The definition of household and person-related services

As the above tendencies and strategies of the Dutch welfare state during the crisis have indicated, there is not clear and uniform definition for household and person-related services. In particular, the complex juxtaposition of the public and private or partially privatised services that are often done in cooperation with volunteers stand in the way of this, which the following examples will show. Therefore, it is logical to question the *effectiveness* of the number and variety of services. However, this would require a comprehensive evaluation of all the tenders and how they relate (or do not relate) to one another, a task for the state if anyone. It is precisely this wish to delegate services as far as possible to lower levels which in turn operate in a decentralised manner and thus only evaluate their respective sub-areas and not systematically.

2.1 Centralised and decentralised networking

The negative and contradictory effects of the strategies and tendencies described come up against counter-strategies the most important of which is network building. They are both at local and higher levels and new connections can be made and stimulated due to revolutions in the ICT area and in particular through social media. They work against the fragmentation, over-specialisation and bureaucratisation of associations and reduce costs in public services as they allow for small and flexible units and mutual services that can be directed towards the needs of those affected such as for childcare and care of the elderly.

The state recognises and uses networking as a modern and promising strategy for activating citizens, to reduce costs and promote a sense of community (De Boer et al. 2013): A key pillar to this is the voluntary sector.⁴³ The "Nederlandse Zorgautoriteit" (Nza) monitors the social care sector to ensure that the rules of service providers are complied with. They specify tariffs, check services delivered and budgets. Where possible the Nza delegates responsibility and implementation provisions to the respective care and health insurance providers. They should negotiate the prices for their services with the respective partners and monitor the quality and targeting efficiency of the products themselves (<http://www.nza.nl/organisatie/>). The laws governing social and care insurance are also drastically reduced.

Domestic services (dienstverlening aan huis)

Service providers can be officially employed for up to 3 days per week in a private household.⁴⁴ The state promotes these services to reduce the amount of unregistered work and to create jobs where mainly unqualified workers can get experience that will open up regular jobs for them so they can gain additional earnings.

It includes services in and around the house such as:

- Cleaning, laundry, ironing, cooking

⁴³ In the NL 44% of the adult population are active in one or more voluntary organisations or functions. This puts the country in pole position internationally (www.vrijwilligerswerk.nl).

⁴⁴ State "Regeling dienstverlening aan huis" (<http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/arbeidsovereenkomst-en-cao/dienstverlening>)

- Gardening
- Walking the dog
- Going shopping and to the pharmacy
- Looking after the elderly, children, sick persons and caring for them by using a "person-linked insurance package" (persoonsgebonden budget pgb).⁴⁵

As the employer, the users of household services do not need to pay taxes, wages and employer costs or insurance costs. Protection against dismissal and further wage payments in the case of illness are limited. It is recommended that employers and auxiliary staff come to a written agreement on hourly wages (at least the statutory minimum wage), tasks, rights and obligations.

The service provider has the right to:

- 8% holiday pay and further payment over the statutory holidays (4x the number of working days per week).
- In the case of illness, the salary must be paid for 6 weeks (at least 70% of the applicable minimum wage).

They have no right to: Support in the case of illness, unemployment or accidents at work.

Recently municipalities experimented with obligating those in receipt of welfare to take any job in order to "earn" the social services. This even became law in 2014. At the moment recipients of social assistance are already mainly active in caring for the elderly side but also in schools and day-care facilities where the boundaries are blurred between additional workers and substitute regularly paid workers.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ The so-called Alphahulp is responsible for simple domestic tasks and care and is approved for the requesting party by one of the health insurance companies' indicators. These workers can only work for a maximum of 12 hours per week, distributed over 2 days. Alpha helpers do not need training but should have social skills and be familiar with household tasks. They should have no family ties with the clients/employers. They receive a fixed hourly wage incl. holiday pay and do not need to make any wage costs and social security contributions but it is taxable. Alpha helpers are distributed via specialised offices (http://www.huishoudelijkehulp-vergelijken?onderdeel=alpha_hulp).

⁴⁶ Volkskrant 31 July 2013

At the moment, a social worker or provider of household services with professional training starts on a salary of about EUR 1900 gross.

All service providers can take training to courses to further (increase) their qualifications but they do not yet have to. There is no centralised quality control but it is likely that this will be introduced in time in order to level the major differences across the municipal range.

2.2 Nursing care

In addition to the above mentioned domestic services, there are also special services for the elderly in need of care that are covered by the "persoonsgebonden budget" (see above):

- Simple medical tasks such as taking blood pressure readings, wound care after operations or pressure sores; setting up infusion apparatus;
- Personal care (body and hair washing, putting on and taking off support stockings; helping the patient get up).⁴⁷

Neighbourhood management

The developments described above (see also footnotes 5-9) have led to the establishment of social neighbourhood teams (sociale wijkteams). This is a collective term for a variety of decentralised initiatives that have been formed over the last five years a range from which we describe below that are partly forerunners to the social neighbourhood team.

The neighbourhood team should relieve the municipal social services. They combine professional with voluntary help and all aim towards encouraging active participation among the residents and civil commitment. They are supported by the municipalities that prepare them for the new care and nursing tasks entrusted to them from 2015 onwards. These teams include people such as social workers, carers for the elderly, preventive care (including debt relief) and those working in socio-cultural areas. The

⁴⁷ In order to save more costs (see footnote 5) the costs for personal care should be undertaken by the municipality that receive them in turn from health insurance companies for basic medical care. The sector makes a stand here: such a separation would be absurd and splits staff (NRC Handelsblad 12.9.2013).

teams should also ensure that the impenetrable jungle of instances and competencies is cleared to make way for few and clearer networks so that those in need of care know who to turn to and which of the various caregivers provides which services. The neighbourhood team performs the function of a "social doctor" in that they bridge the gap between care needs and specialist medical care and take on care after treatment. This can lead to tensions between the "professionals" and proto-professionals. Concerns regarding commercial law and traditional occupational areas that fear autonomy also bring tension (Sociaal Werk in de Wijk 2013).

Leiden as an example

Over the course of the planned decentralisation (2015) the municipalities receive budgets and tasks for the employment service, recipients of social support; (youth) care and welfare including for the elderly and those with disabilities. At the same time the budget will be reduced by 25%. Therefore, municipalities will need to actively recruit voluntary help. In Leiden for example there are approximately 116,000 inhabitants, of these 3100 received social welfare and around 1200 young people and young adults are unfit for work. Approximately 1400 people have the right to domestic help and support for mental or physical disabilities. Around 1600 people have the right to personal assistance (pgb), most of these are the elderly. Currently the municipality receives approximately 50 million Euros from the Kingdom to carry out these tasks; in 2015 12.5 million Euros less.

The philosophy of the municipality of Leiden is to motivate those receiving support to offer voluntary help themselves if they are able to do so. A consultant for the municipality mediates between the person requesting help and socio-financial support as this is regulated by law and is committed to providing at least part of the support needed through volunteers. In Leiden, the same as in other cities, nurses have formed self-employed organisations and offer their services to the municipal social welfare departments. They prefer self-organised work to anonymous and bureaucratic social welfare. In doing so they buy into the time-honoured tradition of district nurses ("wijkzuster") but as self-employed workers who organise their work without supervision and according to their own needs and that of their customers. Thanks to their high level of education (vocational training college or university) they can

undertake all activities that would otherwise be distributed across multiple service providers i.e. not just personal hygiene etc. but also changing dressings and administering injections. The sister team "Buurtzorg Leiden" is connected to the umbrella organisation "Buurtzorg Nederland" which consists of hundreds of these teams.

A city like Leiden has approximately 80 organisations that are active in the various social welfare sectors in addition to the municipal and commercial ones (the latter particularly for domestic workers). This number has led to substantial overlapping and in no way to the expected decrease in costs due to price-cutting competition. In Leiden in January 2014, five of these so-called social neighbourhood teams should be established (see the brochure "Samenwerken in de wijk" 2013).

Neighbourhood groups in Leiden:

The Alte neighbourhood group is part of an existing neighbourhood association. They recently organised a meeting in which the citizens were asked to become involved in the provision of "small services" such as helping with shopping, dog walking, gardening and organising joint free time activities. The meeting was organised by a social worker and was particularly lively due to the majority of elderly residents. This is an informal initiative and therefore reduces costs.

Neighbourhood assistance (burenhulp)

The centre for neighbourhood assistance, (<http://www.burenhulpcentrale.nl>), liaises with contacts in a district of the city. The municipality of The Hague was the first to establish a centre for neighbourhood assistance in all districts. Residents of the districts can turn to the centre for informal assistance and for small services that are principally unpaid.

Here it is interesting that the neighbourhood relationships that previously formed of their own accord with mutual assistance are now centrally-decentrally regulated.

Residential retirement homes

Age-related diseases such as dementia are on the increase due to the continued ageing of the population. At the same time the need to postpone or even prevent the

move to a retirement or nursing home for as long as possible is increasing for many elderly people. The state is also keen that elderly (sick) people should provide for themselves for as long as possible and that family members are involved in their care.

The LIBERTAS organisation provides personalised living complexes for elderly people with dementia.⁴⁸ These living complexes are effectively small retirement home for 6-7 persons. In Leiden for example they include a common living room and kitchen. They eat together and each resident has their own 2 room apartment with their own furniture. The apartments are also suitable for couples with dementia. Professional employees provide a homely atmosphere and respect the residents' routines. They are available 24 hours per day/night and encourage them to participate in daily domestic tasks. Family members and volunteers are involved in their care.

The right to such "private retirement homes" is ensured via a special indication in the relevant health insurance that also bears the majority of the costs (<http://www.libertasleiden.nl/wonen/wonen-en-dementie/kleinschalig-wonen/>).

Networked care

The VILANS expert centre for long term care (the disabled, chronically ill, elderly with dementia) specialises in so-called "ketenzorg" (keten=chain), a term that can be perhaps rewritten as networked care. VILANS helps the corresponding institutions to develop and practice networked care. Their aim is to do this on a scientific level in order to ensure the quality of care providers and their communication with each other. To this end, they developed an evaluation instrument that is built around the concepts of "network logistics" (ketenlogistiek), "network management" (ketencommitment) and entrepreneurship. Its promise to its potential customers: "We can tailor our instruments to you in such a way that you can evaluate your network (jouw keten) and compare it with others! Watch the short video to see how the instrument works" (<http://www.vilanus.nl/Pub/Home/Ons-aanbod/Dienstgen/Dienstern-Zelfevaluatie-ketenzorg>).

