

**Full-Time or Part-Time?
The Contradictory Integration of the East German
Female Labour Force in Unified Germany**

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THE „HALLESCHE GRAUREIHER“-SERIES: FULL LIST OF TITLES

I. East-West differences in Germany: Time-lag or divergent development?

The unification of Germany in 1990 meant that the former G.D.R., with the approval of the majority of its 16 million citizens, gave up her sovereignty and was merged into the Federal Republic of Germany. Unified Germany now has 82 million inhabitants. Through the act of unification, the East Germans became a minority of about 20 percent of the total population of Germany. This minority was obliged to adapt to a fundamental transformation of its accustomed political, legal and economic system, whereas things remained more or less unchanged for the West German majority. Thus, both by the sheer logic of numbers and by the fact that the West German institutions prevailed, a distinctly hegemonic situation was established in unified Germany.

Although the two German states were politically and ideologically separated for forty years, they shared a common cultural and historical background. In consequence, both the structural constraints of the unification process and the cultural similarity of the two parts to be reassembled seem to lead to the following common-sense hypothesis: After a period of transitory complications, the most likely outcome to be expected is the complete social, political and economic reintegration of Germany on the basis of the predominant West German model.

Sociological modernisation theory points into the same direction: From this point of view the former G.D.R., due to its one-party political system, its command economy and its mediocre standard of living, was a case of 'blocked modernisation'. This blockage has been lifted after unification. Wolfgang Zapf argues on the basis of recent survey data:

'If one takes acceptance of market economy and democracy together with satisfaction with one's own economic situation as components of an "index of transformation" (...), the direction seems to be obvious. (...) My assumption is that within five more years the East-West differences in Germany will lose their present importance' (Zapf 1998: 31).

Thus, informed common sense and modernisation theory arrive both at the same conclusion: The East-West differences will disappear. The only remaining question

is, how long this will take. Is the period of transition almost over, as Wolfgang Zapf suggests, or will it take several decades or even generations?

As only eight years have passed since the fall of the G.D.R., we are not in a position to give a serious test to the long-term-adaptation variant of the modernisation hypothesis. But there are strong indications that the process of adaptation and integration of East Germany does not run as smoothly as expected.

A good example are the detailed analyses of the development of the East German labour market in the first five years of German unification by Burkart Lutz (1996). Lutz finds very little indication that the East German economy and employment structure is closing the gap and veering towards the patterns of the West German service society. He sees no clear signs of a "take off" of sustained economic growth or of a recovery of the industry in East Germany. In consequence, insufficient purchasing power is generated by the East German economy. The private service sector cannot flourish, whereas the public employment sector is oversized, largely due to huge transfer payments coming in from the West. According to Lutz's view, the high rates of unemployment and of unstable employment may well be a lasting feature of the East German labour market. He does not expect a quick closing of the gap between East and West.

Of course, it is quite impossible for a present day sociologist to tell with any degree of precision whether West and East Germany will eventually diverge or converge, and if so, when and in what direction. In any case, if the situation will be inspected again in a generation's time, what we shall find then will not be the result of deterministic mechanisms. It will have been influenced by purposeful human interventions which are hard to foresee. Therefore, we shall remain prudent in this respect. Rather, we want to tackle the question in a roundabout and indirect way, by looking at a very special, but significant case of labour market development -- the case of female part-time work.

II. Between causation and accusation: Female labour market participation and the rate of unemployment

One of salient features of the German labour market after reunification is the "jobless growth" of the German economy and the constant rise of unemployment in East and West Germany, from 2.6 million in 1991 (6.6%) to 4.8 million unemployed persons in February 1998 (12.6%). In East Germany, the unemployment rate is twice as high as in the West. In February 1998, a staggering 21.4% of the East German labour force were registered as unemployed, compared with 10.4% in the West.¹

Both in everyday discourse and in modernisation theory, the East-West-difference of unemployment rates is usually accounted for by means of the time-lag explanation mentioned above. It argues that the East German labour market is still "lagging behind" and that the process of economic adjustment to the Western model has yet to be accomplished.

However, this is not the only explanation compatible with the paradigm of modernisation theory. Recently, an alternative explanation has been put forward which is of particular interest for our present purpose (Schneider 1994; Kommission für Zukunftsfragen 1997): It is held that the higher unemployment rate in Eastern Germany is not primarily caused by major structural deficits. Rather, the enormous reduction of the East German labour market from 9.9 million jobs in 1989 to 6.0 million jobs in 1998 is considered to be the result of a process of structural normalisation which is now more or less completed. According to this view, both in East and in West Germany the proportion of gainfully employed persons relative to the total population of working age is virtually identical (IWH 1995). There is no "structural lag" in this respect.

