# Paid and Unpaid Housework and Social Inequality in Germany

*Claudia Gather*

**ABSTRACT**

Concerning the division of paid and unpaid work there are a couple of differences in Germany between East and West, and between women and men. Data about labor force participation, income, and doing housework highlight those differences. To hire domestic worker is discussed under the aspect of social inequality between women.

**RÉSUMÉ**

En ce qui concerne la division entre le travail rémunéré et le travail non rémunéré, il y a quelques différences en Allemagne entre l'Est et l'Ouest. Les données sur la participation de la main-d'œuvre et le revenu, et le travail domestique soulignent ces différences. L'embauche de domestique est discutée sous l'aspect de l'inégalité entre les femmes.

## INTRODUCTION

Historians have shown how during the twentieth century, unpaid house and care work became a duty for all women in Germany (Bock and Duden 1977; Hausen 1981). As Myra Marx Ferree pointed out in a 1988 lecture she gave in Germany, unpaid domestic work is delegated to the weaker partner in a relationship. Today it is still based on gender inequality, as most of the work is done by women. But today we observe remarkable differences among women: some women do more domestic work, some less, sometimes male partners are more involved and sometimes domestic help is hired. This paper looks at inequality among women in Germany by means of work, paid and unpaid, especially domestic work, and asks, Is there any connection between doing paid or unpaid domestic work and social inequality? First, I examine social differences between women in East and West Germany regarding income, labour market participation and doing domestic work. Second, I specify what we know about paid domestic work in Germany and about domestic workers. Finally, I discuss the possibility of a relation between domestic work and social inequality and how this relation could be framed.

## DIFFERENCES IN EAST AND WEST GERMANY DOING UNPAID DOMESTIC WORK AND LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

The unification of East and West Germany took place in 1990. The West German political system and administration were installed in East Germany. This was followed by many changes in every circumstance. For instance the East German fertility rate dropped dramatically, from 200,000 births per year in 1989 to 80,000 in 1994 (Weick 1998; Ziegler 2000),[1] the marriage rate dropped from 131,000 marriages in 1989 to 48,000 marriages in 1992 (Weick 1998), and the women's employment rate dropped substantially too (Ochs 2000). All those changes point in the direction of more similarity with West German rates (Ziegler 2000).

But differences between women in the two parts still exist. In West Germany there was a slight and steady increase in women's employment over the last 40 years. Many West German women benefited from efforts to qualify women through affirmative action programs (BMFSFJ 2001), and mothers especially have entered the formal labour force (Ochs 2000, 45f.). The younger the West German women are the better is their education and the higher is their participation in the labour market (Engstler and Menning 2003, 109). The participation of men in domestic work[2] did not increase equally. It still follows a more traditional pattern in West

Germany, while it was more equal in East Germany, as was the East German women's occupational participation rate before unification. As Künzler et al. say: "East Germany always was in the lead in the modernization of the gender division of unpaid work" (Künzler et al. 2001, 59). But since 1990 this trend has decreased in East Germany.

West German male partners increased their participation in doing housework in the last 40 years as Künzler et al. (2001, 62) show in an overview of surveys conducted in East and West Germany. In 1960 West German men spent less than three hours a week, and women did about 34 hours (women did about 13.5 times as much housework as men). Men in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) spent in the same year about seven hours a week, while women did about 33 hours - or 4.2 times as much (Künzler et al. 2001, 59). In East Germany, the men's ratio increased until 1980. The ratio of women's housework time to men's housework time in two earner families had then been more equal at a low level with 1.4 in 1990 and had risen after unification to about 1.9 in 1995 (Künzler et al. 2001, 61-62).[3] In 1995 the ratio in West and East was nearly the same: West and East German women spent nearly two times more time with housework than their partners (Künzler et al. 2001, 61-62). The time spent with unpaid house and care work increases further mostly for West German mothers when children are born. In West Germany, when Künzler et al. conducted their representative phone survey in 2000, mothers spent about 40 hours with routine housework and 25 hours with child care (Künzler et al. 2001, Appendix-Table A 27). In comparison, East German mothers did 36 hours of housework and 17 hours of child care (Künzler et al. 2001, Appendix-Table A 28). The fewer hours East German women spent with routine house work and childcare may be explained by their longer hours in the labour market and by the availability of public day care facilities for their children. A common finding in time budget studies is that the more time a women spends with paid employment the less hours she devotes to domestic work - or vice versa; see for instance the findings of a representative time budget study conducted by the Federal Office of Statistics (Blanke et al. 1996, 81ff; Engstler and Menning 2003, 133).

Birgit Pfau-Effinger describes the gender arrangement in Germany as divided into two dominant models. In the West the "male breadwinner / female part-time carer" model is predominant. In contrast, the East Germany "dual breadwinner/dual carer" model is still prevalent (2001; Eurostat 2002b, 1-2), but is losing ground, as Stolt (2000) found. Stolt conducted qualitative interviews with East German couples and found a change in the direction to a more traditional gender hierarchy, because the husbands now devote more commitment to their occupational careers.