⁴⁸ See also the Landelijke Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen van Ouderen (LVGO)

Cooperatives in care ("zorgcooperaties")

There are new forms of basic organisations, so-called "zorgcooperaties" where patients and those in need of help can find the care themselves and structure care services according to their own interests. They arose due to dissatisfaction with the impersonal and inflexible working methods of large bureaucratic social welfare organisations. These types of cooperatives are also cited internally as good examples for reducing poverty, creating jobs and promoting integration.

The *zorgcooperatie Tot uw Dienst* (cooperative to their services) is organised in the form of an association. The owners are those requesting care and those providing care. The members (there are now over 300) pay an annual fee of EUR 15.60. Those providing care are all small self-employed businesses. For an hourly rate of EUR 16.70 they provide domestic help and personal care for EUR 22.90. They pay a small contribution to the association out of their hourly wage which in turn finances courses for the care provider using this money e.g. Courses on dementia, lifting techniques, reanimation. The association works together with volunteers that help the requesters to complete the relevant forms needed for their health insurance company to reimburse costs. They tell the applicants how much compensation they are entitled to, based on the diagnosis presented and this amount can be made available to the applicant (NRC Handelsblad 28.12.2012).

The *zorgcooperatie StadsdorpZuid* in Amsterdam is a similar initiative for elderly residents in the district to help them remain in their own apartment for as long as possible. For EUR 90 per year the members receive domestic help when necessary via a permanent team with access to trusted workers. They are invited to district meetings and can join residents' groups to "keep a mutual eye on each other" if they want (De Boer et al. 2013, p. 17).

Zorgcooperaties can also emerge if the public sector wants to close a retirement home in a small municipality and the elderly residents must move to a larger municipality. The resident of the village of Warffum did not allow this to happen. Sie gründeten eine zorgcooperatie, die regelt, dass die Alten solange wie möglich in ihrem eigenen Haus

wohnen bleiben können, bevor sie in ein „hofje“⁴⁹ mit 25 angepassten Wohnungen umziehen und dort von sozial- und medizinfürsorgerischen Kräften im Verein mit Ehrenamtlichen betreut werden (NRC Handelsblad 5. 4. 2013).

Professionals have concerns about these initiatives: what happens when the volunteers don't want to do it anymore? Do the elderly really receive professional care? – Etc.

Neighbourhood assistance (burenhulp) and other grass roots initiatives

These grass roots networks are not only founded for the sick that are in need of care but district residents also create "wijkondernemingen" (neighbourhood companies) for many other areas. E.g. in order to purchase and install solar panels, open a restaurant in the district or found a neighbourhood home. A map of the Netherlands filled with flags to show information on the types of companies can be found online at www.wijkonderneming.nl.

A new initiative should be mentioned here that been copied many times and received media attention: City residents plant biological crops in empty plots or at the edge of the city for their own use or to be sold locally. For example, the "Stichting Transfarmers" (www.transfarmers.nl) expect an increase in community spirit from these activities and network with schools, organise workshops on healthy eating etc. with regards to the disturbing number of overweight children and adolescents.⁵⁰

Self-organisation in domestic help (Buurtzorg Nederland)

This association organises domestic services themselves: a group of service providers join together and distribute the work themselves over a manageable catchment area (one or more districts of the city) according to their own insights and the need of their clients (the elderly; medical care). This leads to much more efficient and client-friendly care than that with central regulators. There are now 6000 professionals connected with Buurtzorg Nederland (www.buurtzorg.nl).

⁴⁹ *Hofjes* are typical Dutch facilities that stem from the 18th century and where elderly residents from the city live in enclosed garden courtyards with small houses. These *hofjes* still exist today but are no longer solely for older people but are also occupied by students for example.

⁵⁰ 15% of all Dutch persons from 2-25 years old are overweight, as confirmed by the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) for 2012.

Proposed model for bundling care from the welfare state

In cooperation with the association of Dutch cities and others, five Dutch municipalities recently developed a model in order to prepare all the municipalities for the upcoming decentralisation of the youth, elderly and disabled care with the associated new tasks and responsibilities (De Boer/De Klerk 2013). This is not a uniform model for all municipalities but takes into account existing local conditions and already proven cooperations that are themselves a result of decentralisation. The proposed model calls for an integrated care team that is (potentially already) responsible for one district of the city, so-called "sociale wijkteams" (SWTs). They are based on five fundamental principles:

- An integral plan for each household (instead of splitting it into different aspects and service providers);
- Establishing a new social profession in order to do this, the so-called "integraal sociaal werker";
- Far-reaching competencies of the SWTs;
- The role of municipal policy is restricted to the optimal support and precise control of the processes set in motion;
- Financing based on results achieved for the target groups.

The "integraal sociaal werker" profession that is still to be developed should:

- Actively address citizens;
- Identify and operationalise support issues at an early stage;
- Draw up and implement a support plan as well as amend it as necessary;
- Use existing networks and resources of the municipality.

The municipality is responsible for developing practical evaluation criteria as a financial basis. Using the SWT should lower costs in particular as special services (e.g. psychiatric treatment) are primarily and only granted if lighter support forms are not

enough. The "integraal sociaal werker" makes this assessment.⁵¹ However so many variations of this model have been approved that the question is whether anything will change significantly in the existing, and often unproductive, division of labour (and duplication) of services. The only certain thing is that the financial and human resources are not increasing on the contrary social welfare resources should be (and are already being) saved.

National merger of problem districts (Landelijk Samenwerkingsverband Aandachtswijken – LSA)

The LSA organises a network of experienced city/district residents that advise residents on their problems. Every one of these experienced consultants is specialised in a particular field (e.g. Power of veto under threat of demolition). These volunteer consultants receive coaching training from the LSA. A resident who has a specific question sends an email (info@lsabewoners.nl) to the secretariat of the LSA who in turn activates a specialist from their data bank who can answer the query.

2.3 Digital media - local networks

Over the last few years online neighbourhood assistance has developed. Digital media platforms network neighbourhood residents e.g. two (white) wealthy earners and an immigrant family with lots of children in a district of Amsterdam. The two earners are looking for a babysitter and the teenage daughter from the immigrant family is seeking a part-time job. Media platforms bring these two partners together. There are also apps with similar question facilities such as for borrowing tools (collaborative consumption), advertising a catering service in the neighbourhood or to establish contact between homosexuals in a residential area.⁵²

⁵¹ However, in practice the existing staff from various sectors and financiers - municipality; care insurance; commercial service providers - must be used and potentially retrained.

⁵² See De Waals blog De Nieuwe City and The Mobile City, a think-tank that investigates the role of new media in society. De Waal works at the University of Amsterdam (UvA).

Do-it-yourself conferences (AKK) (eigen kracht conferenties)

The AKK emerged from local initiatives whereby a network of family members and acquaintances is activated in order to solve problems. The starting point is for the affected parties to solve the conflict in the most effective way.⁵³

An AKK functions thus: Whoever needs help or whatever kind turns to the AKK centre and asks for a coordinator, possibly (but not mandatory) through the mediation of a professional care worker. This coordinator does not know the personal circumstances of the requesting party, they are completely neutral. Their task is to substantiate the problem together with the parties (the requester and their family members) and then organise the necessary help. Then the coordinator contacts all those involved in the problem, e.g. the parents of friends, teachers and possibly (but preferably not immediately) social workers in the case of divorce involving children. They then ask all the parties involved how they would resolve the issue. A decisive factor for success is that the requester and the family discuss the problem and set out an action plan. The coordinator is not involved here, they only check to see if the plan will succeed i.e. if the problem is outlined clearly and the people who can help and named.

Professional care providers are sceptical and have multiple arguments, e.g. family problems are often too complex to be solved by lay persons. It is evident that they are pitting their professionalism against the grass roots initiative. Nevertheless, AKK initiatives has spread rapidly: within the last year and a half almost 2000 conferences have taken place with 17000 participants. An AKK costs approximately EUR 4000 that is paid by the municipality, province or from funding.⁵⁴

2.4 Parent-child counsellors

The city of Amsterdam plans to employ 500 parent-child counsellors over 21 problem districts that will work together with schools. The first aim is to differentiate between serious and less serious issues and secondly for parents to solve the problems

⁵³ The AKK is based on a method from New Zealand which has practised *Family Group Conferences* for a long time and they are the basis of youth welfare. The new Dutch youth law plans to adopt this method (Jorritsma 2013).

⁵⁴ An evaluation study by the University of Delft calculated that 100 participating families with problems save 4.8 million by using the AKK method and not the official youth and other care services (Jorritsma 2013).

themselves as far as possible with the help of family members, friends and neighbours. This measure is in connection with the planned decentralisation of youth welfare at province and municipality level (see below). This is quite clearly a cost-saving measure which at the same time slows the growing costs of youth welfare; the idea is that not all problems in the youth sector need professional help (NRC Handelsblad 22.3.2013). The "professionals" fear disempowerment and a wave of redundancies.

2.5 Internationalisation of household services

The government recently set up a commission to examine how the Netherlands can fulfil the *international guidelines* from 2011 that require the same rights for domestic workers as for other employees. So far the government has avoided applying this directive for fear of financial consequences. Adopting the directive would result in those who carry out domestic work having the so-called *wittewerksterregeling* ("white market regulation") right to protection from dismissal as well as industrial injury insurances among other things; therefore, these service providers would become more expensive in the future (NRC Handelsblad 18/19 May 2013):

2.6 Internationalisation of social care professions

Within the framework of the Interregio *Programma Euroregio Maas-Rijn* a cross-border project was implemented called "Future Proof for Cure and Care" (C&C). This is to promote the harmonisation of education in the area of social welfare and is to counteract an increase in needs from clients and professional groups of the C&C beyond their own country. The program refers to the general increase in mobility of people, goods and service within the European Union.

Over 25 organisations have joined the Euregio Maas-Rijn and have therefore created a "Euro-regional" market. A "competence campus" for life-long learning is planned where the existing training courses can be married up with each other and criteria with mutual recognition should be developed. This should increase the compatibility of job mobility and employability.

The "employability" office from the Zuyd Technical College, Fakulteit Management en Recht, Opleiding People and Business Management, Contactpersoon Ingrid Brands

have been experimenting since November 2012 with a study course in this area (<http://www.employability.nu/project-future-proof-for-cure-and-carare.html>).

2.7 Family; work-life balance

Family policy

The Netherlands has no independent family policy - a legacy of the pillared society that had and still does define family as a private matter. This does not mean that there are few welfare services available to families ("implicit family policy"). Family policy is the responsibility of the Ministry for Youth and Family, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry for Public Health and Sport, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour as well as the Ministry for Education, Culture and Science. It requires a major effort to develop sustainable horizontal policies here. In fact it comes to competence fragmentation, unclear boundaries and the resulting waste of resource and a proliferation of instances where officials should be organised into evaluation and coordination committees (with the appropriate allowances) with a large number of rules. All of this requires another vote and leads to new rules; the bureaucratic apparatus and effort increases.