Instead, a "cultural lag" explanation is advanced according to which East German women adhere to a much larger extent to the social norm of full employment than their West German counterparts. This strong work orientation leads to a higher

¹ At present, there is no important gender difference in the overall rate of unemployment in Germany. There are, however, slight differences between East and West. In West Germany, the male unemployment rates are slightly higher than the figures for women. In East Germany, the risk of women to become unemployed is 10-15% higher than that of men. (<http://www.arbeitsamt.de>, "Der Arbeitsmarkt im Februar 1998").

economical activity rate of East German women: In 1996, 72.5% of the women of working age were economically active in East Germany. In West Germany, the female activity rate was only 57.7% (Statistisches Bundesamt). It is argued that women thereby exercise additional pressure upon the East German labour market.

Indeed, if one were to make the counterfactual assumption that East German women behaved according to the West German model, only 57.7% of them (instead of the factual 72.5%) would have been economically active in 1996. That is, whereas in real life 3.7 million East German women were economically active, in our fictitiously "westernised" labour market model of East Germany only 2.8 million women would have been interested in having a job - nearly 1 million less. In reality, the total number of women in East Germany registered as unemployed in 1996 amounted to 821.000 only.

One might easily be tempted to transform this hypothetical reasoning into a causal statement. Thus, the influential report of the "Kommission für Zukunftsfragen", an advisory commission appointed by the governments of the States of Bavaria and Saxony, argues:

*'If, caused by a further withdrawal of women from economic activity, the labour force potential decreases, unemployment in East Germany can also be reduced.'*²

It is not surprising that this hypothesis is strongly resented in East Germany. It attributes the main responsibility for the high unemployment rate in East Germany to the excessive demand for jobs by East German women. It implies that unemployment would be reduced to "normal" standards, if only East German women were prepared to give up their "deviant" employment behaviour and to adjust to the West German model. It also implies that the employment orientation of men is not put into question.

² 'Zu vermuten ist, daß das Arbeitskräfteangebot in Ostdeutschland sinken wird - verursacht durch einen weiteren Rückzug der Frauen aus der Erwerbssphäre. Wenn das Erwerbspotential dadurch sinkt, kann auch die Arbeitslosigkeit in Ostdeutschland zurückgehen.' (Kommission für Zukunftsfragen 1997, vol. II, p. 79).

A similar conclusion is drawn in a recent report by the Eduard Pestel Institut für Systemforschung, with reference to the State of Saxony-Anhalt: 'Die gegenüber den alten Bundesländern höhere Arbeitslosigkeit resultiert damit weit überwiegend aus der höheren Erwerbsquote beim weiblichen Teil der Bevölkerung' (Eduard Pestel Institut 1998, p. 49).

However tempting it might be, this is not the place for polemical controversy. Instead, we wish to explore more soberly some of the implications and consequences of the undeniable empirical fact that there are considerable differences in the labour market participation of West and East German women, whereas the employment behaviour of men is much more similar.

III. East German women's feeling for work

One of the most consistent empirical findings, obtained both by survey analysis and by qualitative social research, is the significant difference between East and West German women's attitudes to employment. There is widespread consensus among social scientists that many more women in East Germany have a strong subjective attachment to being economically active than their Western counterparts³. Notwithstanding the increasing unemployment pressure for East German women, their intensive work orientation seems not to have decreased since 1990.

There are even some indications that the work orientation of East German women may actually have intensified in recent years. If one considers the results of the ALLBUS-survey from 1991 and 1996, a stable 50% of the adult population in Western Germany agree that it is *'much better, if men are fully employed and women stay at home to look after the household and the children'*⁴ (cf. table I). In East Germany, the agreement to the same question was 33% in 1991. It decreased to only 26% in 1996. It is interesting to note that in both parts of Germany the gender difference of the replies is negligible. This gender homogeneity of opinion gives support to the hypothesis that two divergent "work ethics" co-exist in the two parts of unified Germany.

³ Cf. Arnhold (1996), Bauer et al. (1996), Becker (1998), Braun (1995), Datenreport (1997), Engelbrech et al. (1997), Holst / Schupp (1996), Nickel (1997), Schulze Buschoff (1997), Zukunftskommission (1998). For summaries of earlier findings: Kreckel (1995) and Schenk (1995).

"Kommission für Zukunftsfragen" (1997, vol. II, p.78) claim a 'slow approximation of work orientations in West and East Germany', but without providing an empirical substantiation.

⁴ Cf. Datenreport (1997, p.451).

