

Gender Relations in Germany before and after (Re-)Unification

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Presentation Outline

Introduction

- Is East Germany becoming fully “westernized” in terms of its gendered divisions of labor?

Focus

- A review of existing research

Conclusions

(Re-)Unification as a “Social Experiment” Concerning Gender Equality

- **Before (re-)unification:** Different gender ideologies and corresponding family and employment policies
 - **After (re-)unification:** Policy change, industrial and occupational restructuring, and labor market crisis
- An investigation of how differences and similarities across institutional contexts and economic conditions shape gender inequality



The Women's Movement and Anti-authoritarian Kindergartens

<http://www.the-berlin-wall.com/videos/the-womens-movement-and-anti-authoritarian-kindergartens-583/>

What Does “Policy Change” Mean?

- Institutional incorporation into the framework prevalent in West Germany as a result of (re-)unification
- West German employment and family policies were extended to the East by particular deadlines → shock therapy
- Important exception: child care provision



What Does “Industrial and Occupational Restructuring” Refer To?

- The industrial structure of East Germany in 1989 resembled West Germany's in 1965 → West Germany had shifted much further towards a service society
- Little change in the basic industrial structure in West Germany over the 1990s, but rapid shifts in the East
- Unusually high level of occupational mobility in former East Germany



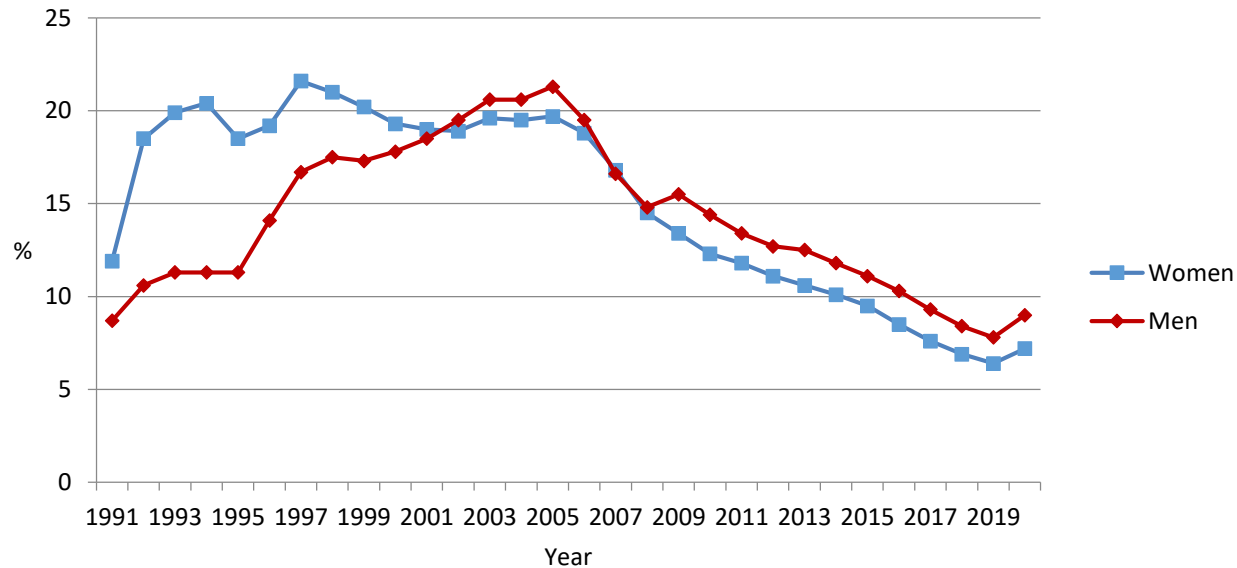
Quiz 1: Development of Women's and Men's Unemployment Rates

What do you think: How did women's and men's unemployment rates in East Germany develop after (re-)unification over time?

- A. Convergence
- B. Divergence
- C. Stable difference

- Most obvious characteristics:**
- 1) Slow economic growth
 - 2) High unemployment

Unemployment rate of women and men, East Germany, 1991 - 2020



Source: Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2021).

Traditional Gender Division of Labor

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1. Male Breadwinner / Female Carer 19th/20th c. Europe / America
 2. Dual-Earner / Female Part-Time Carer Netherlands, UK
 3. Dual-Earner / State-Carer or Dual Earner / Marketized-Carer Finland, State-socialist societies
 4. Dual-Earner / Dual-Carer None yet

Less Traditional Gender Division of Labor

Traditional Gender Division of Labor

1. Male Breadwinner / Female Carer



West Germany

2. Dual-Earner / Female Part-Time Carer

(About 1/2 of married couples follow male breadwinner model and about 1/2 follow female part-time carer model)

3. Dual-Earner / State-Carer or
Dual Earner / Marketized-Carer



East Germany

(Dual employment in almost every family, state provision of child care)

4. Dual-Earner / Dual-Carer

Less Traditional Gender Division of Labor

5 Major Dimensions of Gender Inequality in Work

1. Labor Market Attachment
2. Time Spent in Paid Work
3. Wages and Wage Gaps
4. Occupational Segregation
5. Time Spent in Unpaid Work