The main family policy tasks are directed at the following three areas (see Bucx 2011 for the following):

- Income support
- Help in combining childcare and paid employment
- Educational support

The last area receives particular attention that is justified as good family counselling contributes to detecting health, behaviour and schooling problem earlier and therefore improves social integration in the long term. Income support also targets this area as a means against *risk of poverty* and a deterioration of education and training opportunities.

According to the latest figures every tenth child (11.1%) is living below the poverty line. Poor families run a higher risk of debt and becoming (more) socially isolated. Usually these children cannot take part in child and youth cultural activities such as sports and music clubs and are therefore deprived of these important learning events and contact

with their peers outside of school. This is mainly children from families in receipt of benefits and single parent families. In 2011 the number of under-age children living in households where the income was under the legally stipulate income threshold was 371,000. Almost 28% of children from single parent families live under this threshold (Nieuwbrief Jeugd 12 September 2013, no. 7; Otten et al. 2012).

The area of childcare and paid employment has seen an intense debate on emancipation lead by women's movements since the 1970s and resulted in the development of extra-familial childcare (Emancipation monitor 2010). Since 2005 day-care facilities are no longer financed by the state but instead working parents receive subsidies from the state and employer depending on their income. These subsidies have been severely cutback since 2011 and should be reduced even further as part of general austerity policy (financial crisis).

Despite a significant increase in the number places at day-care facilities over the last few years, just 58% of all working mothers use these services or host parents and only 21% of those with children of nursery school. Grandparents and other family members and neighbours offer private help to care for children.

Young families will continue to be supported by the following measures:

- Maternity leave: 6-4 weeks before the birth with a minimum of 10 weeks afterwards. During this time women have the right to financial support to the amount of their last salary. Their partners have the right to 2 days of paid leave after the birth.
- Young parents have the right to publicly funded help once a week by someone with a basic training (vocational) in mother and baby care, so-called *kraamhulp*;
- In contrast to other European countries, in the Netherlands there is no right to paid parental leave. Unpaid leave to care for children up to 8 years of age is regulated by law: 26 times the weekly working hours of the carer. 41% of women and 19% of men use this regulation.
- Women are not obliged to inform their employer of their pregnancy and pregnancy is not grounds for dismissal with an important exception of

probationary periods.⁵⁵ The employer is also legally bound to affect no changes to the employment contracts of pregnant women or those returning to work without their consent. They have the right the right to the same or equivalent working conditions as before their pregnancy.

- Child benefit: the amount depends on the age of the child (max. 18 years old) and is scaled depending on the number of children and parents can take advantage of tax benefits. These are dependent on the family income situation (the poorer they are, the more they get; particular consideration is given to single parents/mothers).

Young parents will continue to receive support through free advice centres that are obligated to visit so-called *consultatie bureaus* on a regular basis.

Compatibility model

The Netherlands has the highest number of parents on part-time contracts than anywhere in Europe. Three quarters of all women, including those without children, favour these working arrangements and are able to achieve them (in contrast to 40% in Germany). It is unusual to have parents working full-time during the baby and toddler stages.

According to family sociologists the preference for half-day work is linked to the maternity ideology that is characteristic of the Netherlands (Portegijs/Keuzenkamp 2008). Young parents want to send their children to day-care but not 9 hours a day for 5 days a week. Therefore, they arrange *mixed models* themselves that look as follows: The mother returns to work at the end of the first year after the birth of the child. She works 2 ½ - 3 days per week and the father 4-5 days, the rest of the time the child spends in day-care facilities and/or with host parents and/or family members (grandparents). Even younger generations of parents prefer this arrangement. The increasing demand for affordable day-care places does not contradict this as the desired level of cover has not yet been reached.

⁵⁵ According to estimates 65,000 women are dismissed yearly or their employment contract is not extended because they are pregnant (NRC Handelsblad 1 June 2013).

The mixed model puts the state at a disadvantage as (due the low number of working hours per week) they lose tax from female employment. It also has a disadvantage for women in that the top positions remains out of reach in contrast to those working full days. It is advantageous to young families in that "mother time" and on a smaller scale "father time" is available for the baby and therefore family stress is lower than when both parents work full time. Women are allowed to maintain their connection with their place of work and frequently leave the house. This kind of combination of parental work time allows most young families to maintain their standard of living. It is different for single parents and poor families - mainly women; as their standard of living decreases significantly after divorce or separation and the risk of poverty increases. Working single parents have the right to a full-time place at day-care (Bucx/de Roos 2011).

The family compatibility of the mixed model does not mean that the young parents are stress-free; on the contrary. Often the partners work in different cities and must organise childcare down to the minute and hope that the plan does not go awry due to illness or other calamities. Thanks to higher levels of education in women, they have become more ambitious and invest more time and energy into their careers. They want to have children but the higher their level of education the later they choose to become pregnant and their career must come first "in the list".⁵⁶

Although (young) fathers are much more open to sharing the domestic and childcare duties with their partner than previous generations (Duyvendak/Stavenuiter 2004) and that this is usually negotiated between the two before the birth, time studies show that women spend more time invested in domestic activities and childcare per week than men. This leads to a *re-traditionalisation* of gender relations (Cloïn/Schols 2011; du Bois-Reymond 2013).

There is also another aspect that maintains the traditional gender roles and that is the *care of elderly family members* that are looked after much (more) frequently by daughters or daughters-in-law and other female family members than by men. The pressure to provide private care is increasing thanks to neo-liberal policies combined

⁵⁶ In 1970 Dutch women had their first child at 24.3 years old, in 2009 at 29.4 years old (de Graaf 2011, p. 47).

with austerity measures. Young parents, in particular young mothers are a "sandwich generation". Their life is both framed and restricted by the growing older population.

Childcare under pressure

Even if most young parents do not put their children in childcare for the whole week, they still want optimum flexibility in the service in order to structure their family agenda to address their need as far as possible. Here they encounter resistance from the institutions to whom financial organisational aspects, fixed times and ability to plan the service are important and from an educational point of view to ensure the continuity of care staff. Educational quality is particularly important to parents but they assess this according to the criteria that there are no conflicts or problems that would put strain on them. The quality of the educational professionalism eludes them for the most part.

Lately further and more contradictory tensions have emerged that can be summarised under the heading of "crisis in extra-familial care and upbringing" and is the subject of intense public discussion.⁵⁷ Family income is decreasing due to the financial crisis; redundancies and flexi-contracts as well as rising unemployment are now part of everyday working life.⁵⁸ Parents save on day-care costs.⁵⁹ Vice versa, day-care centres strive to keep their clients and to lure them in with special offers. In "luxury crèches" the little ones are regaled with classical music, picked up from home and brought back, receive physiotherapy and hairdressers and a yoga teachers are all part of the service. "Normal" day-care centres can only cover their costs if parents are obliged to accept a (highest possible) number of fixed days and hours per week and also pay over the holidays. A reverse trend to counteract declining numbers and economic losses is when day-care centres attract parents with flexible opening and attendance times, combine qualified and unqualified carers and potentially offer

⁵⁷ See NRC Handelsblad from 1 March 2013 for example: "Crèches moeten in crisistijd meebuigen met de ouders" (day-care centres must adapt to parents in times of crisis); Expert Centre for "socio-emotional aspects in day-care centres" from the Dutch Youth Institute.

⁵⁸ At the moment, the unemployment rate of the working-age population is 8.2% - usually high for the Netherlands and is rising through permanent business closures and rationalisation.

⁵⁹ In the first quarter of 2013, the number of participating parents that asked for financial contributions decreased by 10% compared to 2012 (Nieuwsletter Nederlands Jeugdinstituut 12 June 2013). In the first half of 2013, 85 day-care centres went bankrupt - twice as many as in 2012 and 512 day-care centres were closed in the same period. (NRC Handelsblad 31.7.2013).

"expensive" and "cheap" places. Newly won over parents are given gifts e.g. a new mini-iPod with 400 Euros or a bicycle (NRC Handelsblad 1 March 2013).

The Dutch Youth Institute is concerned about these developments in the context of educational quality and notes:

- An increase in young babies (3-4 months old) at day-care groups;
- Many babies visit day-care for just 1-2 days so the carers do not know them as well and they can be looked after by various carers over the course of the day;
- Increasing time pressures whereby the care largely focuses on physically caring for the babies and the educational work misses out;
- Stressed parents have too little time to maintain regular contact with the day-care centre.

Even BOINK, the umbrella organisation representing the interests of parents in the day-care sector, is worried and does not agree with this far-reaching commercialisation and simultaneous rationalisation. The chairperson of the board calls for a "base package" similar to health insurance companies that assumes nine (fixed) hours of care per day. Parents can buy additional hours if needed.⁶⁰ It has also been documented scientifically that poor quality day-care centres that are only focused on market economy criteria, have a long term damaging effect on babies. They warn against sending babies to day-care at a young age.⁶¹

Maternity aid (kraamzorg)

Something that also affects maternity aid (kraamzorg - 1 week help after the birth, see above) is that the state is concerned with losing control over the decentralised and/or (semi-)private initiatives and facilities. Tighter *professionalization* rules should prevent this. On 18 April 2013, this was, in a sense, opened up as an "Expert Centre for Maternity Aid" (Kenniscentrum kraamzorg). The centre aims to profile these "silent" sectors. Ein Registriersystem kontrolliert, was die Berufskräfte an Fortbildungskursen absolvieren (siehe www.kenniscentrumkraamzorg.nl).

⁶⁰ In 2013 the state subsidy per day-care centre was 30%: in 2008 this was still 60%.

⁶¹ See M. Eerkens and E. Poerink in NRC Handelsblad from 4 June 2013.

Private day-care centres; host parents

One example from the private sector are so-called *Participatiecrèches* where young parents found day-care centres on their own initiative (the hourly rate is 1/3 of the price of a regular day-care centre). Although this initiative even propagates the state's idea of responsible citizens, the organisations (a foundation) complain that they are confronted by ever stricter rules that effectively gag the initiative: the care parents must have a diploma in pedagogy if they want to receive state financial aid and group sizes and hygienic standards are stipulated (Hilhorst/Zonneveld 2012, p. 18/19). The foundation also provides *guest parents*. These are also subject to strict rules.⁶²

More stringent controls and regulations in the informal day-care sector should counteract its development in that childcare is mostly in the hands of completely unqualified persons. This cannot prevent parents finding others who leave near each other via the www.oudermatch.nl website and organising informal child supervision. These kinds of websites also exist in Germany.