{TABLE I}

As table I shows, the same data also reveal structural heterogeneity with respect to age and education; the younger and the better educated are more likely to opt against the "male breadwinner model". However, the differentiation by age and by education is much more accentuated in West Germany. That is, the youngest and the most educated of the West German respondents are most likely to be in accord with the East German pattern. This might be interpreted as an indicator that West, not East German women are "lagging behind" and are in the process of "catching up" with a more modern work ethic which favours life-long full employment for both genders.

{TABLE II}

This interpretation is still somewhat premature, however, as after closer inspection the "catching up" of West German women is not quite what it seems. As Blossfeld and Rohwer (1997) have demonstrated, the steady rise of the activity rate of West German women of working age (15-60) from 45% in 1950 to 60% in 1990 does not indicate the full inclusion of increasing numbers of women into the work force. Indeed, as table II reveals, the gradual increase of the female activity rate was generated by the simultaneous growth of female part-time employment. The newly created part-time jobs were mostly taken up by married women who would have remained full housewives before. Blossfeld and Rohwer (1997, p. 170) comment:

'The impressive increase in (married) women's labour-force participation during the last thirty years in West Germany has by and large been the result of an expansion of married women's part-time employment. In other words, a wife's role as supplementary earner has hardly changed.'

The situation in East Germany is quite different. The starting point in 1950 was identical, but from then onwards a separate development began. During the existence of the G.D.R., the activity rate of women aged 15 - 60 rose from 45% in 1950 to 78% in 1989 (table II). Virtually all women, married or unmarried, were thus included in the work force. The rule was full-time employment for men and women. Female part-time employment was seen as exceptional, mainly performed by older women or as reduced hours work (see below). Strongly supported by the

Labour Code of 1977, the "dual-earner family" was firmly established in East Germany by 1989, when the G.D.R. came to its end.

Thus, at the time of the German unification two partly divergent models co-existed which attempted to bridge the structural cleavage between the sphere of productive work and the sphere of reproductive work⁵. These two models imply different "gender contracts" (Pfau-Effinger/Geissler 1992). In simplified form, these models may be summarised as follows.⁶

1. Both models still bear the stamp of their common predecessor, the normative model of the petty-bourgeois German "breadwinner family", where the husband was supposed to be the family head and sole provider of income, whereas his wife was barred from gainful employment after marriage. She was expected to look after him, their children and elderly parents as well as after the household.
2. As far as the normal biography of men is concerned, the line of continuity remained largely intact in both parts of post-war Germany. Men were - and still are - expected to lead a life of full employment. Part-time work is deemed to be inappropriate for any able-bodied man. To this day, the part-time employment rates of men have remained minimal in both parts of Germany. The deeply rooted social norm that a man's life is a working life is a major obstacle to all job-sharing campaigns.
3. Household, family and children continue to be primarily the responsibility of women in East and West Germany, whether they are fully-employed or not. Although certain tendencies toward a more equal sharing of the practical and emotional tasks of domestic life have been reported from both parts of Germany, the major burden still tends to be carried by women.
4. As stated above, the normal biography of women living in the G.D.R. was increasingly oriented towards life-long full employment and a full contribution to the household income. This was encouraged by the East German labour legislation, the social security system and the official social policy, which tried to relieve women of parts of their responsibilities, especially in child care and

⁵ For a theoretical elaboration of this distinction, see Kreckel (1992), chapter 4.

⁶ For references, see Kreckel (1995).

education. Thus, the model of the "dual-earner marriage" was the normative model of private life in the G.D.R.

5. Women in the Federal Republic were "lagging behind" in this respect. Interrupted employment careers, part-time work and the role of supplementary earner are wide-spread characteristics of female biographies in the West German model. This model is encouraged by the organisation of the social security net and the system of taxation, as well as by the absence of sufficient provisions for full-time child care and education. In this way, the petty-bourgeois model of the "breadwinner marriage", where the wife stayed fully at home, was gradually replaced by the West German compromise model which has been described as "modernised breadwinner marriage" (Pfau-Effinger / Geissler 1992).