While in West Germany there was a significant rise in the labour market participations of married women and mothers in recent years (Ochs 2000, 45f)[4], mothers still cut back their commitment in the labour market when children are born. It was and is still more common to combine child care and employment successfully in East Germany.[5] In the former GDR, centre-based child care from the age of one year on was widely available: about 80% of children before the age of three, 95% of preschool children (three to six years), and 80% of the school children (seven to ten years) used those facilities in 1989. This is compared to West Germany where only 6% under the age of three, 80-85% between three and six and 3% between six and eleven years old used day care facilities in the 1990s (Hank et al. 2001, 4 and 10). Crèches and kindergarten on East Germany were usually open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and the fee parents had to pay was marginal. After unification the local governments had to take over day care facilities from the state and had to finance them. Because of financial problems of mainly local governments day care for schoolchildren was cut down (Hank et al. 2001, 5).[6] Although the state cut back those facilities in East Germany, and the rate of children using child care facilities declined compared to West Germany, there are still more child care facilities available: 24% of the schoolchildren from seven to 11 years use all-day care facilities in East Germany compared to 5% in West Germany (Hank et al. 2001, 17). When all the children are attending school, 43.8% of West German women in two parent families stay at home compared to only 18.8% of East German women (Künzler et al. 2001, 88). The huge problems of combining motherhood and employment successfully in West Germany are probably the main reason for a large number of women without children in Germany: 41% to 44% of West German

professional women between the age of 35 and 39 stay childless (Engstler and Menning 2003, 75).

Since unification the East German women's labour force participation has declined, but it is still higher than the West German rate. The labour force participation for women 16 to 59 years old in 1989 was very similar to the male participation at 89% (Ochs 2000, 62). According to data from the SOEP the East German womens' overall employment rate dropped by 8% between 1991 and 2000 (the labour force participation rate dropped only by 3.8% because unemployment is included), while the West German womens' employment rate increased by 4.6%, from 60.2% in 1991 to 64.8% in 2000 (Holst and Schupp 2001). During the same time period in the process of restructuring to a market economy East German women lost relatively good positions in the labour market and often were pushed into poorer jobs or became unemployed (Ochs 2000; Nickel 1995 and 1997).

After unification there emerged a tendency toward increasing social differences between people in East Germany (BMAS 2001, 23). As Schröter says: Unification produced a group of "losers" and a group of "winners" (Schröter 1995, 41). But comparing East and West there are even more pronounced differences. Looking closely at the net income gap of the active population per month we observe three noticeable varieties: a) The differences between East and West is remarkable. b) The income differences between women in East Germany are not very pronounced. c) The gender gap is smaller in East Germany.

Full-time employed East German women made in 2001 about 78% of the monthly wages of their West German sisters. East German men made about 73% compared to West German men. (Statistisches Bundesamt 2003, 559). In 2001, more West German women (37%) fell into the lower income tier, (that means people in the bottom third of income distribution) earning less than 716€ per month than East German women (29.4%). This compared to 9.2% of West German men and 16.1% of East German men. Unfortunately there are no separate income data for part-time and full-time workers available. Because in West Germany more women work part time (26.9%) or are marginal earners (11.3%) (that means for less than 400€ a month) than in East Germany where 20.1% work part time and 8.5% are marginal (Holst and Schupp 2001, 650), presumably more West German women fell into this lower income tier. Nevertheless East German women are getting more similar to West German as the part time and the marginal employment is increasing since 1991 (part time from 15.3% in 1991 to 20.1% in 2000 and marginal employment from 2.1% in 1991 to 8.5% in 2000 (Holst and Schupp 2001, 650). In a middle and higher income tier (above 1534€), there are more West German women (17.5%) than East German (13.5%), compared to 56% of West German men and 22.8 % of East German men (Statistisches Bundesamt 2003: 105, own calculation). The differences between low and high paid women in West Germany are more pronounced, while the income differences between women in East Germany are smaller.

Both men and women in East Germany are more often unemployed and earn less per hour than their counterparts in West Germany. The gender gap for full time employed people in East Germany is smaller: East German women earned 89.9% of East German's men's income in 1998, while West German women earned only 76.9% of men's income (Ziegler 2000, 240). The better gender ratio in East Germany may be explained by the fact that East German men earn significantly less than West German men do. The pattern of fewer gender differences in East Germany is the case for management positions too. In West Germany 20.8% of the male labour force in 2000 were working in the management positions compared to only 12% of the female. In East Germany: 14.4% of the male labour force were in management positions as was 12% of the female labour force (Klenner 2002, 4).

Looking at leisure time the same pattern emerges. Men have more leisure time in West and in East Germany. But daily leisure time is shorter in East Germany for everybody than in West Germany. East Germans have longer legal weekly working hours and have fewer holidays (Blanke et al. 1996, 229). East German women have the shortest leisure time: married women with children under six years have 4:11 hours daily leisure time in West Germany compared to 3:36 hours in East Germany; single mothers with children from six to 18 have 5:00 hours in West Germany and 4:17 in East Germany (Blanke et al. 1996, 229).