Brede school; integrated child centres

Since the mid-1990s, full day schools have developed so-called *brede schools* in the area of pre-schools and schooling. In their current form, they consist of a school set up and an associated, but independently functioning and financed day-care centre (du Bois-Reymond 2011).

Recently the daycare and schooling sector organisations have leant their support for merging existing facilities into integrated childcare centres (integraal kindercentrum IKC) for children ages 2-12 i.e. until the last year of primary school. This should create a closed circuit: extra-familial childcare, full day school, childcare and other state welfare for children and their parents. This initiative is particularly aimed at children

⁶² Guest parents must accept 6 children including their own up to the age of 10 years. Of these 6 children, a maximum of 5 can be below 4 years of age and of these a maximum of 4 younger than 2 years of age and of these a maximum of 2 younger than 1 years old. The OOK foundation (www.kinderopvangook.nl) collects a fixed monthly contribution for mediation, monitoring and help in the event of problems; the guest parents receive a monthly wage. See also the offer from the Dutch Youth Institute: "help for guest parents in using the educational framework" which guides so-called mediation employees through the creation of a so-called accompanying educational plan (www.nji.nl/eCache/DEF/1/48/289.html).

with speech and other developmental issues.⁶³ It should however be pointed out that the implementation of such a far-reaching plan still faces many difficulties (Nieuwsbrief Jeugd 4 April 2013, no. 13). The government's promotion of integrating the entire sector goes hand in hand with planned austerity measures on the one side and on the other with their own interests in increasing the number of women in (almost) full day employment (Nieuwsbrief Jeugd 16 May 2013, no. 18).

They will be partially financed by the state that same as other facilities but will not be directed from "the top" but instead left to local communities notably the municipality.

By further integrating all child and youth facilities, the state and municipalities (as well as parents) are hoping to better coordinate individual sub-sections. The brede schools should be able to do this in referring children and parents with problems quickly and above all effectively to specialists.

Development, childcare and school advice centres for 0-12 year olds (Expertisecentrum Ontwikkeling, Opvang en Onderwijs – EC O3)

EC03 is an amalgamation of a university institute (Kohnstamm Instituut), a private consultancy firm (Sardes) as well as the Dutch Youth Institute (NJI) that form a networked structure and work closely with other practical institutions in these areas. The aim of the EC 03 is to bring scientific knowledge to professional practice and the field and to contribute to professionalism and vice versa to work on issues brought by practitioners (www.eco3.nl).

Centre for youth and family (Centra voor jeugd en gezin – CJG)

These municipal facilities should, on the one hand, bridge the gap between youth welfare and youth aid and create "responsible citizens" (parents) that actively represent their own interests instead of passively waiting for state support. In concrete terms: a single mother can no longer reach an agreement with her pubescent 12-year-old son. He has fallen in with "a bad crowd", is failing at school and has behavioural problems. She should make her way to the next CJG and receive quick and relevant

⁶³ Since 2007, 40 problem districts in cities were given extra state funding in the areas of housing, employment, education, growing up, integration and security. Municipalities, housing companies, local organisations, brede schools and district residents all work together. However, the results up until now are not very encouraging.

assistance from a care worker. In practice however, this plausible basic principle, what the CJG's are based on, often fails due to a persistent division of labor in the sector of children and youth welfare, that obtains behind the doors of the centre and that does not remotely allow parents to play an active role in this.⁶⁴

Hilhorst and Zonneveld (2012, p.14) give a positive example of the Groning CLG that holds so-called living room meetings (huiskamerbijeenkomsten) where the parents can talk to other parents about their children and potential educational difficulties.

Association of Dutch cities (Vereniging Nederlandse Gemeenten - VNG)

The association of Dutch cities is comparable to the German Association of Towns and Cities and is an influential partner for policy-making in the social sector. The Dutch Youth Institute (DJI comparable) was given the task, together with the Ministry for Welfare, of developing evaluation criteria in order to measure the success (and failures) of CKGs. These criteria include: Satisfaction of the clients, achievement of the set objectives and reduction in problems for those treated. A digital dossier of "success indicators" collates experiences to measure these (see www.nji.nl/prestatieindicatoren).

In the proposed decentralisation of youth welfare at municipal level, the VNG is one of the most important negotiating partners. It requires the state to limit itself to establishing a legal framework and must leave the configuration of the sectors up to individual municipalities.

2.8 Effects of decentralisation in youth and child welfare and care

The simplification of rules and reduction of bureaucratic effort can (and should!) count among the advantages of the proposed decentralisation.⁶⁵ A disadvantage to fear is that from 2015 each municipality has its own child and youth policy (as well for care of the elderly and disabled) and thus inequality arises depending on the priorities of the municipality. Nevertheless, the current situation in the field of youth care (analogous to care of the elderly and disabled) is unsustainable: it involves two competent

⁶⁴ The CJGs have no co-determination body in which the parents are represented (see Hilhorst/Zonneveld 2012, p. 32).

⁶⁵ The national ombudsman, Alex Brenninkmeijer, cited the case of a single parent family with 2 children, one part-time job and social support that received 12 financial contributions in 8 instances and had to fill out 18 digital forms (NRC Handelsblad 24.3.2013).

ministries, 12 provinces and over 400 municipalities (cities). At the moment care is accessed via the family doctor, the bureau for youth welfare (to a certain extent still at province level), a youth and family centre or in the case of child abuse *den Raad voor de Kinderbescherming* (child protection) and the judicial system.

However, decentralisation does not mean that the municipality has the right to self-determination in all the above-mentioned sectors. For example, they protest against the arrangement that an overarching office, that does not know the local conditions or even the applicant, should not determine whether someone is unable to work. "Precision work - not a national, bureaucratic grey area!" (NRC Handelsblad 6/7 June 2013).

On the other hand, child psychiatrists for example, fear that further decentralisation will erode their specialist skills if CJGs decide whether a child or a family are in need of psychiatric help. Here we are dealing with the principles of the conflict: Decentralisation, de-specialisation and de-medicalisation vs. specialist knowledge, highly specialised support that is accessed via the family doctors and existing municipal health centres.

2.9 Health policy

Every Dutch municipality sets out their healthcare measures in a *nota gezondheidbeleid* in order to promote a healthy environment and life style for their residents. The cooperation with the "mental health service" (*geestelijke gezondheidsdienst* - GGD) is also regulated and takes care of people with mental disorders. The tasks and rulings of the municipalities, that affect youth health care, have largely been established however there is greater room for manoeuvre in care of the elderly (www.loketgezondleven.n/gemeente-en-wijk/gezonde-gemeente/gezondheidsbeleid). A cooperation between the *Rijksinstituut voor Volksgezondheid en Milieu (RIVM)* and The Netherlands Centrum Jeugdgezondheit (NCJ) checks that the municipalities adhere to the general guidelines for youth health care and/or determine the reasons for differences between municipalities. The three guiding principles are:

- Physical health
- Psychosocial health

- Life style

The youth health services in the municipalities aim towards these. The JGZs are a fundamental part of the GGDs and are aimed at children between 0-19 years old. They (often) work together with the Centre for Youth and Family (Centra voor Jeugd en gezin, see above) and work on a wide range of topics and problems from weight gain in infants to bullying and depression among students. They also carry out studies on youth health and preventative measures and carry these out. In addition to these institutions, there are also the so-called family consultants (*gezinscoaches*) that concern themselves with individual families with problems that threaten the development of children (0-23 years old).

3 Summary

Should the Dutch society counteract these negative consequences and effects of the development of a neo-liberal policy? The abundance and concentration of state, municipal and above all private initiatives and networks paints a very sunny image here: nobody slips through the net easily. Compared internationally this is undoubtedly true even though poverty is on the increase and tension is increasing between groups of the population.

The relationship between the state/government, state/districts and residents/individuals has generally changed over the last decade: the state passes rulings "down" with the policy of decentralisation, (semi-)privatisation and the individual "responsibility" of citizens but at the same time increases bureaucracy as a result of the need for control and fragmented competencies. Citizens should take on more responsibility for their own welfare but this must be done by (semi-)qualified professionals in a social welfare and medical care environment. Due to these complex tasks, they must also be highly qualified in the opinion of the professional associations and the state. At the same time, insufficiently qualified employees are used due to austerity measures, such as teaching assistants in schools to replace regular teachers. Citizens and partly professional forces are retaliating against overbearing bureaucracy (e.g. for domestic workers) and establishing their own need-orientated and grass roots

networks. This shows that such networks only rarely manage without both professional and voluntary workers that bring in special knowledge (how to organise a citizens' initiative for more green space in the district; how to get a municipality to build more day-care centres). This means that: Citizens, municipalities and the state are all experimenting with new forms of resource pooling and development (Huygen/van Marijssen 2013; Hurenkamp et. al 2006; Jager-Vreugdenhil 2012). The most important task is to transform the counter-productive effects of a hierarchical vertical sectors policy with limited scope and duration into local "horizontal policies" stripped of hierarchy. Networks are especially suited to this. Here the networkers must not fall under the illusion that everything horizontal is "good" and everything vertical is bad because state responsibility and public funding must be claimed and remain needed. Furthermore, this illusion is a warning that all (needy) citizens are willing and ready to create networks or rather those appropriate to their needs and problems. Network capital is not independent of educational level and local conditions.

It remains a useful strategy in the creation of new jobs e.g. urban-orientated professionals (*stedelijke professionals* – De Boer et al. 2013, p. 34) that support networks of citizens with their expertise, neighbourhood helpers, guide citizens through the municipality's bureaucratic jungle or receive a post-qualification for their volunteering experience in order to use their experience in day-care facilities, school and youth centres.

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Incentive: household services – requirements and strategic advantages from the point of view of companies

Expert report

Commissioned by:

The competence centre for the
"Professionalization and Quality
Assurance of Household Services"
(PQHD)

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1 Foreword

This expert report compiled on behalf of the competence centre for the "Professionalization and Quality Assurance of Household Services"⁶⁶ covers a range of topics that have so far stood at the sidelines of current discussion regarding family, employment and labour market policies: "Incentive"⁶⁷: household services - requirements and strategic advantages from the point of view of companies" takes a look at companies based in Germany that include household services for employees as well as family support services in their portfolio of additional services.