Given the hegemonial circumstances of the German unification process stated above, the East Germans are now fully exposed to the political, legal and economic framework which was originally developed in the West German Federal Republic. This framework provides the very same structural and institutional incentives which have lead to the "modernised breadwinner model" in West Germany, whereas the structural conditions which once underpinned the East German "dual earner" model have been superseded. In this situation it seems adventurous to expect anything but full adaptation to the only remaining structural framework - even if, as in this case, "adaptation" would mean for East Germans to return to less modern model.⁷

But as we have seen, the majority of East Germans of both genders have so far remained recalcitrant to follow the predicted path. This is illustrated in table III, which shows that views held about gender roles and women's work diverge considerably between East and West Germany. On the basis of these views, East German women are less likely than West German women to accept the compromise solution of working part-time. In fact, a considerable majority of

⁷ However, if one prefers to follow the argument of Catherine Hakim (1997), one would have to say that this would not be a move backwards, but a forward step towards modernity - or even towards "post-modernity". According to Hakim this modern world is characterized by individualism, structural heterogeneity and 'the coexistence of two qualitatively different work orientations among women (and men) of working age'(p.62): One type of persons are committed to careers in the labour market and often remain childless; the other type of persons give priority to domestic activities and consider gainful employment as secondary.

working women in East Germany state a preference for working full-time; in West Germany, it is the other way round (see table IV).

{TABLE III}

{TABLE IV}

Thus, we arrive at the core question of this paper, the question of the continuing unwillingness of East German women to accept part-time work. We will have to ask, if there might be more to it than temporary obstinacy which keeps East German women from adopting the West German model of the "modernised breadwinner family".

The data shown in table III underline what we have already noted above on the basis of the findings presented in table I: The wide-spread rejection of part-time work is not a peculiarity of East German women only. It is a view which is shared by men. The situation is quite analogous in West Germany. This is the reason why we have introduced the hypothesis of two divergent work-ethics co-existing in the two parts of Germany. It implies that the part-time / full-time dilemma of married women is imbedded in values shared by both genders.

If one accepts this interpretation, it follows that the strong feelings held in East Germany against the part-time work of women cannot be treated as some kind of feminine eccentricity. Rather, the basis is a wide-spread social consensus.

If Ibsen's Nora had been living in modern East Germany, she would hardly have been able provoke her husband's wrath by looking for a job of her own. But she might have irritated him and her children much more, if she had decided to work part-time and to spend the afternoons at her Doll's House.

IV. Nora's coming back

The hypothesis of the two different marriage-models, the "dual-earner model" and the "modernised breadwinner model", may well explain the divergent work orientations of West and East German women. But it still does not give an answer

to our question whether the East German variant will be able to withstand the structural pressures of the hegemonial situation in unified Germany.

In two earlier papers (Kreckel 1995, Schenk 1995) we sketched four paths of possible development:

1. Adaptation of East Germany to the hegemonial gender contract of the "modernised breadwinner model".
2. Disruption of the East German gender contract whereby East German men maintain their orientation to full employment, whereas their wives are forced out work or into unwanted part-time jobs.
3. Regressive maintenance of the exceptional gender contract and the "dual earner model" in East Germany which, under economic duress, mutates to a "dual unemployment model" or a "dual part-time model", where the burdens of the labour market crisis are shared between both genders.
4. Innovative maintenance of the exceptional development path in which the strong employment orientation of the East Germans fosters creativity and productivity, generates new investments and new jobs, and leads to a recovery of the East German labour market, which increases the chances of full-employment for both genders.

Given the high degree of differentiation of East German society, the real development will probably contain elements of all four variants. Our question will have to be, then, whether the alternatives three and four are likely to maintain enough strength to have a lasting impact.

Some empirical indication giving support to this assumption can be found by looking more closely at the structure and the development of female part-time work in East Germany. In fact, at first glance the part-time rates of women in East and West Germany at the time just before German unification do not seem to be dramatically different: In 1988, 27% of the employed women in East Germany worked on part-time contracts (Winkler 1990). The corresponding rate in West Germany was 32% (Blossfeld, Rohwer 1997). But the following structural differences must be kept in mind:

1. At the time of the dispartion of the G.D.R. 78% of the women aged 15 - 60 were economically active. The activity rate of West German women was only 60%,(cf. table II). This means that the traditional "breadwinner marriage" was still influential in the West, but insignificant in the East.
2. In the final years of the G.D.R., part-time contracts were predominantly held by older women. That is, part-time work was not an element "normal" family life, as in West Germany, but rather a means of gradual transition into retirement. In the G.D.R. in 1988, only 10% of the younger women (aged 25-35) worked part-time compared with 28%-32% of women aged 45-60 (Schuldt 1992, p. 66). In the Federal Republic, the corresponding figures were 27% for women aged 25-35 and 45% for women aged 45-60.
3. The category 'part-time work' is not sufficiently specific. If one follows the suggestion of Hakim (1997, p. 25) and distinguishes between 'reduced hours work', 'half-time work' and 'marginal work', one finds that part-time work in the G.D.R. was predominantly reduced hours work, whereas the predominant pattern in West Germany was half-time work (see table V).