The pattern of fewer gender differences in East German appears to play out in marriage as well.

In East Germany, women and men tend to marry a partner who is more equal in terms of education and age, while West German women choose partners who are about three years older and better educated (Verbundprojekt 1999). As long as West German women tend to choose partners who earn more money than they do, and are about three years older, women are in a weaker position when demanding an equal share, especially when children are born.

In summary, we observe a general pattern of more gender equality and more similarity in East Germany among women, and between women and men, especially regarding income and labour market participation. Whether the pattern of the East German sameness is true for marriage patterns (more similarity between spouses with respect to education and age in East German couples), should be examined more carefully in further research. However, there are tendencies in East Germany towards an adaptation to the West German model too, such as the slight but noticeable change to a more unequal pattern regarding the decreasing employment rates and the growing number of part time and marginal work in East Germany and the division of unpaid housework since unification in East German households. The further direction of change is an open question that needs further monitoring.

## PAID DOMESTIC HOUSEWORK

Even though men have increased their participation, there is no equal share of domestic tasks between husbands and wives in West and East Germany. Instead of dividing the house and care work between the partners, a new pattern has been emerging since the 1980s, based on the unequal distribution of domestic work among women, especially in West Germany. Maria S. Rerrich first outlined the emerging pattern of a division of house and care work among women in a global perspective (Rerrich 1993 and 2000). Rerrich believes that the distribution of housework among women today is quantitatively more important than the distribution between women and men. This includes a redistribution among relatives and neighbors (Rerrich 2002, 23). But as Lutz indicates, a substantial part of housework and care work is delegated from women to women along the line of ethnic and class differences (Lutz 2000; Rerrich 1993 and 2002). Middle class West German women hire working class women and women from the South and Eastern Europe informally to do parts of the routine housework.

What we know from a huge household panel study in Germany is that 13.9% of West German households and only 2.7% of East German households hire domestic help for several hours a week (Hank 1998, 7).[7] This is true for about 50% of households with an income above 2.500€ (Socio Economic Panel, see Schupp 2002).[8] According to Hank, single households of retired people are more likely to hire domestic help than other households, even though their pensions are not in the high income tier (Hank 1998).

There are two possible explanations for the different use of domestic help in East and West. First, because East German households have significantly lower income than West German households, they are less likely to hire help. But this does not explain all of the difference. In 2000, 25.1% of West German households had more than 2.556€ net income per month while only 14.1% of East German households fell into this category (Statistisches Bundesamt 2002, 113). Second, combining unpaid house and care work and employment in East Germany was very common. In the former GDR until 1990 husbands were more involved in housework. There was public day care for nearly every child and it was common, and politically required, for mothers to be employed full time (Helwig and Nickel 1993; Trappe 1995). Though it was not forbidden to hire domestic help it was out of question.[9] Actually there was virtually no-one available to be hired in private households because everybody was employed full time. Because of rigid state control, it was nearly impossible for unregistered migrants to enter and live in the former GDR. There were very few formally registered migrants living in the former GDR, about 1% (Winkler et al. 1990, 34).

Most of the paid housework in private households in Germany is done informally. Because of this we lack serious data in this field. German scholars estimate that there are about two million or more people doing paid household cleaning and care work (Odierna 2000).[10] More than 90% are women (Lutz 2000). A very rough guess is that one million have resident permits or are Germans, and another million are undocumented workers, most of them

unregistered. Some sociologists believe that there are more migrants working in this field (Lutz 2000; Rerrich 2002) but actually no-one knows for sure. The domestic work of only 39,000 workers is formally registered in the social security system as required (Schupp 2002). The rest work informally; they don't contribute to the social security system and don't pay taxes.

Domestic workers do such rough cleaning tasks as cleaning kitchens, bathrooms, floors and windows, and sometimes washing and ironing. Some are hired to care for children, for disabled, ill or elderly people. Most of the domestic workers in Germany come into the private households to work there for some hours a week on wages per hour and not as "live-ins." This is different from Great Britain and Spain (Anderson and Phizacklea 1997). Also, a substantial part of the paid domestic work in Germany is done by migrant women from Poland, the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, South America, Asia and Africa (Anderson and Phizacklea 1997; Lutz 2000). Working arrangements and conditions vary widely and depend on the individual arrangement, on the region in Germany and on ethnic prejudices. Women from countries from the former Soviet Union and the South especially, sometimes get lower wages than women from Poland. The wages per hour range from about 10€ to 4€. As Anderson shows for live-ins in Great Britain "domestic work is deeply embedded in status relationships, some of them overt, but others less so" (Anderson 2002, 104). If women work in this sector informally for a long period of their life they face a lot of disadvantages. There is no promotion in the job, and there are few occupational opportunities. They are not covered by the social security system in Germany, and don't get any retirement payments (Gather and Meißner 2002b).