In view of the scarce amount of existing data regarding the focus of the expert report, we first conducted internet research on the special services of a "family-friendly company"⁶⁸. This was based on the assumption that the partially audited⁶⁹ and/or participants in federal initiatives and programs from the BMFSFJ⁷⁰ on the topic of family-friendly companies are most likely to offer household services in their range of additional services in order to relieve working parents. Given the fact that the discussion about the development of a legal market for household services with qualified employment positions subject to social security contributions is relatively young in Germany compared to other European countries⁷¹, may private sector companies see little need for support services in this area up until now. For this reason and on the basis of our internet research, we conducted a telephone survey on a selected group of family-friendly

⁶⁶ The competence centre for the "Professionalization and Quality Assurance of Household Services" (PQHD) is based at the Institute for Household and Consumption Research of the Justus Liebig University, Giessen, and is financed Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ).

See <http://www.uni-giessen.de/cms/fbz/fb09Institute/wdh/wpf/Forschung/laufendeprojekte/Komp>

⁶⁷ In private companies the term "incentive" means voluntary fringe benefits for employees that partly lead to tax advantages for the company as is the case for childcare allowances for children under 6 years old (see Income Tax Act § 3, no. 33 - tax and social security contribution-free childcare allowances for employees' children).

⁶⁸ In this expert report the terms "family-orientated" and "family-friendly" companies are used as synonyms as the companies do not differentiate between the descriptions.

⁶⁹ Family and career audit carried out by the non-profit Hertie Foundation.

⁷⁰ Initiatives and programs from the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth. "Family-orientated working hours initiative", "the family success factor" program, "corporate family".

⁷¹ In comparison with Belgium, France and Sweden among others that support the marketability of these services via the subsidisation of prices with vouchers or chequebook systems.

companies and experts in order to gain an overview as to the incentives structure, needs and perspectives of household services for private sector companies.

The result is an upstream recourse to the dominant gender construction in Germany that still holds onto the "breadwinner model" and assigns women the primary responsibility for the household and bringing up children. This cultural tradition is a not insignificant explanation for the resentment and acceptance issues regarding external household services and the slowness of the discussion on the development of a sustainable market for household services. This has also applied for decades to the lack of development of quantitatively and qualitatively adequate public infrastructure for caring for children of all ages. Here, family-orientated companies act in a compensatory way if the range of family support services offered by the company primarily focuses on childcare - one reason as to why relief provided by household services is not yet recognised as a need for a better balance between career and family or to improve work-life balance.

The results presented in this expert report show that the range of support provided by the company in terms of household services is found mainly in large companies so far. However, it is clear that thanks to demographic development, a shortage of skilled workers and the growing need for attractive employers (employer branding), a new development dynamic is emerging whereby companies are focusing ever more closely on additional services in the form of household services and, from a company perspective, are making this incentive available to other groups of employees not just working mothers and fathers.

2 A short overview of the current status of the debate on household services

The debate in Germany regarding household services as a support instrument for improving the balance of family and career is still relatively young in comparison to other European countries. It developed within the framework of a profiled family policy where a high level of importance is placed on employing mothers and keeping previously neglected target groups like those re-entering

the workplace on the political agenda. In the context of a family policy household services are of particular interest to working mothers and fathers and those re-entering the workplace due to their potential for relief and increased time sovereignty if they are purchased externally and not undertaken privately without remuneration (BMFSFJ 2012b).

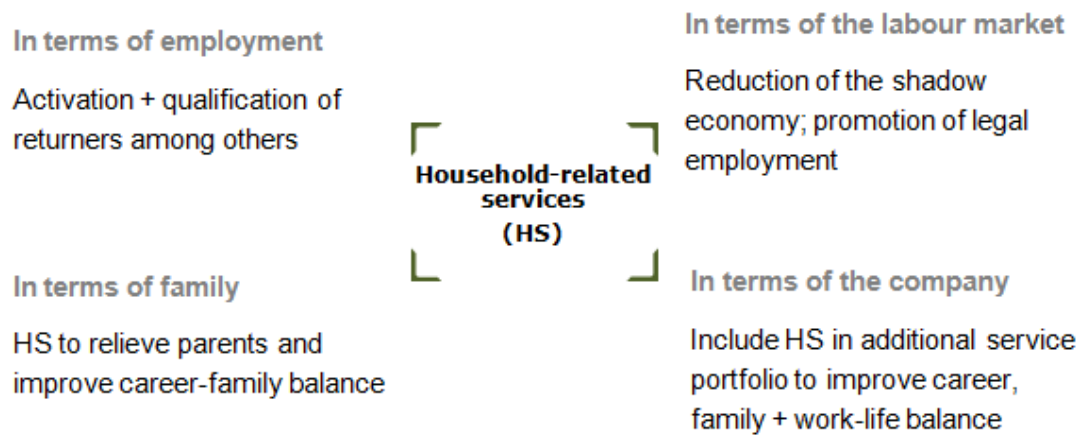
In addition to family policy concerns, the topic of household services is also gaining importance in the context of labour market and employment policy. On the one hand the improved opportunities to reduce undeclared work (shadow economy) in the service segment and the increase in demand via various subsidy systems are discussed. On the other the professionalization of the field is brought into focus and thus the chance to open up an attractive employment field for returners to work for example, either in the form of employment subject to social security contributions or as a self-employed service agent. Quality assurance and increased qualification measures in the area of professional home economics are needed in order to achieve professionalization for person-related and household services as well as the associated upvaluation.

Private sector companies are the parties of interest in this expert report as they offer household services in their portfolio to employees as special incentives. The contexts vary in terms of company strategy: sometimes this support is an integral part of a family-orientated staffing policy, sometimes the offers are made in order to improve the work-life balance of employees or at other times they move within the realms of a demographically sensitive staffing strategy.

In all cases these corporate activities are the result of staffing policy efforts to keep good (skilled) employees at the company and so they can present themselves as an attractive employer to potential employees (employer branding). Depending on the sector and the size of the company it is the (sometimes international) competition for qualified experts and executives that make the activities for a better career-family balance necessary in view of the demographic change for companies based in Germany (see Jung, Doerthe 2012a). These social and corporate activities have long since been par for the course in other European countries. The country-specific differences are an

expression of the respective construction of gender relations and the framework conditions of the welfare state.

Figure 1: Aspects of the current debate on household services



3 Household services within the context of gender construction in Germany

3.1 Gender construction - "breadwinner model"

The current construction of gender relations in Germany takes the form of the man as the main earner and most women as the secondary earners ("breadwinner model") and it characterises the local debate on and acceptance of household services.

In the "breadwinner model", women have the main responsibility for bringing up children and carrying out domestic work so that mothers in Germany take a comparatively long career break⁷² on the one hand and on the other make a high proportion of part-time workers.⁷³⁷⁴ Legal regulations such as splitting the spousal income in the tax system as well as labour market policy instruments for the promotion of employment relationships such as mini-jobs also reinforce this gender construction that reflects the real diversity of roles less and less.

Within this gender culture, demands for the better reconciliation of career and family have been slow to establish in the social, political and corporate mainstream over the last two to three decades - however this has gained in tempo over the last few years.⁷⁵ Demographic change plays a decisive role here. In particular, the activation of the previously hidden employment potential of women will increase in importance in the competition for future professionals, whereby the issue of the better reconciliation of career and family will become more urgent and relevant.

Compared to other European countries with a more egalitarian gender model and social legislation that focuses on parenthood as a partnership and the economic

⁷² In Germany/West, the average duration of a career break is 8.3 years whereas in Finland is only 3.5 years. See: Allmendinger, Jutta (2010), p. 30

⁷³ Total proportion of mothers in part-time employment: 69%. Federal Statistical Office (2012); BMFSFJ (2012a)

⁷⁴ See here the first equality report from the Federal Government, BMFSFJ (2011a)

⁷⁵ The 2013 report on companies from the German Institute of Economics confirmed that in the last decade there has been an increase in family-friendly staffing policies in companies in Germany, BMFSFJ (2013)

independence of women and men⁷⁶, in the past Germany has neglected to develop quantitatively and qualitatively adequate public care structures for children of all ages to relieve working parents and it is still lacking today despite increased efforts over the last few years to make improvements. The situation is detrimental to mothers as they are predominantly the ones who accept professional restrictions in order to ensure good and reliable childcare. The majority of activities and measures for a better reconciliation of career and family are also primarily aimed at working mothers. As, despite rhetoric to the contrary, the corresponding family and corporate measures have only been used by a male/paternal minority.

These structures must be taken into account in the debate on household services. A society that traditionally assigns the division of unpaid everyday work involving children and domestic work to women produces social restraints and acceptance problems if this work is remunerated and undertaken by others.

Last but not least the gender policy background is also responsible for the fact that no sustainable market (such as in Belgium and France) that is subsidised tax-wise by a vouchers system could be developed in Germany for providers of household services.

3.2 Corporate cultural structures

The conservatism in the gender relations in Germany is reflected in the corporate cultures (see Fraunhofer 2012) and is also expressed on the thematic level with which this expert report is concerned. Up until now the family-orientated staffing policy practices of the majority of companies focus on two key areas: different working hour models and various forms of support for employees in terms of childcare.

These two corporate family-orientated priorities are explained by the above-mentioned gender construction.

⁷⁶ This includes countries with so-called "socio-democratic welfare state concepts" such as Sweden, Finland, Denmark compared to liberal (England) and conservative (Germany) social state models. S. Esping-Andersen (1990)

Thanks to the culturally dominant "breadwinner model", companies step in with family support services to compensate for the lack of public care infrastructure. This is also the main reasons why family friendliness is often determined by the range of offers for childcare support in Germany and over eighty percent of companies are active in this area (BMFSFJ 2013: 8). This is in contrast to countries that are culturally based on parenthood as a partnership and the economic independence of women and men. For example, Swedish companies do not need to invest in special services for their employees regarding childcare as 98 percent of the time public services are available (BMFSFJ 2007: However, the "family friendliness" of a company is shown to a lesser extent in Germany in the central support area as here the incentive of household services takes on a greater role for relieving working parents.

The phenomenon of the "glass ceiling"⁷⁷ in corporate culture is also presented at the family-friendly working times level: namely the opportunity to use the existing family-friendly models to reduce working times with increasing qualifications and moving down the career ladder. Therefore, family-friendly working hours are tailored mainly to employees in low and middle positions. Employees in qualified and managerial positions can seldom enjoy reducing their working times at certain phases in their life. Mothers in managerial positions that want to take advantage of their legal right to part-time work after parental leave must, more often than not, take a career break (Fraunhofer 2012; Jung 2013: 54ff.).

In an effort to better reconcile career and family working mothers in Germany are predominantly those addressed with family-friendly additional services by companies but on the other hand women in qualified and leadership positions tend to be excluded from reducing their working hours.