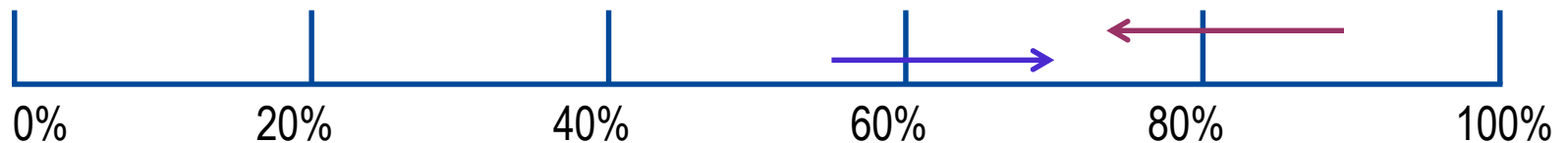


1. Changes in Labor Market Attachment (1988/89 to 2019)

Labor Force Participation

- Women:

- East Germany: Declined severely
- West Germany: Increased considerably



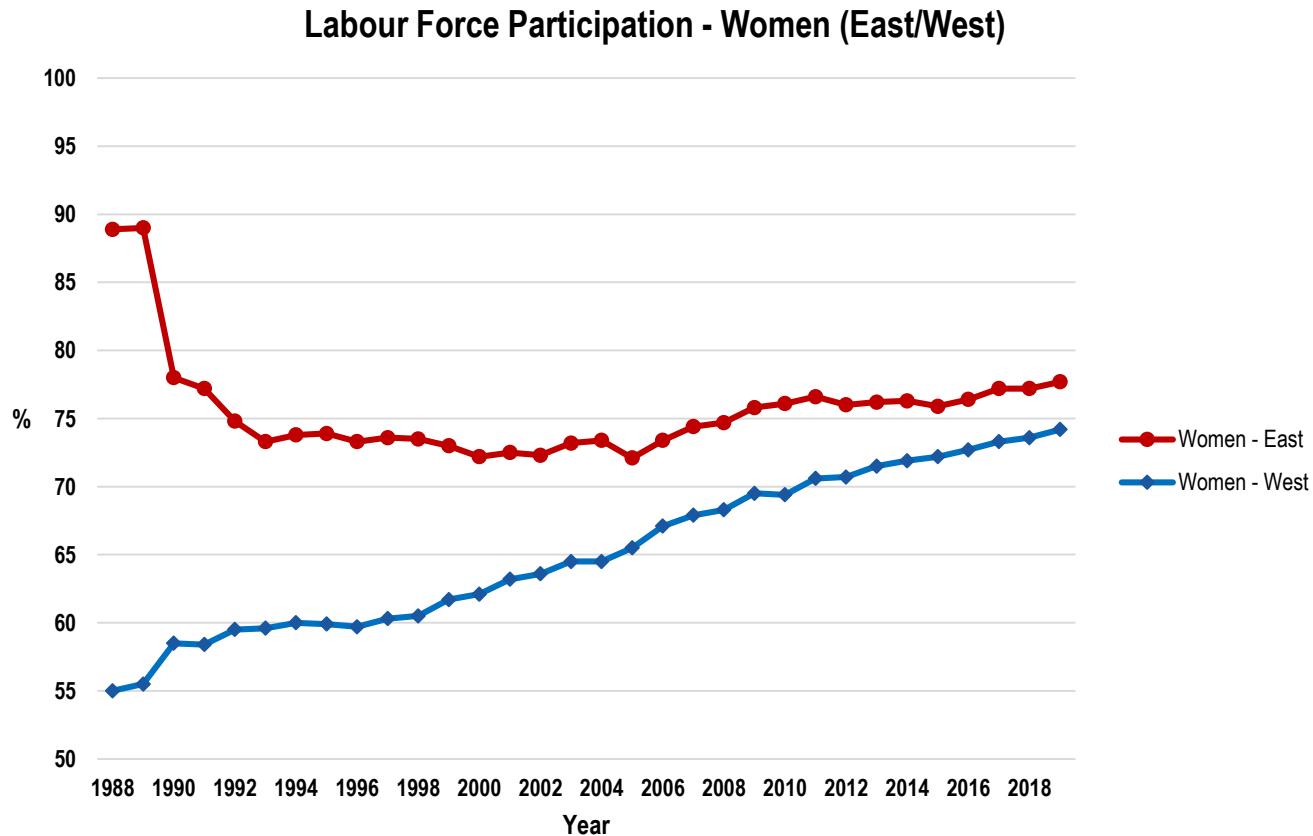
- Men:

- East Germany: Declined moderately
- West Germany: No change



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt; Sozialpolitik aktuell.