But despite some isolated cases, Germany lacks serious data and empirical research about the people doing these jobs. The "Socio-economic Panel" in Germany (Schupp 2000) is helpful as it gives an initial idea of how many, and which, households employ domestic workers. But almost nothing is known about the people doing domestic work, their working and living conditions and of the status relationships between employer and employees.

There was a lot of political effort to transform informal jobs in private households into formally registered jobs (Gather 2002c). But none of the legal measures helped to change the informal jobs in private households into formally registered jobs. I don't have the space here to discuss all the possible reasons for this thoroughly. However the primary reason is that the private employers don't see themselves as employers (a similar finding comes from in a study in the USA: Romero 1992). Second, many employees are not interested in being formally employed because they see a job as temporary. Third, a substantial part of the people in this labour force segment are undocumented workers; they have no working permits, so they can't be formally registered.

## DOMESTIC WORKERS

Many of the women are in their first years of migration, doing this work until they can adapt to the new country and language (Hillmann 1999; Huning 1998). Informal jobs in the private sphere are relatively protected against discovery by police or administration (Rerrich 1993). Some women are transmigrants or temporary migrants, as Cyrus calls them, especially from Poland (Cyrus 2000). Some of the migrant women are family breadwinners and support children who may have remained with relatives in their home countries. There are also some German women working in this field (Gather and Meißner 2002a and b). Some work in addition to being on welfare, some in addition to a first documented job, some are students, housewives, or even jobless.

Malgorzata Irek has studied transmigrant Polish women working in German households and still living, on weekends, in Poland. She shows (1998) how recruiting women in Poland works through local or family networks. She identifies three different generations of women who came to West Germany and Berlin to work as domestic helpers. The first generation came before 1990, before the wall fell. They were educated and some earned enough money, because of the huge currency differences, to start their own businesses or build houses back in Poland. The currency difference has been declining since 1990. The second generation was less educated and mostly consisted of family wives. The third generation is earning money to

study at a university in Poland or Germany. This study shows that most domestic workers did not like the work nor the low prestige it carries. As Ehrenreich says: "Dirt in other words tend to attach to the people who remove it" (Ehrenreich 2002, 102). While some women can improve their living conditions, others are doing domestic work to escape poverty. German women doing these jobs will have problems when they reach retirement age, as they will get no pensions and are likely to face poverty (Gather 2002c).

If women doing those jobs are overqualified, we observe a brain waste. Migrant women are often well educated and qualified (Lutz 2002; Rerrich 2002; Thiessen 1997). There is minimal job enrichment in cleaning jobs in private households (Resch 2002). Some authors describe the working conditions and arrangements as relationships of exploitation (Irek 1998; Rollins 1985) or they resemble "false kinship" relations (Gregson and Lowe 1994). Observing the history of domestic service in Germany, domestic servants left private households as soon as they could get jobs in the industrial sector, where they had better working conditions and a better income (Bock and Duden 1977; Tenfelde 1985). Empirical research from the USA proves the same for Black women (Bernhardt, Morris and Handcock 1995). Black women's earnings made considerable progress in the 1970s when many women could leave their jobs in private households and get low wage jobs outside.

## DISCUSSION

From the seventies onward, West German feminists were concerned with the gender specific division of work (Beck-Gernsheim 1980). The division was considered unequal in the labour market and at home (Becker-Schmidt et al. 1983; Beck-Gernsheim 1992; Pross 1975). There were two main feminist positions in West Germany. The first aimed at equality with men. They demanded equal participation for women in the labour market and an equal share of domestic tasks with the partner at home (Gerhard-Teuscher 1988). The second position, formulated by women of the Green Party, called for a revaluation of care and housework and demanded pay for this work (Die Grünen 1986). In West Germany, caring for children and disabled or elderly people by family members is acknowledged today - even though on a very low level - in both public retirement insurance and care insurance. Despite the fact that many husbands increased their participation in domestic tasks, the central demand for an equal sharing of domestic work is still on the feminist agenda. It is widely acknowledged and even written down as a desirable goal in the public bulletins of the ministry of family affairs (Rerrich 2002). But as Rerrich puts it, the demand for equal sharing of housework between male-female partners has, despite a lot of effort, failed so far (Rerrich 2002, 19). There are a lot of structural obstacles that hinder equal participation, such as the income gap between women and men, gender specific job choices, labour market structures, social and tax policies and lack of all-day care facilities for children in West Germany (Rerrich 2002, 21).

On the basis of the data presented here, we observed a lot of differences that can be regarded as unfair, that mean people don't have the same opportunities and/or that they are not treated equally. I have presented income differences, differences in labour market participation, and also differences in leisure time among women and between women and men. Those differences are more pronounced between East and West and in West than in East Germany. There is still a remarkable gender gap, as doing domestic and care work reduces (West) German women's time spent in employment. Women do most of this unpaid work, while the male partners now contribute nearly the same amount of time in East and West. West German women do more hours of housework and child care, when they have children, than do East German women. But East German women have lost ground since unification at home and in their careers. Is there any connection between those two social inequalities outside and inside the home? I would like to propose the following.