Against this backdrop and taking into account the existing resentment and acceptance issues with externally provided household services, it is easy to understand that the offer for providing these services is found not only in few

⁷⁷ The "glass ceiling" phenomenon concerns the structural but not transparent conditions in companies that lead time and again to more men being promoted and occupying leadership positions and where women have their career slowed down despite their best efforts.

private households today but also in fewer companies and the majority in the incentive portfolios of international companies.

However, the existing corporate culture structures are increasingly split into two central socio-political developments: On the one hand, family-orientated staffing policies must increasingly take into account the real variety in different family constellations. The model of the main earner with the wife as the secondary earner can no longer be a guide for the future when it comes to corporate support services to relieve the different balancing acts for the reconciliation of career and family. On the other hand, demographic development enforces a demographically sensitive or live-phase sensitive staffing strategy that adapts to longer working lives and offers incentives for a better work-life balance to working mothers and fathers as well as other employees.

The shortage of skilled labour and the necessity to be seen as an attractive employer with additional services for a work-life balance are of increasing importance not just for global players but also for small and medium-sized companies.

This expert report makes it clear that in the context of development, the topic of household services is also of growing importance to companies.

4 Focus: Household service incentives for employees in private sector companies

The issues regarding the form and range household services in a family-orientated incentives portfolio do not yet play a large role in current surveys and studies on (the promotion) of household services as an instrument for improving the reconciliation of family and career. In addition to an inventory of current subsidies and employment forms (BMFSFJ 2008) the focus here is mainly on the issue of improving an incentives system for the supply and demand of household services (Prognos 2012; BMFSFJ 2011b).

At the same time, there are a number of federal family-orientated activities such as the "family-orientated working hours initiative" or "the family success factor"

program, "the corporate family" from the BMFSFJ that target private sector companies in order to encourage and reward them for developing a family-orientated corporate culture and good practice. In light of this a number of expert conferences have taken place throughout Germany in which good corporate examples, including some from the field of household services, were presented and discussed.⁷⁸

We assessed these initiatives, programs and specialist events when conducting research for this expert report and compiled a selection of participating companies for telephone surveys.

4.1 Data regarding household service incentives in companies

The data shows that up until now there has been a relatively low level of externalised household services in Germany (BMFSFJ 2012b). A study by the DELTA Institute points towards income dependency: The higher the income the more household services used. In addition to monetary reasons, resentment was clearly expressed in the surveys as a reaction to putting their "own" domestic work in the hands of someone else (BMFSFJ 2011b: 7). Statements such as the following were met with high approval in the DELTA study: "My household is my private sphere. I don't want any outsiders there" or "using domestic workers would give me a guilty conscience if I can do the work myself" (epd).

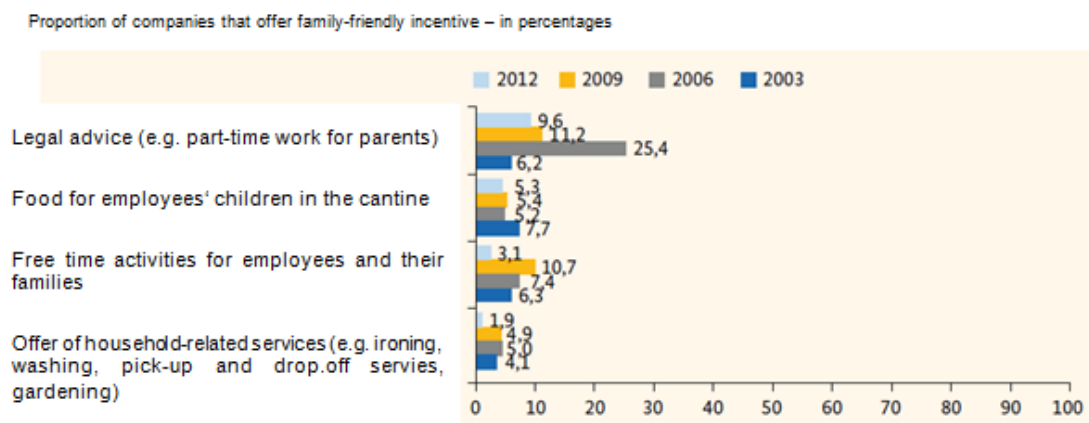
No direct conclusions regarding motivation and use can be drawn from these results regarding companies that offer employee incentives and household services. However, they play a role in the usage behaviour of employees if companies include these services in their support portfolio.

Unfortunately, there is hardly any data available at this level to use for this expert report. Thus, in the *2013 company report* on the family-friendliness of a company states that only 1.9 percent of companies surveyed make offers such as these to their employees (BMFSFJ 2013). It also showed that these offers decreased in importance compared with the results from the monitoring report four years

⁷⁸ "Dialogue career & family" conference on 13 October 2010

earlier. "The proportion of companies that have concluded framework contracts with providers of household services (provision of childcare, family assistance, ironing and shopping services etc.) has fallen to 1.9 percent (2009: 4.9 percent" (epd). These results were not correlated according to the size of the company so no statements can be made as to the size of the companies active in this area. Using the information from the database from the *2013 company report*, we can see that more than half of all the companies surveyed are family businesses. The general statement from this current company report that there is a link between a growing family-friendly commitment and the size of a company could suggest that the 1.9 percent refers to mainly larger companies.

Figure 2: Proportion of companies that offer family-friendly incentives - in percentage



Source: Cologne Institute for Germany Economic Research, 2013 Company report

- Greater commitment in this area on the part of companies was determined via a survey of providers by the *GIB Gesellschaft für Innovationsforschung und Beratung mbH* as part of its study. This was primarily focused on questions regarding the structure of these providers. Companies made up almost 17 percent of the customer base of these service agencies (BMFSFJ 2012c: 46f.).
- The German Chambers of Industry and Commerce (DIHK) conducted a survey of the members of the existing business network "The corporate

family" in 2011. They surveyed corporate interest in topics relevant to the link between work and family among other things. Compared to other studies cited, the result of this member survey of "family-orientated companies" with regards to household services is higher with 23 percent classing support from household services as very important.

In view of this data, we decided to conduct telephone surveys with a number of companies and experts on the importance of household service in the private sector as well as internet research into "family-orientated companies":

4.2 Methodological approach of this expert report

This expert report focuses on the issue of the range of household services offered to employees by companies in the private sector within the framework of their different additional services in order to improve the reconciliation of family and career or their work-life balance.

It discusses which companies currently find household service incentives attractive or of use and in what corporate-strategic context these services are placed. Furthermore, it addresses the issue of the increasing importance of household service incentives from the point of view of companies in light of demographic development, extended working lives and the competition for skilled labour.

During our research and telephone surveys, we concentrated on household services at the level of companies in the area of domestic activities such as cleaning, shopping, washing and ironing, gardening and pick-up and delivery services. It also includes caring for the elderly and those in need of care as this regularly arises in the field of domestic work (PGHD 2013). This is also shown in the usage behaviour of employees in companies that have a contract with a service agency in that they often book care services together with domestic services (Prognos 2012). On the other hand, it concerns an area that, depending on the age of the workforce, puts pressure on an increasing number of companies to offer support services.

Often the current debate lacks differentiation between household services and family support services. As discussed above, the area of childcare belongs to the latter due to the specific gender construction in Germany and is now a standard corporate service for many companies - this particularly applies to family-friendly companies. Therefore, these additional corporate services are not evaluated as part of the offer range for household services as this expert report is concerned with household services (domestic and care activities) as a relatively new area in the incentives portfolio and one that is thus relatively unknown to many companies as a possible support mechanism for improving the reconciliation of career and family or for a better work-life balance.

In this expert report we want to carry out a "first inventory" as it were (see table 1).

Table 1: The household services included in this expert report

| | |
|---|--|
| Domestic services | Apartment cleaning, shopping, window cleaning, washing, ironing, pick-up and drop off services, repairs, gardening |
| Services for the elderly and those in need of support | Care, daily support, domestic services |

Source: Own representation

Internet research, surveys of companies and experts

In order to gain a first overview of companies in Germany that offer support in the form of providing household services as additional services for their employees in addition to the classic family-friendly measures, we proceeded as follows (see table 2):

Firstly, extensive internet research was conducted into "family-orientated companies" in order to get an indication of how relevant household services are to these companies.

Against this backdrop, we conducted telephone surveys with a number of companies of varying sizes and in different industries. A series of companies were chosen that take/took part in the above mentioned federal initiatives, programs and specialist conferences or that have been certified for their family-friendly corporate culture and cite household services as an incentive in their company presentations.

As only a limited number and range of telephone surveys could be conducted for this expert report, we carried out further telephone surveys with experts from the German Chambers of Industry and Commerce (DIHK), the respective ministries and organisations for the above-mentioned programs and initiatives as well as a foundation responsible for the "family-orientated company" certification. Thus, we obtained a wide range of expertise.

Furthermore, we also surveyed two successful nationwide private providers of household services that primarily work with companies.

Different guidelines were developed for each target group for the surveys.

Table 2: The methods used in this expert report

| | |
|--|--|
| Internet research "Family-orientated company" | In particular companies that take/took part in the BMFSFJ initiatives, programs and specialist events and are certified "career and family" companies |
| Telephone surveys SMEs | Companies that have household services in their incentive portfolios - in the form of Internal offers Provision via service agencies and service companies |
| Telephone surveys Large companies | Household services in incentive portfolio Provision via service agencies |

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Telephone survey of experts | Experts from BMFSFJ, DIHK, foundations, organisation with specialist expertise, private service agencies |
|------------------------------------|--|

Source: Own representation

During the conversations with the companies we obtained information on the range of offers of household services, the form in which the employees could access these services (at the company, in cooperation with a service provider e.g. with the provider themselves or with a private provider that organises services) as well as the financial aspects. Furthermore, it was interesting from a strategic corporate context to see where household services are positioned within these special services and to what extent special services apply to certain groups of employees. Finally, they were asked about framework condition which can represent better incentives for companies.

In the telephone survey, the experts were asked how much experience they have had regarding interest from the corporate side on supporting employees at a household services level, what concrete experiences exist and what their own corresponding assessment of the social importance of this incentive is. Here, the discussions also focused on the issue of improved framework conditions.

The interviews with the providers of household services focused on the above-mentioned topics as well as the specific experiences of a service provider with companies that they have a contract with and their view on the current and future needs for household services and the corresponding service providers.

The discussions were conducted with the owners, managing directors, heads of human resources and the managers responsible for "career and family".