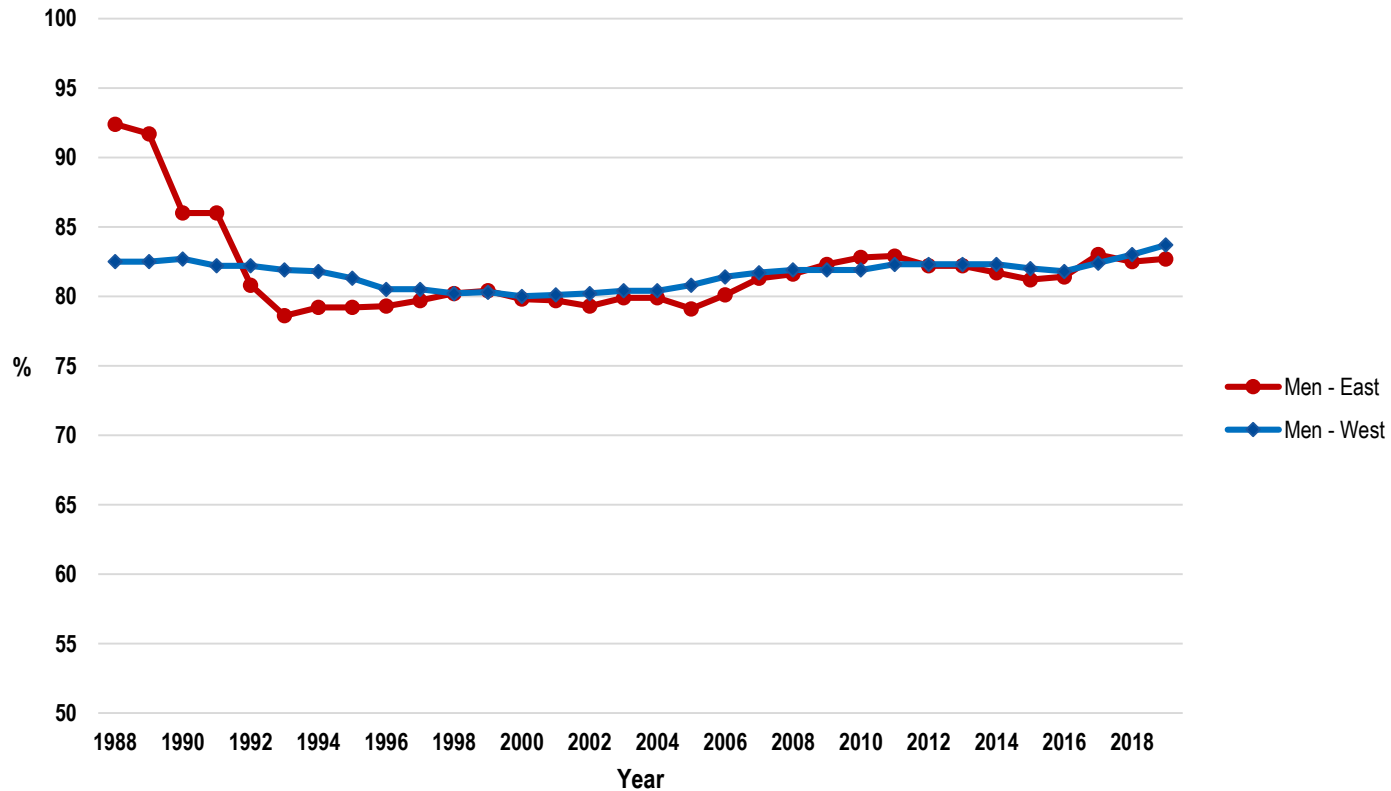
1. Changes in Labor Market Attachment (1988/89 to 2019), Women



Source: WSI; Statistisches Bundesamt.

1. Changes in Labor Market Attachment (1988/89 to 2019), Men

Labour Force Participation - Men (East/West)



Source: WSI; Statistisches Bundesamt.



1. Changes in Labor Market Attachment (1988/89 to 2019)

Why is There Still a Difference between the East and the West in Women's Labor Force Participation?

- Economic Rationale:
 - A greater need for two incomes in the East
 - Non-employed women more likely to register as unemployed in the East
- Cultural Legacy Rationale:
 - Preferences changed while the wall was up: women in the East are more likely to consider qualified employment to be a central component of their self perception



2. Changes in Hours Worked (1989 to 2019)

The Rise of Part-time Work – Before (Re-)Unification

- East Germany:
 - Performed by older women
 - Long hours, approaching 35 hours per week
- West Germany:
 - Performed by mothers with young children
 - Short hours, often under 20 hours per week