Because the progress of the project of equal sharing of housework between male-female partners is too slow and not very successful (Rerrich 2002, 19), and leads to discord inside many partnerships (Beck-Gernsheim 1992), some women no longer count on their partner for help but hire other women in order to spend more time in paid employment. A substantial number of West German women have achieved better occupational conditions than their mothers had, while others, both Germans and migrants, some of them well educated, are

disadvantaged and some of them are now serving those middle class women (Lutz 2000). Domestic workers, on the other hand, remain stuck in a dead end and informal occupation. Klenner and Stolz-Willig (1997) emphasize that low wages and the informal employment of women in households deepens the social gap and the inequality between women But we still don't know for sure whether this is true or not. And what happens to those women who don't hire domestic help? Do they work part time, as many West German women do? Or do they work double shifts (in employment and at home) as many of the East Germans probably do?

Looking at this relatively new phenomenon of informally paid housework, a discussion has just started in Germany. Some feminists point to positive aspects for both sides. They see domestic workers more as agents who try to do the best they can to improve their living conditions. They speak about two different but complementary problems for women. Professional German women need help doing house and carework, and the women doing those jobs (migrants and working class Germans) need the (additional) cash wages to make a living for themselves and their families (Rerrich 1993 and 2000). Do those informal wages help to improve living conditions for some women and help to reduce inequality among women?

What would be the alternative? One suggestion would be to establish all-day child care centres in West Germany and to stop the closure of those centres in East Germany. But as the local governments who have to fund them are heavily indebted, there seems to be no money for this. Some feminists are proposing an upward re-evaluation of domestic work by organizing this work as a profession and by providing qualification and vocational training (Friese 2002; Krüger 1999). Some are recommending and actively supporting "Service Pools" where domestic workers are employed and the cleaning and care work is offered to private households on a legal and formal basis (Weinkopf 2002). The precondition for employing migrant women in those Pools is to give them legal protection, for instance Green Cards. But there are obstacles to the strategy to overcome too. Germany still does not have an immigration law, and to maintain standard conditions for domestic workers seems to be too "expensive" for many households, as long as there is "cheaper" informal labour available.

The relationship between social inequality and domestic work is complex. In West Germany two patterns are to be seen: most women with small children cut back their participation in the labour market because of the demands of domestic and care work (and usually to face drawbacks in their jobs). Others manage to stay employed full time, and the presumption is that this is possible because they have (paid) domestic help. In East Germany, there are still more child care facilities that allow mothers to have full time employment, but East German mothers have a higher overall work load and fewer leisure hours. Social inequality is more pronounced between women in West Germany, and there is some evidence that women who can afford domestic work are advantaged and women who do the paid domestic work are disadvantaged. As Ehrenreich and Hochschild put it in their US study: "... many women have succeeded in the tough 'male world' careers only by turning over the care of their children, elderly parents and homes to women from the Third World" (2002, 2-3). I would like to add to what Myra Marx Ferree said in her 1988 lecture in Germany: unpaid domestic work is delegated to the weaker partner in a relationship and/or to women from the working class or from East Europe or the South.

But still we lack reliable information about the workers and their working conditions. Does the increase in paid domestic work widen the gap among women? What measures can help to improve income and working conditions for domestic worker? Does leaving these jobs in the private sphere of households lead to a relevant increase in income and opportunities? We need reliable empirical research to examine precisely those differences between women in Germany, and to discuss thoroughly the consequences, advantages and disadvantages of political solutions for the people concerned.

## ENDNOTES

1. The fertility rate is now 1.15 in East Germany and 1.4 in West (Statistisches Bundesamt 2002, 37), compared to 2.06 in the USA (Eurostat 2002a, 4).

2. For the purpose of this article there is no need for a sophisticated definition of domestic work. I see the following tasks as belonging to this work, as quantified by time budget studies (Statistisches Bundesamt 2000): catering (preparing food, setting the table, washing dishes, conservation), caring for clothes (laundry, patching), maintenance and cleaning of the accommodation, caring for plants and animals, shopping, going to public authorities, organization of the household, care and supervision of children, learning with children, playing, caring in case of illness, caring for adult people (in case of illness, or disablement), driving times (for children, for adult people), maintenance of the car, repairing of household items, constructing and renovating, building (Statistisches Bundesamt 2000, 91-96).

3. Künzler et al. report former findings from time budget studies, most of them conducted by the Federal Statistics Office. Their own empirical study is a representative survey: 3000 households were asked by telephone interviews (Künzler et al. 2001).

4. In 1991 in West Germany, 47.2% of married women were employed compared to 73% in East Germany. This rate increased for West Germany to 50.3% in 2000 while it dropped for East Germany to 64.4% (Statistisches Bundesamt 2002, 89). The labour market participation rate of mothers depends on their marital status and the ages of their children. For single mothers with children under the age of three, it is somewhat higher with 50.5% than married mothers with 48.8%, and even lower for divorced mothers with 42.6%. With children under the age of 15 years, divorced mothers' labour market participation is the highest with 70.2%, compared to 63.4% for single mothers and 61.6% for married mothers (Statistisches Bundesamt 2003, 106).