5 Strategic importance and range of offer for household services in private sector companies

In the current discussion on household services it is possible to buy in these externally mainly in connection with improving the reconciliation of career and

family for working parents. The results of our research and surveys show that currently the use of household services as incentives by companies is seen in particular in a wider context as the additional services of companies must support the continuing employment of all their employees thanks to their longer working lives.

In particular, depending on the size of the company and the extent to which they have already been affected by the shortage of skilled workers, these considerations are taken into account in the strategic positioning of staffing policies and in human resource departments.

5.1 Strategic business areas

5.1.1 Family-orientated staffing policy

If small and medium-sized businesses offer their employees support in the form of additional services for household services, then these services are often strategically placed in the context of a family-friendly staffing policy. When asked as to the benefits, there are two excellent arguments: Employee loyalty and recruitment of good professionals. Therefore, today in SMEs family-orientated staffing policies are often placed in corporate strategy in connection with demographic development and an expected or already existing shortage of skill labour.

The extent of the effects of the shortage of skilled workers varies depending on the industry and location of the company. Today employer branding is the focus of the technical sector (see Jung 2012a and 2012c among others). This is increase if the company is located in a more rural area and therefore is at a competitive disadvantage compared to cities. Generally speaking, the incentive of household services for supporting employees compared to the offers of family support are not very pronounced among SMEs. However, more often than not traditional family businesses have a wide range of special services available to their employees and therefore also offer household services to support them in a better work-life balance.

In our survey, we identified two family businesses that state that they are "ahead of their time" in terms of staffing policies in comparison with other SMEs.

Supporting employees in caring for relatives is also increasing among medium-sized businesses. Depending on the age distribution among the workforce, offers for the improvement of "career and family" are increasingly being withdrawn in favour of support services for "career and care":

A recent study by the *Centre for Quality in Care* of medium-sized companies showed that currently 67% of medium-sized companies see no inherent need for action here. However, at least 32% already offer services in this area and 12 percent plan to do so (Frankfurter Rundschau from 06.02.2014).

5.1.2 Work-life balance

In some larger medium-sized companies and in large companies the former human resource strategies operating under the name of "career and family" are integrated into work-life management. This still includes family support (special) services for employees with children and which are increasingly extended to home care for family members in cases of illness and care. Another developing area of corporate welfare is offering incentives in the area of health/health care/fitness for employees.

- A work-life balance takes into account the diversity of the workforce to a large extent so that employees without children or older workers that have the family with children phase behind them are also included in the company's additional services.

In terms of the company, the shortage of skilled workers is of great importance here and the desire as an employer to be attractive to skilled workers and managers.

5.1.3 Demographically sensitive staffing policy

In large international companies differentiation features increase more frequently in human resources. Thus, the classic area of family support services ("family & career") also belongs to the work-life balance and diversity areas. Household

services are usually assigned to the work-life area. The competition on the international market for skilled workers and managers has increased the importance of fringe benefits and is a key reason for the designing and offering of incentives at different levels and for various groups of employees.⁷⁹ Sometimes incentives are also part of a compensation system that is differentiated according to service and position (compensation & benefits).

- International companies already develop a demographically sensitive staffing strategy within the framework of their human resources department. The focus is on the continuing employment of workers (employability). In view of the extension of working life in the future, this ensures the continuing capability of all employees to work. Thus, the entirety of working life including its various phases are covered in the staffing policy. The intensive time of parenthood (the so-called "rush hour" of life) is one of many life stages in this staffing strategy. Fittingly, the reconciliation of career and family is no longer mentioned but instead career and life and work-life balance are differentiated into work-life proportions.
- A demographically sensitive staffing strategy that wants to take into account the employability of employees must expand the range of (special) services available at a company. This brings the incentive of household services more and more to the fore. In the surveys carried out for this expert report, we spoke to a company that has already developed a demographically sensitive staffing policy and that offers household service support to its employees via an agency within the context of its corporate strategy.

5.1.4 Quota: More women in leadership positions

As the new Federal Government has planned to introduce a quota in the future for the number of woman on advisory boards and binding targets for increasing the proportion of women in leadership positions (see Coalition Agreement 2013:

⁷⁹ Telekom AG is an example here of a company that has integrated the theme of gender, work-life balance, generations and origin into their diversity department.

102), in the interview we also raised the question of to what extent this increase in the proportion of women in leadership positions will have on the need to provide service incentives to relieve domestic and daily work commitments.

Table 3: Strategic positioning of household service incentives in companies

| Human resources approach | Eligible employee groups |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Family-orientated staffing policy | Mother and father with children |
| Work-life balance / Work-life proportions | All employees at the company |
| Demographically/life phase-specific staffing policy | All employees at the company |
| Increase in the number of women in leadership positions | Qualified female employees |

5.2 Provision of household services by external agencies

The employees receive a link to the agency's Internet platform via the company's Intranet. Here they can find out about the various services first of all. If they find the offer attractive, then they receive advice on their specific requirements and the provision of skilled workers to perform the services requested free of charge. The company undertakes to pay the costs for these services as part of their service. The employees pay the costs for the services used.

The companies usually agree a yearly flat rate with the agency and, depending on the structure of the range, book modules that focus on specific services including household services.

- According to our research it is mainly large companies that choose the path of providing services through an agency. The contractually booked service range is based on the additional services already implemented by the

company. Companies that already offer childcare through fixed facilities such as a company crèche, emergency care or holiday clubs do not need any further services in this area. They then book agencies to provide special services that are in demand among their employees but that they cannot implement internally.

- According to our research, companies in the private sector prefer to contract service agencies that fill two main criteria: nation-wide market presence and professional acquisition. This particularly applies to companies with multiple locations in Germany.
- On the part of the private sector a positive development in demand has been noticed for offering household services. External outsourcing is worthwhile for companies for two reasons. Firstly, in relation to the existing demand there are still many companies who are uncertain whether this incentive makes an important contribution to its own attractiveness as an employer. On the other hand, the good market integration of an agency and its high nationwide market presence among global players leads to a competition to provide the broadest possible range of incentives. Almost all companies evaluate the intensity of use and structure of the services ordered using the relevant feedback from the agencies⁸⁰ in order to assess the real needs as well as publicly use innovations that are not as widespread in Germany to improve their own attractiveness as an employer.
- In the current debate the lack of market presence of service agencies is one of the reasons given for the low usage rate and attractiveness of household services. Our research painted the following picture. Agencies that address customers in the private sector in particular achieve a significant market presence through professional and publicly effective acquisitions. However, our recognition plays a role here: The competition for employer branding

⁸⁰ The data was of course sent from the agencies anonymously. A small medium-sized business that contracted a service agency refused to give any useful feedback for data protection reasons as due to the low number of employees it would be easy to identify them.

plays an important role - one that is not important when acquiring private clients.

- Service agencies and companies stressed over several interviews that the use of household services by employees is not a "sure-fire success". It must be advertised on a wide and continuous scale within the company. This also means that an agency should make presentations on their service range to the company on-site and at regular interviews. In doing so the growing need for care support has become clear. Two years ago, the same presentation did not receive a great response so the increase in demand and use in this service area is striking.

5.3 In-house household service incentives

Our research showed that in-house household services were more likely to be offered in small and medium-sized businesses in order to improve the reconciliation of career and family and lead to a better work-life balance.

It mainly focused on a pick-up and drop-off service. For example, the company signed a contract with a company for washing and ironing services. The employees bring the laundry to a certain depository on the premises. The cleaning firm picks it up from here and brings it back washed and ironed. The company pays the costs for the pick-up and drop-off service. Even for the in-house services, the cost of the services such as cleaning and ironing are covered by the employees. However, a discount is usually negotiated for employees of the company due to the high volume of work.

Other internally regulated support services on the corporate side in terms of household services are those concerning food. So, for example, food from the company canteen can be taken home "take-away food" style in order to relieve mothers and fathers of the burden of preparing midday and evening meals. Some companies also offer the possibility for family members or children to eat in the canteen at a reduced rate.

5.4 Specifics of family businesses

In the company survey, we were able to identify two medium-sized family businesses where household services take on a special role in the context of the support services offered. Thanks to their corporate philosophy they show great openness when it comes to household services as incentives compared to the less widespread incentives in the private sector.

Both companies are run by the second or third generation of a family. Since they were founded family support measures and services that enable employees to reconcile career and family have been an integral part of corporate philosophy. They have established a wide range of family support services compared to the size of their workforce. The owners stress that special services are an integral part of their value-based corporate self-image regardless of strategic considerations in the context of a shortage of skilled workers and employee loyalty. In one of the two companies, it is assumed that support services for ensuring a work-life balance will become increasingly important for the workforce and therefore they seek to address all groups in the company with their incentives portfolio not just parents: "All our employees are important to us." This company concluded a contract with an agency for care and domestic services. It is also interesting that from the company's perspective the use of the services on offer is not dependent on the traditional definition of family. They take the diverse lives of their employees into consideration. For example, the agency services can also be used by an employee on behalf of a housemate in their residential community.

The other company is clear that the different additional services are not "standard solutions" that can be booked through a service agency but individual ones that despite the size of the workforce are developed according to the needs and problems of individual employees. The same applies to paying the costs. The incentives cited in an internal brochure also include support in terms of care and household services. So far, the latter have hardly been used. However, as the company perspective is to expect the needs of employees to grow, they have already including these services in their portfolio despite the current usage structure.

These two companies are exemplified in this expert report as some of the experts and service agencies surveyed assume that household services and care support will also increase in importance for small and medium-sized businesses over the course of demographic development and with the increase in demand for skilled workers.

Regional networking schemes

During the course of our Internet research we found networking schemes that aimed to gain an overview of the existing providers of household and person-related services in the region via the development of a common platform. In the long term the idea is to develop common offers for the respective employees and promote the growth of a stable, regional service market.