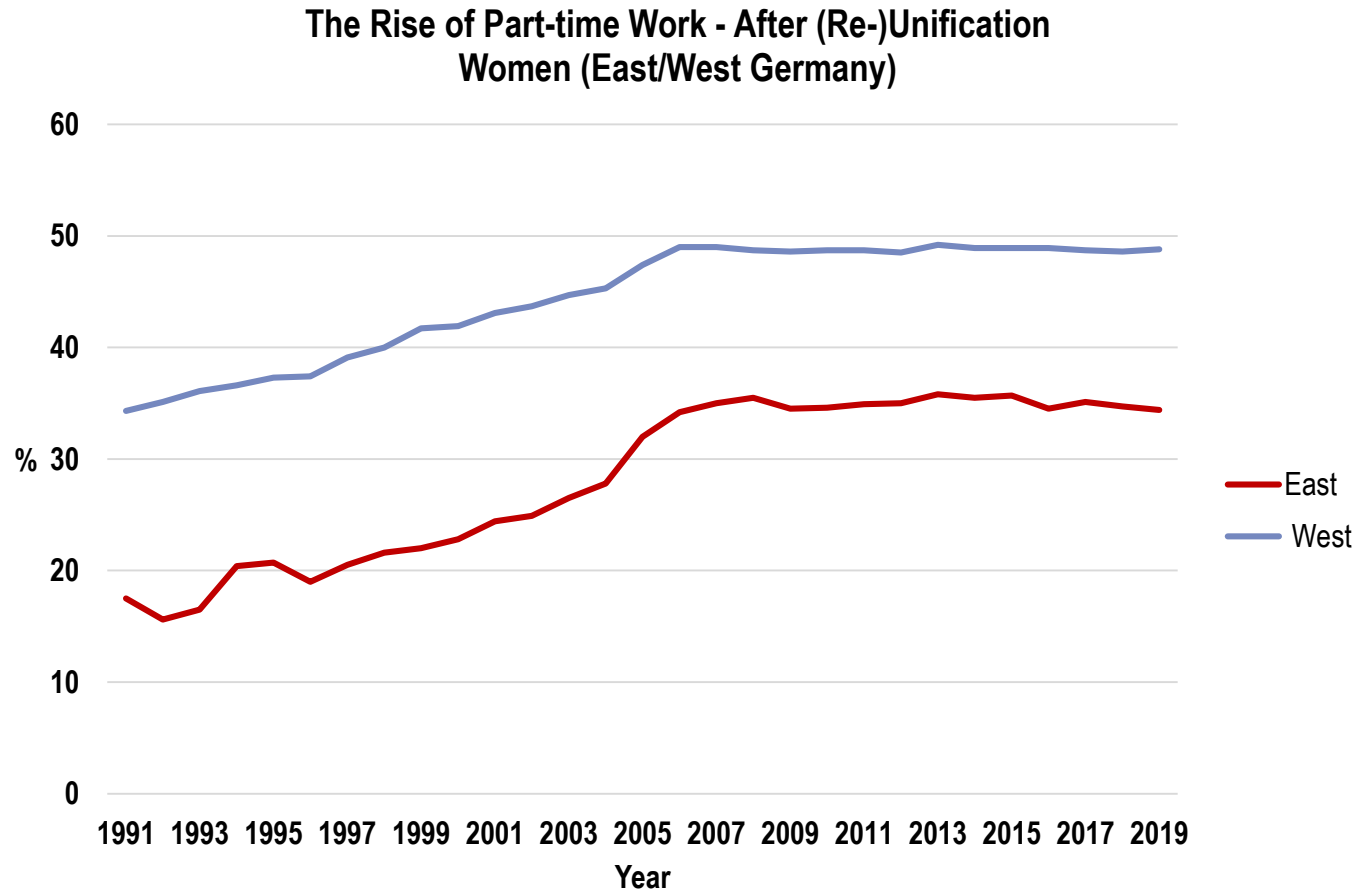


2. Changes in Hours Worked (1989 to 2019)

The Rise of Part-time Work – After (Re-)Unification

- East Germany:
 - Sharp drop in part-time workers as women try to secure their jobs, followed by a gradual increase due to rise of involuntary and voluntary part-time work
- West Germany:
 - Increases in labor force participation entirely due to rise in part-time workers, especially among mothers
 - Prevalence of part-time work increases to 49% of employed women

2. Changes in Hours Worked (1991 to 2019)



Source: WSI.



2. Changes in Hours Worked (1989 to 2017)

Quiz 2: Reasons for Part-time Work among Mothers and Fathers in Germany (2017)

What do you think: Which of the main reasons refer to mothers or fathers in East and in West Germany (A: Fathers East Germany, B: Mothers East Germany, C: Fathers West Germany, D: Mothers West Germany)?

1. Family-related and no full-time work available
2. No full-time work available and other
3. Family-related and other
4. Other and family-related



2. Changes in Hours Worked (1989 to 2017)

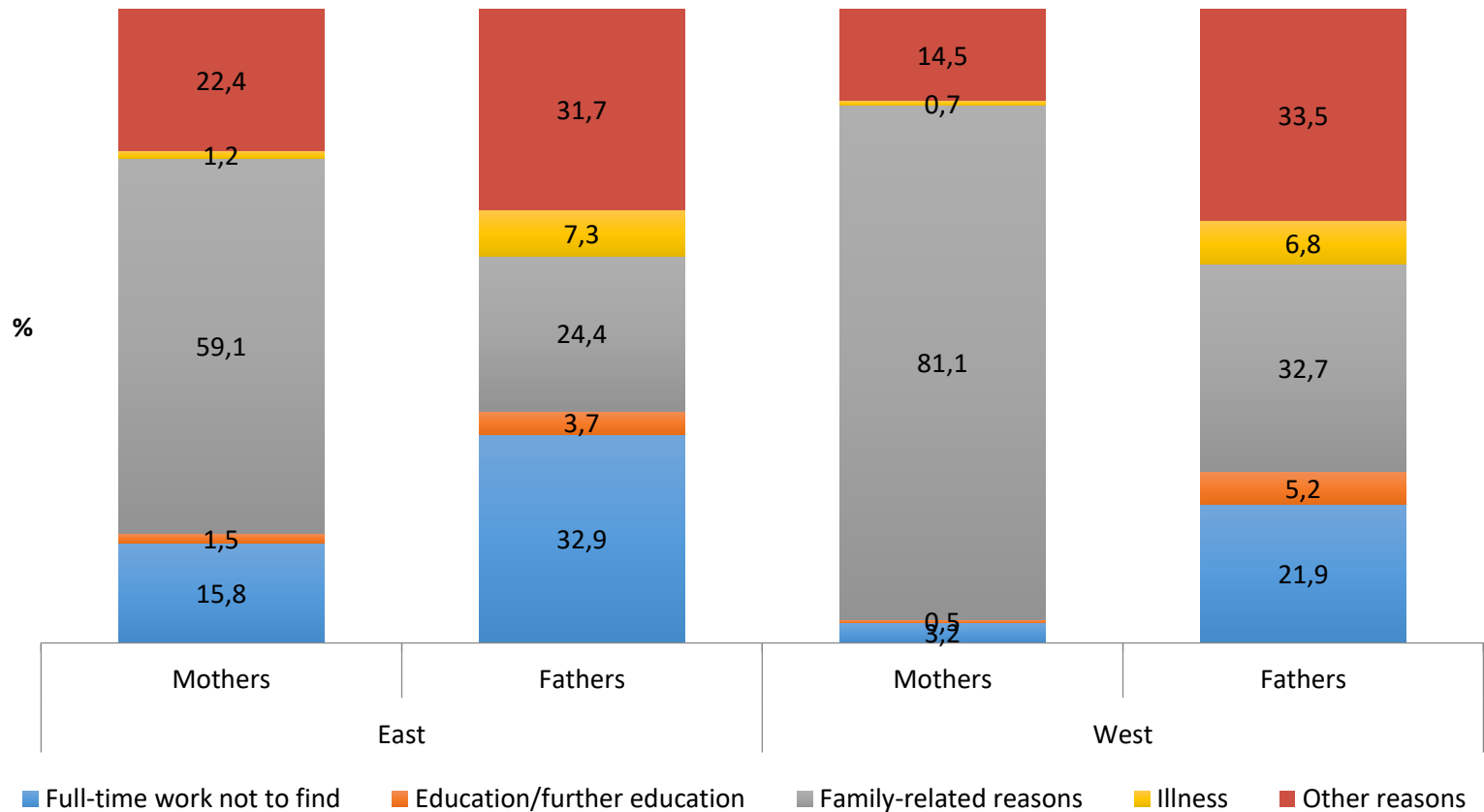
Quiz 2: Reasons for Part-time Work among Mothers and Fathers in Germany (2017)