5. How women individually succeed to combine "Working and Mothering" is explored in an European Research Project (see Gerhard 1999).

6. From the age of six on German children don't have a full day's schooling. Children aged six to eighteen are normally sent home around midday and don't have lunch at school. Some children attend after school care: 24% of East German children between the ages of seven to eleven years, compared to only 5% of West Germans´ (Hank et al. 2001, 17).

7. There is only one question concerning domestic help in the questionnaire of the SOEP. Question number 67: "Beschäftigen Sie in Ihrem Haushalt regelmäßig oder gelegentlich eine Putz- oder Haushaltshilfe?" (Infratest 2002, Do you regularly, or occasionally, have someone to come in to help with the cleaning or the household?) Thus we can't differentiate these findings into caregiving and cleaning work.

8. The SOEP does not differentiate between high income West and East German households. As East German households tend not to hire domestic help, there should be a differentiation. Probably the hiring percentage for high income West German households is higher than 50% and the East German may be lower than 50%.

9. For the elderly, disabled and sick people a charitable institution, the "Volkssolidarität," organized domestic help. They employed women called "Hauswirtschaftspflegerinnen" and sent them for free to those households to do care work and help with the domestic chores.

10. In a survey conducted in 1997 there were 1,115, 000 people employed in domestic labour in private households (Schupp 2002, 57). As undocumented worker were not included in this survey, the number must be much higher.

## REFERENCES

Anderson, Bridget. "Just another Job? The Commodification of Domestic Labor," *Global Women*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild, eds. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002.

_____ and Annie Phizacklea. *Migrant Domestic Workers. A European Perspective. Report for the Equal Opportunities Unit, DGV*. Brüssels: Commission of the European Communities, 1997.

Becker-Schmidt, Regina, Uta Brandes, Mechthild Rumpf and Beate Schmidt. *Arbeitsleben - Lebensarbeit. Konflikte und Erfahrungen von Fabrikarbeiterinnen*. Edited by Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Reihe: Arbeit, Bd. 10. Bonn: 1983.

Beck-Gernshein, Elisabeth. *Das halbierte Leben. Männerwelt Beruf - Frauenwelt Familie*. Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1980.

_____. *Arbeitsteilung, Selbstbild und Lebensentwurf. Neue Konfliktlagen in der Familie*. KZfSS 44: 1992, pp. 273-91.

Bernhardt, Annette, Martina Morris, and Mark S. Handcock. "Women's Gain or Men's Losses? A Closer Look at the Shrinking Gender Gap in Earnings," *American Journal of Sociology*, 101( 1995): 302-28.

Blanke, Karen, Manfred Ehling, and Norbert Schwarz. *Zeit im Blickfeld. Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Zeitbudgeterhebung. Schriftenreihe Band 121, des BMFSFJ*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996.

BMFSFJ (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend). *Maßnahmen der Bundesregierung zur Verbesserung der Chancengleichheit von Frauen und Männern*. Broschüre. Berlin, 2001.

BMG (Bundesministerium für Gesundheit). *Zweiter Bericht über die Entwicklung der Pflegeversicherung*. Bonn, 2001.

BMAS (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales). *Lebenslagen in Deutschland. Der erste Armuts- und Reichtumsbericht der Bundesregierung*. Bonn, 2001.

Bock, Gisela and Barbara Duden. *Arbeit aus Liebe - Liebe als Arbeit. Frauen und Wissenschaft. Beiträge zur Berliner Sommeruniversität für Frauen*. Berlin: Courage, 1977.

Bundesregierung. *Bericht der Bundesregierung zur Berufs- und Einkommenssituation von Frauen und Männern. Bundestagsdrucksache 14/7972 vom 25.04.2002*, Berlin, 2002.

Cyrus, Norbert. "Mobile Migrationsmuster. Zuwanderung aus Polen in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Berliner Debatte INITIAl* 11(2000): 95-103.

Die Grünen. "Müttermanifest. Leben mit Kindern - Mütter werden laut," *Dokumentation des Kongresses der Grünen Partei: "Gedanken zur Mütterpolitik" vom 22.-23.11.1986*. Bonn,1986.

Eckart, Christel and Eva Senghaas-Knobloch. "Zeit zum Sorgen," *Einleitung. Feministische Studien* 18 (2000.): 3-8.

Ehrenreich, Barbara. "Maid to Order," *Global Women*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild, eds. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002.

_____ and Arlie Russel Hochschild. "Introduction," *Global Women*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild, eds. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002.

Engstler, Heribert and Sonja Menning. "Die Familie im Spiegel der amtlichen Statistik," *Erweiterte Neuauflage*, BMFSFJ, eds. Bonn, 2003.

Eurostat. "Beschreibung der sozialen Lage in Europa," *Brüssel Dokument Nr.: KE-36-01-702-DE-N*, 2001.