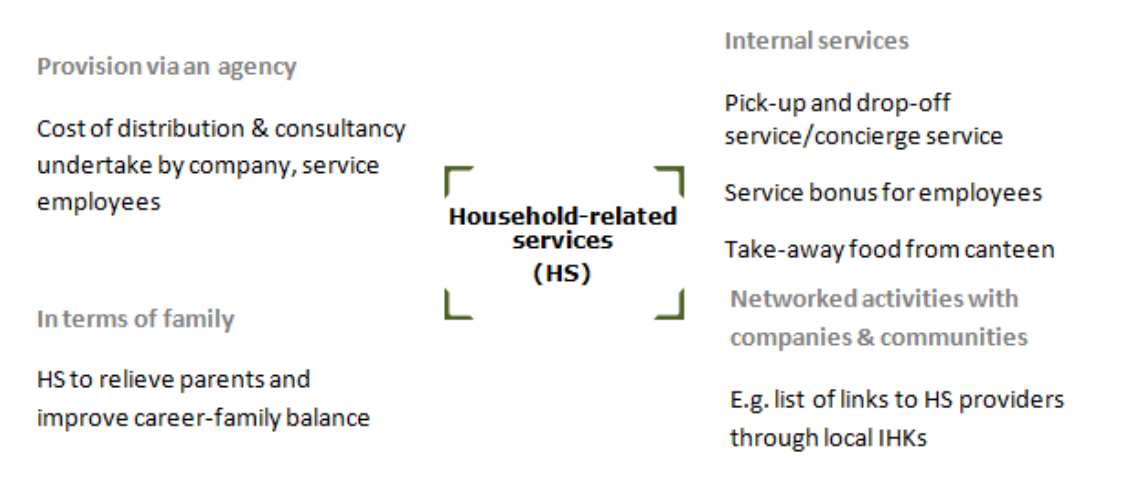
An example of this was the development of *NetzWerkStadt*, a consortium of several companies from the region and community. The local chamber of industry and commerce (IHK) was also included in this cooperation and made the first step in creating a list of links to service providers and service companies that offered household services. The goal of this network was to make this available to the companies involved so that employees had the opportunity to learn about the range of household services available in the region in a transparent manner. The expectation was linked to obtaining an estimation as to the need for household services on the part of families but also highly-qualified employees. The plan was to implement the incentives in the companies and to develop a joint range of offers that all those involved, the companies and the community, could profit from over the course of further projects.

During the course of our research we learned that this networking project has now ended. The assessment of those involved is: "The timing was not right". On the one hand, there was pressure for a large company to act and offer something for their employees at this level; a situation which the other companies involved had not yet reached. On the other hand, the database did not achieve the desired transparency as many providers disappeared relatively quickly from the market and so the data became out of date within a short period of time. The idea that a

stable, regional market in this service segment could be developed via the network was also not realised.

The experiences of this networking project draw our attention to two typical scenarios for our topic of interest: on the one hand, they show very different requirements for incentives for companies in the private sector and on the other hand they highlight the difficulties of developing a sustainable market for household services without state intervention (see fig. 3).

Figure 3: Household services incentive range in companies



5.5 The views of service agencies and experts

Within the framework of our survey of experts, we conducted interviews with two private service agencies and gained information on their experiences of the demand for household services from their private sector clients. We targeted two agencies active nationwide that specialise in private sector clients and already have a large market presence. Thus, they have a wide range and many years of experience.

Both companies offer household services as part of their offer range - combined as a module with gardening or integrated into the areas of children, relocation and a concierge service. Domestic services can be booked individually or as part

of a package. In their interview the agencies we surveyed confirmed some of the key results from our research and company surveys:

- Household services are currently an issue for mostly large companies. The agencies have each had a different experience when it comes to the demand for domestic services: one service agency stated that so far, the demand for these on the part of employees is relatively low even if the offer is included in the package booked by the company, the other company stated that the level of demand points to an ever-growing and sought-after product.
- Both agencies and experts confirm that domestic services are often in demand in combination with care services. This increases the overall demand for care - a development that, in the experiences of the agencies, goes hand-in-hand with positive developments in the area of domestic services.
- Based on their many years on the market, the agencies surveyed have observed a rising trend in the demand for household services - but this is on top of a relatively low level of demand.
- Similar to the companies, both the agencies and experts see this development as having a decisive role in future shortages of skilled workers and the necessity to increase the attractiveness of employers. The service agencies also expect an increase in demand from medium-sized companies resulting in a new growing market here in the future.
- From the point of view of Germany's largest service agency, household services are of particular interest to companies that are increasingly making services available for childless employees in their incentives portfolio.

In the current debate on household services, the price of regularly employing workers is given as the main reason for the weak demand. In contrast, the private sector companies we spoke to that book services for their employees through agencies do not see price as an obstacle to using household services. However, the nationwide service agencies assess the issue as not unproblematic - and

particularly in metropolitan regions with relatively high price segments. If employees cannot use services due to the high prices they look for solutions in consultation with agencies.

- In addition to the possibility of negotiating special conditions with cooperating service providers, most employment in the area of domestic services takes the form of mini-jobs. This solution is not satisfactory to agencies as a mini-job does not usually guarantee job security for dedicated service providers.
- Here there is an urgent need for reform in the direction of introducing housekeeping chequebooks or vouchers such as those that already exist in Belgium, France and Sweden (BMFSFJ 2011b: 50 et seq.).

In conjunction with the pricing of the services purchased, we also focused in the interviews on the extent to which additional corporate services were offered in order to improve the reconciliation of career and family/to achieve a better work-life balance for all employees or whether this is only a privilege afforded to executives.

- Most of those included in our survey pointed towards equal opportunities for use for the entire workforce. However, as the costs of the respective services are mainly carried by the employees in the corporate incentive structures we encountered, we should assume that there is an indirect tendency towards unequal use based on the size of salaries.
- The experience of one auditor for the family policy activities of companies that we surveyed also pointed to this. In the interview, he pointed out that large companies often only make incentives such as household services available to those in leadership position. This assessment is also confirmed by a large company we surveyed that does not currently offer any incentive in the area of household services but expects that this additional service will become important in the future within their own company, but as an incentive for executives.

We also discussed the level of demand for different services. It unanimously confirmed that family support services in the area of childcare continue to be in great demand. In large cities, such as Berlin and Frankfurt there has been a slight decrease in demand due to improvements made in public support infrastructure for children under 3 years old. However, the experts interviewed assume the topic of good childcare with flexible opening hours for working mothers and fathers will remain a central theme as the backlog in the public sector is too great to achieve a satisfactory care situation for working parents within the next decade. Corporate commitment in this area will remain a necessity for attractive employers in the future.

From the point of view of the agencies surveyed, the primacy of childcare incentives will remain even in the face of an increasing proportion of women in leadership positions as in addition to the "glass ceiling" a central obstacle to career development for women is the lack of childcare. At the same time, there is also a chance that household services as an incentive will be increasingly more attractive due to a real and relevant increase in women in leadership positions.

6 Outlook

6.1 Trend: Increase in household services and the development of quality standards

A key result emerging from this expert report is that so far household services in Germany are made available to employees as an incentive by large companies in particular and often within the framework of corporate work-life management or, more importantly, a demographically sensitive staffing strategy. Against the backdrop of the existing lack of care for children and young people, it is to be expected that additional services for families with children will remain important for companies in the future. However, the groups of employees who can use the services will expand in the face of longer working lives and international competition for skilled workers as will the range of services that companies must provide to ensure the employability of their employees.

- In addition to the increased offer range in the area of health, the value of household services in incentives portfolios is increasing. It is not only working mothers and fathers that receive help here but also older employees, newly arrived foreign workers without a corresponding domestic network and employees who care for others. In particular, the need for support offers in the area of "career and care" is increasing. Therefore, forward-looking companies are extremely interested in quality services.
- This perspective development draws attention to the importance that will be attached to the areas of household and person-related services in the service market in the future.

In our research and surveys, we have found that some private service agencies that specialise in the private sector have already made a good entry onto the market. The agencies use high quality standards to select service providers and companies to cooperate with. The increase in demand on the part of the private sector and the relatively large market presence of some agencies can be used as indicators for this.

Despite the high-quality consciousness, the agencies we surveyed stated that it is necessary to develop general, binding quality standard for the distribution of and consultation for household services⁸¹ in order to improve transparency in the tender and distribution structures. Some of the companies surveyed also complained about this need to improve.

6.2 Subsidisation and qualification for household services

Within the framework of this expert reports we could not satisfactorily clarify whether and how the intensity of use of household services is dependent on the respective salary structure of the companies. However, we found some indications that suggest that more employees from the middle to high salary

⁸¹ Binding quality standards for the consultation service and provision of household services were developed according to the statement made by the agencies surveyed. (DIN 7703).

bands use these corporate incentives more often and employees in the lower-income bracket use external service providers less.

- As companies only usually take on the costs for consultancy and mediation and not the services themselves, from the point of view of the companies with regards to the growing needs of their employees state price subsidies are of interest in order to ensure an equal use of services for all employees. This applies all the more if in the future employer attractiveness in terms of marketing increases in importance for small and medium-sized businesses as well and household services are included in their incentives portfolios.
- The expected trend of expanding additional services in the areas of household and person-related services will be limiting for companies if the support needs of the employees grow in these areas but there is a lack of qualified professionals to meet the demand. A perspective development such as this puts the attention on the importance of investing more in the professionalization and qualification of existing staff and activating skilled workers in the field of household services.
- From the point of view of companies, it also points towards the future development of the household and person-related services segment in terms of the need to activate and train existing employment potential, develop transparent mediation structures and create affordable prices in order to ensure viable and sustainable market development.

6.3 Need for household services and women in leadership positions

In light of the continued division of labour by gender in Germany and the barriers to temporarily reducing working time in leadership positions, we assume that with women in leadership positions the need for support via household services will increase if the Federal Government's new political project is implemented which aims to increase the proportion of women in leadership positions using specific targets.

In this expert report, we collated the assessment of companies and experts into this perspective development. Overall it has become clear that only a few have

previously thought about this potential development trend. The service agencies confirmed our assessment that women in leadership positions have a greater demand for household services as incentives than men. However, they also stress the prioritisation of a reliable support infrastructure for children. A former female board member reported on the wide range of incentives that she could benefit from as an executive in a Swedish company. She could choose between a company car or domestic help.⁸² She confirmed that due to the low flexibility afforded female executives, there is an increasing demand for support through household services. Based on her experience in Germany and Sweden she came to the conclusion that in Germany a culture prevails in which "women are given no respite and it is difficult for them" to reconcile career and family.

A study by Kienbaum Consultants International GmbH prepared an analysis for the Dax 30 companies regarding how many female executives they would need for the supervisory board over the next few years to comply with the quota and what efforts are needed in the staff marketing area of the company. The study came to the conclusion: "The progress towards a higher share of women in German supervisory boards is irreversible".⁸³ Should this also be manifested as realistic for other senior management positions by the new political project then household service incentives will represent greater profit for companies in terms of employer branding in their search for female executives.

⁸² As she has not worked in Sweden for a long time, it is unclear as to whether these offers are still available to executives. As there has been a good support infrastructure in place since 2009 including a law that using household services can be offset against tax, family-orientated additional services play a lesser role than in Germany in terms of employee loyalty and the attractiveness of an employer.

⁸³ <http://www.kienbaum.de/desktopdefault.aspx> (24.02.2014) <http://www.kienbaum.de/desktopdefault.aspx>

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