What do you think: Which of the main reasons refer to mothers or fathers in East and in West Germany (A: Fathers East Germany, B: Mothers East Germany, C: Fathers West Germany, D: Mothers West Germany)?

1. Family-related and no full-time work available - B
2. No full-time work available and other - A
3. Family-related and other - D
4. Other and family-related - C

2. Changes in Hours Worked (1989 to 2017)

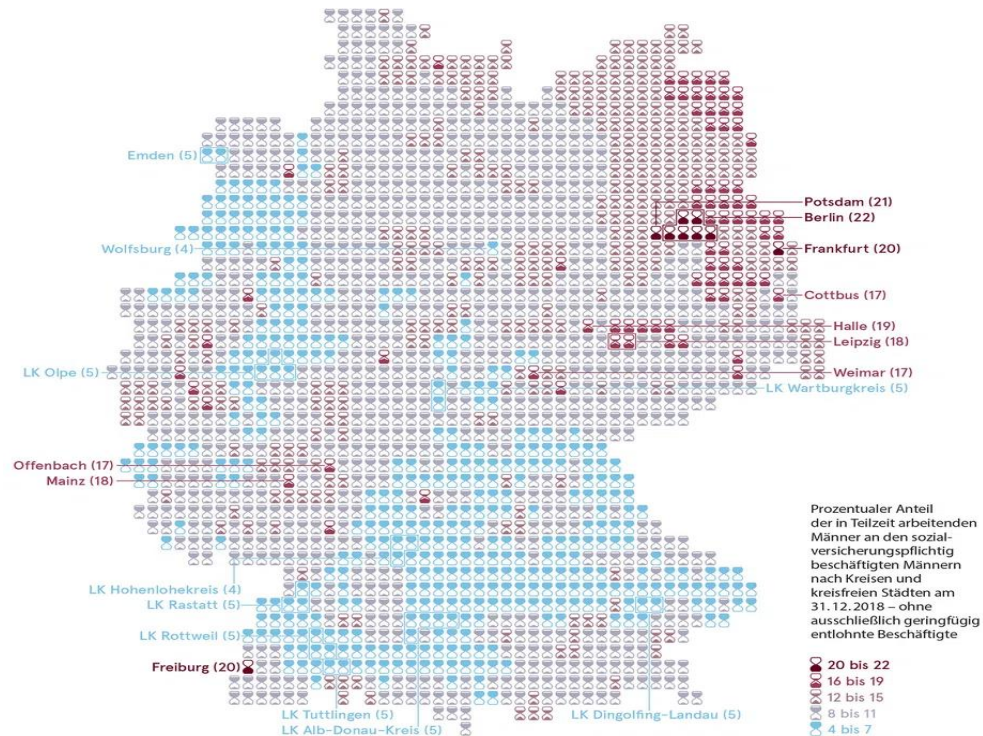
**Reasons for Part-time Work, East/West Germany (2017)
Women & Men w. children <18**



Source: WSI; Author's calculation

2. Changes in Hours Worked (1989 to 2017)

Men in Part-time Work in Germany, 2018



Source: Die ZEIT 44/2019.