_____. *Yearbook. The EU Population*. Brüssels, 2002a.

_____. "Employment in the EU. Impact of children in women's employment varieties between member states." Eurostat Press Office No 60/2002, 21 May, 2002b. http://europa.eu.int/comm/eurostat/Public/datashop/print-product/EN?catalogue=Eurostat&product=3-21052002-EN-AP-EN&mode=download.

Ferree, Myra Marx. "Frauen zwischen Hausarbeit und Erwerbsarbeit," *Frauenforschung und Hausarbeit*, Hildegard Rapin, ed. Frankfurt/M.: Campus, 1988.

Friese, Marianne. "Dienstbotin," *Weltmarkt Privathaushalt. Bezahlte Haushaltsarbeit im globalen Wandel*, Claudia Gather, Birgit Geissler, and Maria S. Rerrich, eds. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2002.

Gather, Claudia, Hanna Meißner. "Rente krieg' ich eigentlich keine," *Lebenszeiten*, Günter Burkart, Jürgen Wolf, eds. Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 2002a.

Gather, Claudia, Hanna Meißner. "Haushaltsarbeit als Erwerbsarbeit," *Weltmarkt Privathaushalt. Bezahlte Haushaltsarbeit im globalen Wandel*, Claudia Gather, Birgit Geissler, and Maria S. Rerrich, eds. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2002b.

Gather, Claudia. "Informelle Erwerbsarbeit in privaten Haushalten," *Prokla*. 32(2002c): 577-598.

Gerhard-Teuscher, Ute. "Hausarbeit eine Domäne von Frauen?" *Frauenforschung und Hausarbeit*, Hildegard Rapin, ed. Frankfurt/M.: Campus, 1988.

Gerhard, Ute. "Social Policy and Motherhood. The East-West-German Case," Thematic Network Working and Mothering: Social Practices and Social Policies. 'Theoretical Perspectives on Working and Mothering' Report of the 2nd TSER-seminar, Frankfurt, Main, 1999.

Gregson, Nicky and Michelle Lowe. *Servicing the Middle Classes*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Hank, Karsten. "Household Labor Demand and Household Labor Supply," *Ruhr-Universität Bochum - Diskussionspapier aus der Fakultät für Sozialwissenschaft, Nr.*, 1998, pp. 98-14.

_____, Katja Tillmann and Gert. G. Wagner. *Außerhäusliche Kinderbetreuung in Ostdeutschland vor und nach der Wiedervereinigung*, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, ed. MPIDR Working Paper WP 2001-003: Rostock, January 2001,

Hausen, Karin. "Family and Role Division," *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany*, R.J. Evans and W.R. Lee, eds. London: Croom Helm, 1981.

Helwig, Gisela and Hildegard Maria Nickel. *Frauen in Deutschland: 1945-1992.* Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1993.

Hillmann, Felicitas. *Zuwanderungskontrolle >all`italiana<. Migration und Illegalität, IMIS-Schriften 7,* Eberhard Eichenhofer, ed. Osnabrück, 1999.

Holst, Elke, and Jürgen Schupp. *Erwerbsverhalten von Frauen. DIW Wochenbericht* 42 (2001): 639-48.

Huning, Sandra. *Schattenwirtschaft in Berlin*. Diplomarbeit, University Dortmund, Fakultät für Raumplanung, 1998.

Infratest. Leben in Deutschland. "Befragung 2002 zur sozialen Lage der Haushalte." Haushaltsfragebogen, München, unpublished. http://www.diw.de/deutsch/sop/service/fragen/, 2002.

Irek, Malgorzata. *Der Schmugglerzug. Warschau - Berlin -Warschau. Materialien einer Feldforschung*. Berlin: Das arabische Buch, 1998.

Klenner, Christina. "Geschlechtergleichheit in Deutschland?" *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Beilage zur Wochenzeitung das Parlament.* B33-34 (2002): 1-14.

_____ and Brigitte Stolz-Willig. "Arbeitsplatz Privathaushalt - Rückkehr zur Dienstbotengesellschaft oder Emanzipationschance?" *Das Private ist ökonomisch*, Ute Behning, ed. Berlin: sigma, 1997.

Krüger, Helga. "Personenbezogene Dienstleistungen: ein expandierender Arbeitsmarkt mit sieben Siegeln," Lecture at the Universität Bremen, www.globalcare.de/html/krueger.htm, 1999.

Künzler, Jan, Wolfgang Walter, Elisabeth Reichart and Gerd Pfister. *Gender Division of Labour in unified Germany. WORC Report of the European Network of Policies and the Division of Unpaid and Paid Work*, Tilburg, 2001.

Lutz, Helma. "Ethnizität. Profession," *Geschlecht. Interkulturelle studien iks-Querformat 1,* Marianne Krüger-Potratz, ed. Universität Münster, 2000.

_____. "Transnationalität im Haushalt," Weltmarkt Privathaushalt. Bezahlte Haushaltsarbeit im globalen Wandel, Claudia Gather, Birgit Geissler, and Maria S. Rerrich, eds. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2002.