3. The Gender Wage Gap – Before (Re-)Unification

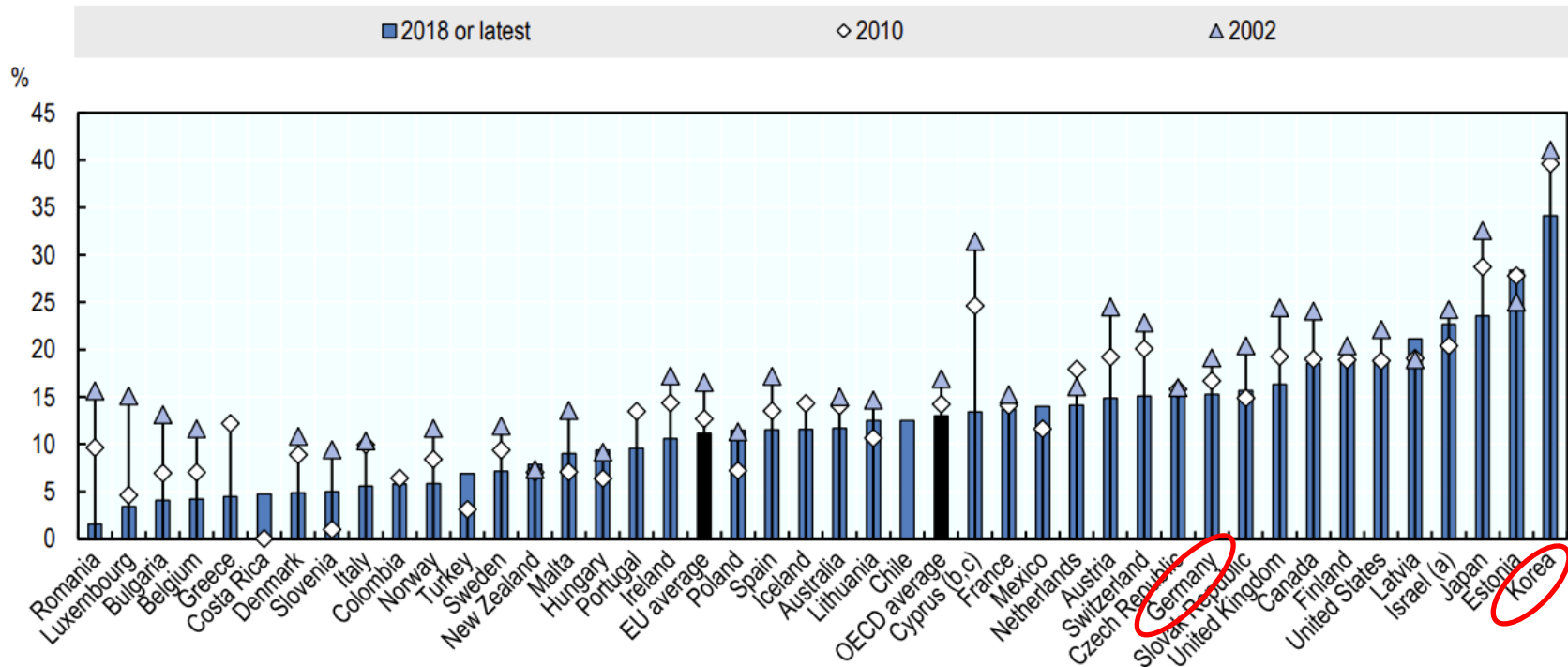
- Women in both parts of Germany earned 25% less than men on average
- East Germany:
 - The wage gap was fairly constant over the early life course
- West Germany:
 - The wage gap increased as women aged due to the “child penalty” for women, and the “child bonus” for men



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3. The Gender Wage Gap – After (Re-)Unification

Gender Gap in Earnings for Full-time Employees (2002, 2010 and 2018)



Source: OECD 2020.



3. The Gender Wage Gap – After (Re-)Unification

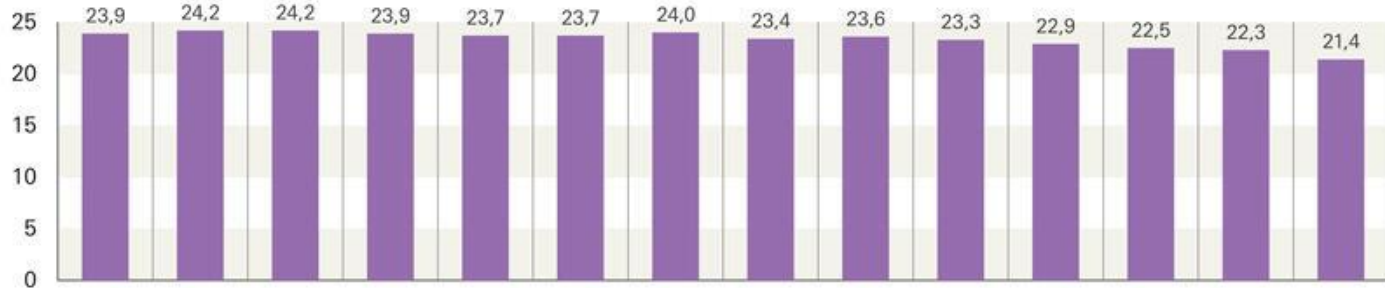
By 2018, Germany shows a considerable gender wage gap among countries in the EU. WHY?

- **West Germany** is lagging due to:
 - Older women's lagging qualifications
 - Less employment continuity among women
 - Occupational sex segregation
 - Mechanisms of discrimination built into collectively bargained wages
- **East Germany** beating expectations:
 - Many observers expected the East Germany wage gap to *increase* when the economy shifted from a socialist to a capitalist form- instead, it *decreased*. Why?
 - Low-skilled women involuntarily exited the labor force
 - Women shifted to work in the public sector which has seen less devaluation of human capital (education and training) acquired under socialism than the private sector

3. The Gender Wage Gap – After (Re-)Unification

Gender Pay Gap (2006-2019) – West Germany

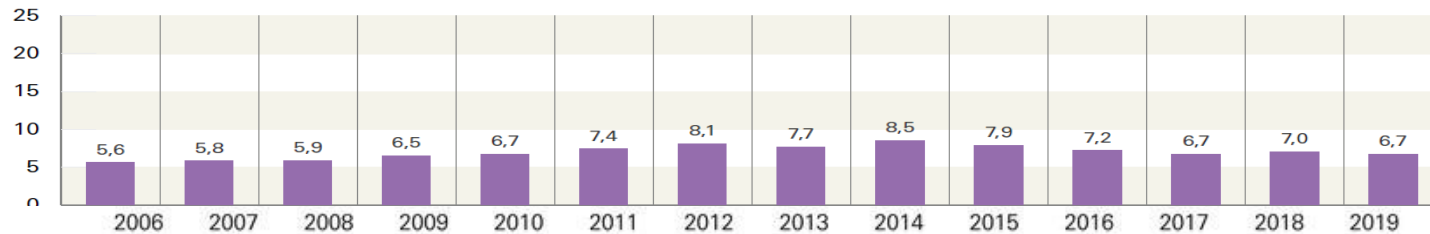
Gender Pay Gap und durchschnittliche Brutto-Stundenverdienste von Frauen und Männern in **Westdeutschland** (2006–2019), in Prozent und in Euro



Gender Pay Gap (in Prozent)

East Germany

Gender Pay Gap und durchschnittliche Brutto-Stundenverdienste von Frauen und Männern in **Ostdeutschland** (2006–2019), in Prozent und in Euro



Gender Pay Gap (in Prozent)

3. The Gender Wage Gap – After (Re-)Unification

Equal Pay Day – Gender Wage Gap in Germany



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bl8FD9I5ZN0>

4. Occupational Sex Segregation

What Does “Occupational Sex Segregation” Mean?





Before (Re-)Unification:

- OSS was high in both parts of Germany before reunification
- **East Germany** had a slightly higher overall level of occupational sex segregation

After (Re-)Unification:

- **West Germany:** OSS remained stable in the **West**
 - Women join the expanding service sector, especially in high-skill jobs
- **East Germany:** OSS rose in the **East**
 - Previously integrated or female-dominated occupations are taken over by men
 - Previously male-dominated occupations become even more closed to women

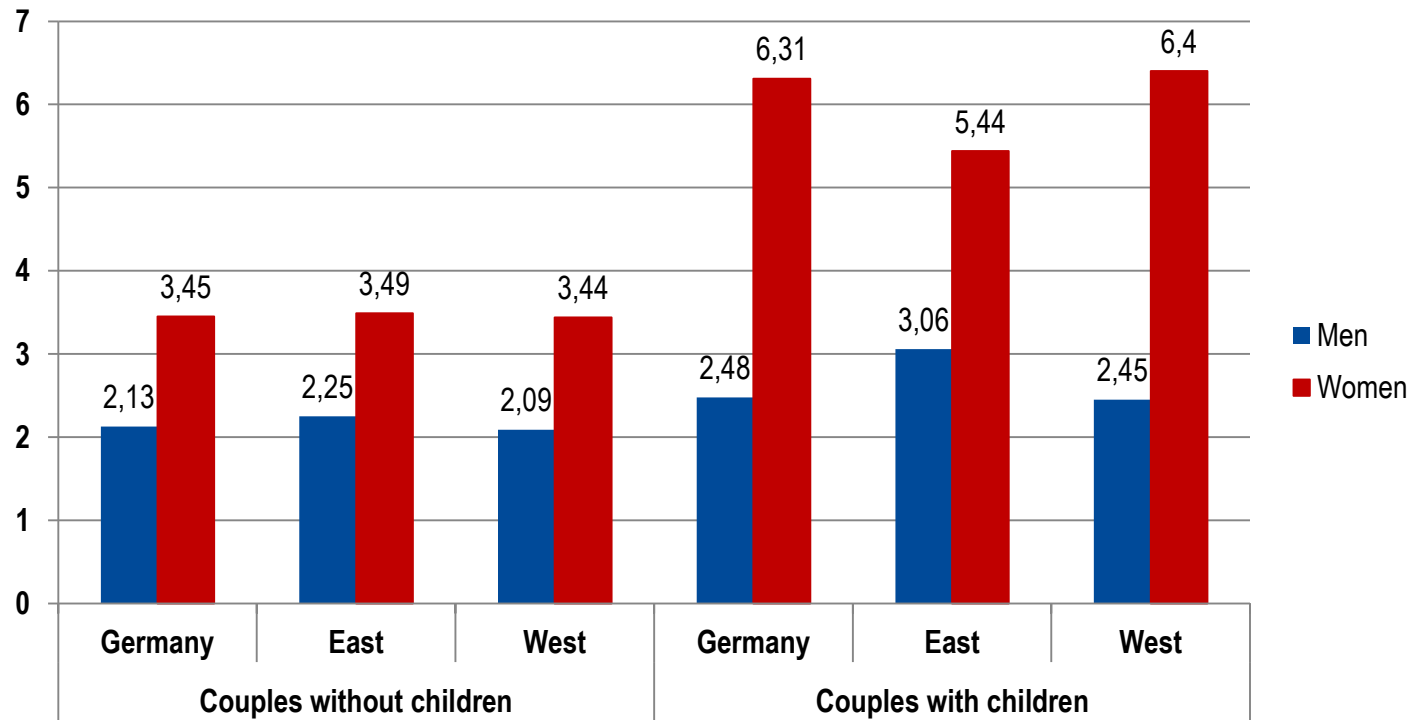
Before (Re-)Unification:

- **West Germany:**
 - Women work part-time, if at all, and do most housework, spending 2 to 2.5x as much time as men on housework
- **East Germany:**
 - Women work full-time, take advantage of state-provided child care, but still do more housework than males, spending 1.5 to 1.8x as much time as men on housework