Nickel, Maria Hildegard. "Frauen im Umbruch der Gesellschaft," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Beilage zur Wochenzeitung das Parlament.* B36-37/95 (1995.): 23-33.

_____. "Der Transformationsprozeß in Ost- und Westdeutschland," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Beilage zur Wochenzeitung das Parlament.* B51/97(1997): 20-29.

Ochs, Christiane. "Erwerbstätigkeit," *WSI Frauendatenreport*, Ute Klammer et al., eds. Berlin: sigma, 2000.

Odierna, Simone. *Die heimliche Rückkehr der Dienstmädchen*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2000.

Pfau-Effinger, Birgit. "Changing Welfare States and Labour Markets in the Context of European Gender Arrangements," *Changing Welfare States, Labour Markets and Citizenship*, Jörgen Goul Andersen and Per Jensen,eds. Oxford, Cambridge: Policy Press, 2001.

Pross, Helge. *Die Wirklichkeit der Hausfrau*. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1975.

Rerrich, Maria S. "Auf dem Weg zu einer neuen internationalen Arbeitsteilung der Frauen in Europa?" *Lebensverhältnisse und soziale Konflikte im neuen Europa: Verhandlungen des 26. deutschen Soziologentages in Düsseldorf 1992*, Bernhard Schäfers, ed. Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1993.

_____. "Neustrukturierung der Alltagsarbeit zwischen Lohn und Liebe," *Modernisierung personenorientierter Dienstleistungen. Innovationen für die berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung*, Marianne Friese, ed. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2000.

_____. "Von der Utopie der partnerschaftlichen Gleichverteilung zur Realität der Globalisierung von Hausarbeit," *Weltmarkt Privathaushalt. Bezahlte Haushaltsarbeit im globalen Wandel,* Claudia Gather, Birgit Geissler, and Maria S. Rerrich, eds. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2002.

Resch, Marianne. "Lebensführung und Haushalte im sozialen Wandel," *Weltmarkt Privathaushalt. Bezahlte Haushaltsarbeit im globalen Wandel,* Claudia Gather, Birgit Geissler, and Maria S. Rerrich, eds. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2002.

Rollins, Judith. *Between Women. Domestics and Their Employers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985.

Romero, Mary. *Maid in the U.S.A*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Schröter, Ursula. "Ostdeutsche Frauen im Transformationsprozeß," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Beilage zur Wochenzeitung das Parlament*. B20/95(1995): 31-42.

Schupp, Jürgen. "Beschäftigungsdynamik in den Dienstleistungen," *Zwischenbericht für das Bundesministerium für das Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Technologie zum Fördervorhaben: "Besteht in Deutschland eine Dienstleistungslücke und ein Nachholbedarf an Dienstleistungen?"* Berlin DIW, 2000.

_____. "Quantitative Verbreitung von Erwerbstätigkeit in privaten Haushalten Deutschlands," *Weltmarkt Privathaushalt. Bezahlte Haushaltsarbeit im globalen Wandel*, Claudia Gather, Birgit Geissler, and Maria S. Rerrich, eds. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2002.

Statistisches Bundesamt. "Variablen des scientific uses Files der Zeitbudgeterhebung 1991 792." Version 1.1, Wegweiser. http://www.destatis.de/micro/d/micro_c4.htm=download, 2000.

_____. *Datenreport 2002*. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2002.

_____. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2002*. Wiesbaden: Metzel-Poeschel, 2003.

Stolt, Susanne. "Grenzen der Emanzipation durch Arbeit," *Feministische Studien* 18(2000): 81-92.

Tenfelde, Klaus. "Dienstmädchengeschichte. Strukturelle Aspekte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte*. Beiheft 35 (1985): 105-19.

Thiessen, Barbara. *Individualisierung und Reproduktion*. Werkstattbericht des Instituts für angewandte Biographie- und Lebensweltforschung, Band 5, Universität Bremen, 1997.

Trappe, Heike. *Emanzipation oder Zwang?* Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995.

Verbundprojekt. *Zur gesundheitlichen Situation von Frauen in Deutschland. Im Auftrag des BMJFSF*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999.

Weick, Stefan. "Zwischen Schock und Anpassung," *ISI Informationsdienst Soziale Indikatoren*, Ausgabe 20 (1998): 1-4

Weinkopf, Claudia. "Perspektiven von Ansätzen zur Schaffung regulärer Beschäftigung bei haushaltsbezogenen Dienstleistungen," *Weltmarkt Privathaushalt. Bezahlte Haushaltsarbeit im globalen Wandel*, Claudia Gather, Birgit Geissler, and Maria S. Rerrich, eds. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2002.

Winkler, Gunnar, ed. *Frauenreport '90*. Berlin: Verlag Die Wirtschaft, 1990.

Ziegler, Astrid. "Erwerbseinkommen," *WSI Frauendatenreport*, Ute Klammer, ed. Berlin: sigma, 2000.