5. Unpaid Work

Unpaid Work of Couples under Age 60 without/with Children, 2012-13

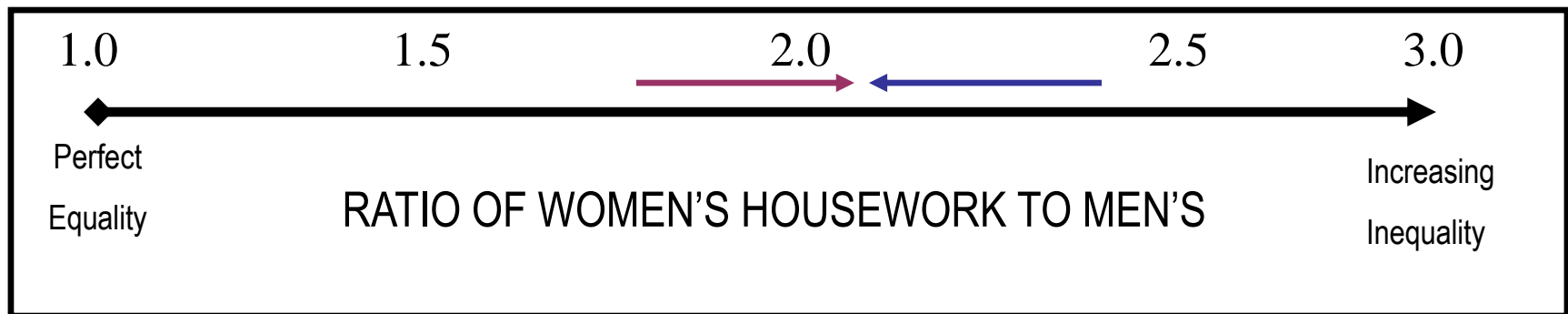


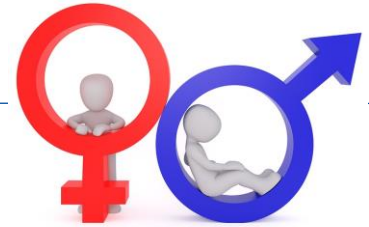
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt; Author's calculation

5. Unpaid Work

After (Re-)Unification:

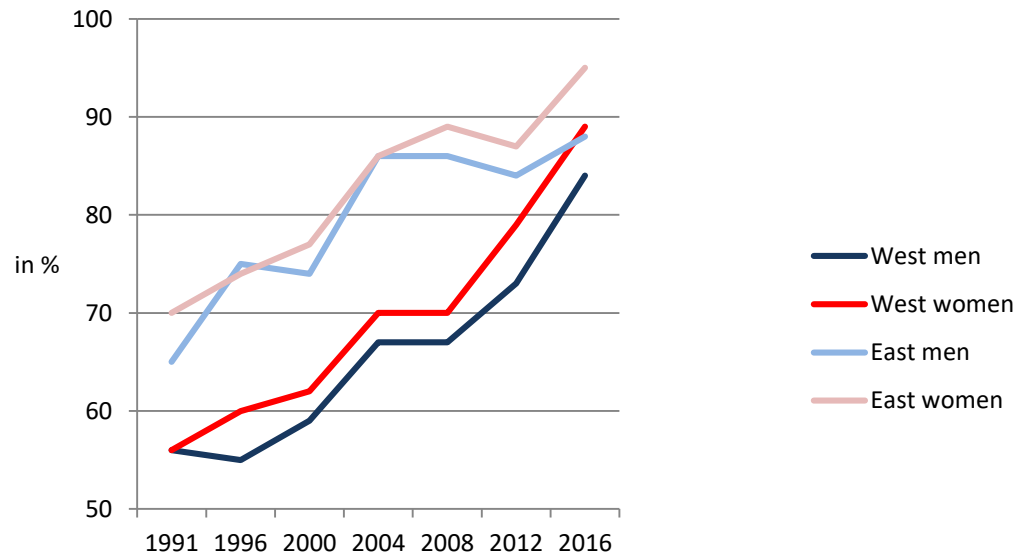
- **West Germany:** de-traditionalization
 - Women increase time in housework, but men increase time in housework even more, reducing the ratio
- **East Germany:** traditionalization
 - Previously employed women lose jobs and pick up more of the housework





How Did Attitudes Change Over Time?

Percentage of egalitarian statements on the distribution of roles between men and women




Quelle: Datenreport 2018.

Source: Allbus; Author's calculation

Conclusion: Overall Changes in Gender Inequality in Relation to Work

Traditional Gender Division of Labor

- 
1. Male Breadwinner / Female Carer
← West Germany, 1989
 2. Dual-Earner / Female Part-Time Carer
← West Germany, 2019
← East Germany, 2019
 3. Dual-Earner / State-Carer or Dual Earner / Marketized-Carer
← East Germany, 1989
 4. Dual-Earner / Dual-Carer

Less Traditional Gender Division of Labor

Students' Task

What do you think: Was gender inequality in employment more pronounced in the former East or in the former West Germany **before (re-)unification**? What answer to this question does the documentary “From Us to Me” suggest?

After (re-)unification: Did East Germany become more like West Germany with respect to employment-related gender inequalities or the other way around? How does the documentary portray the changes in the character of work after (re-)unification?

Conclusion: Overall Changes in Gender Inequality in Relation to Work

- Shift in East Germany does not follow the trend of most industrialized nations (particularly over the 1990s) whereas the change in West Germany does
- Over the last 10 years, increasing trend of convergence with accelerated dynamics in West Germany
- Relative balance of supportive and hindering forces for gender egalitarian policies, workplace practices and individual decision making decisive for future development

Where Would You Situate Your Country on this Continuum?

Traditional Gender Division of Labor

1. Male Breadwinner / Female Carer
2. Dual-Earner / Female Part-Time Carer
3. Dual-Earner / State-Carer or Dual Earner / Marketized-Carer
4. Dual-Earner / Dual-Carer

Less Traditional Gender Division of Labor