{TABLE V}

In the meantime, the political and economic conditions, in particular the labour market situation, have dramatically changed in East Germany. Nonetheless, table VI shows very clearly that both the preferences expressed and the actual working-time behaviour of East German women follows very closely the pattern established in the last two decades of the history of the G.D.R. (cf. Arnhold 1996).

{TABLE VI}

The impression of continuity emanating from these data is a very strong one. It gives support to our hypothesis that the strong attachment of the East German population to women's full employment has particular resilience because it is an integral part of a specific way of life, not an isolated element (or a 'feminine eccentricity').

One major exception has to be noted, however. As considerable numbers of older persons have been obliged to leave the labour market in East Germany, part-time work for people over 55 is not any more a realistic issue. From 1989 to 1993, about 1 million elderly women and men left the employment system of East Germany due to special programs of early retirement (Lutz 1996, p. 164). Hence, in 1996 we found only few persons aged 55-65 economically active in East Germany -- the rate of women amounted to 36.4%, for men to 44.2% (Statistisches Bundesamt)⁸. In this case, it seems that the 'regressive path of development' is being enforced.

That is, it must be assumed that many East Germans are not prepared to give up their specific way of life, which includes full-employment and economic parity for both genders, unless they are pressed to do so (see table VII). That is, those whose competitive position on the labour market is weakest are most likely to settle for part-time work (see table VIII).

{TABLE VII}

{TABLE VIII}

As table VIII shows, East German women make use of their education and occupational status as resources supporting their claim to full labour market participation. If there is a chance to remain fully employed, a well qualified woman in East Germany is likely to seize this chance whereas her West German counterpart is much more likely to accept alternative options, such as part-time work or withdrawal from the active labour force.

Certainly, the motivating powers of the financial advantages gained by maintaining the "dual earner model" are not to be denied. That is, one should not be too idealistic about the "East German way of life". It clearly has a strong materialistic underpinning, and there is no need to romanticise about it.

⁸ The corresponding figures for West Germany were 30.5% (women) and 54.2% (men).

In other words, and this is what sociologists should be interested in, both material interests and shared views point into the same direction in East Germany: The „dual-earner model“ is not likely to dissolve itself into the hegemonial "modernised breadwinner model". Quite the opposite may be the case. If one looks at the younger age groups of the West German population, one gets the strong impression that the "dual earner model" is slowly making headway there (cf. table I).

On the basis of the data discussed in this paper, we do not see how the propagation of women's part-time work could compensate for the steady loss of jobs in both parts of Germany. That is, if one were to assume that the reduction of working time could be an answer to the endemic unemployment problem in contemporary Germany, this reduction could not be achieved by means of a further expansion of female part-time work. In West Germany, younger women are more strongly oriented to full-time work than older women. Therefore, the number of women prepared to opt for part-time employment is likely to decrease in the future. In East Germany, the potential for female part-time work on a voluntary basis is even more limited.

That is, if a further reduction of working time is going to be achieved in Germany, it will either have to be done by obliging women to give up a substantial part of the occupational terrain they have already conquered. Or, if a consensual solution is sought, the reduction of working time will have to include both genders. In West Germany, this seems to require a major reorganization of the gendered practice of dividing domestic and occupational work. In East Germany, the necessary reorientation might be less incisive. The transition from the „dual full-time earner model“ to a „dual reduced-hours earner model“ could be easier to achieve.

It may well be that Nora and Torvald Helmer would have found it less difficult to come to terms with the task of sharing their lives in post-full-employment society, if they had been steeled by the East German experience. But shall we ever know?

TABLE I

Views on the traditional division of labour between men and women in West and East Germany, 1991 - 1996 (%)

'It is much better for all, if men are fully employed and women stay at home to look after the household and the children'				
	West		East	
	1991	1996	1991	1996
Total¹	50	50	33	26
Gender				
men	51	53	35	27
women	49	47	30	26
Married women²				
working	31	30	22	18
not working	58	65	37	30
Age				
18-30	34	29	23	19
31-45	39	35	26	18
46-65	60	61	37	31
over 65	77	80	52	38
Education				
lower secondary leaving certificate ³	64	66	44	38
intermediate leaving certificate ⁴	43	43	27	19
upper secondary leaving certificate ⁵	27	25	19	16

¹ German nationals only

² Married or living with partner

³ Hauptschulabschluß

⁴ Mittlere Reife/Polytechnische Oberschule

⁵ Abitur/Fachabitur

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, Datenreport 1997, p. 451, Allbus 1991, 1996

TABLE II

Trends in part-time vs. full-time employment in the two parts of Germany, 1950 - 1989/90 (%)

Trends in women's part-time vs. full-time employment in West-Germany

Activity rate of women aged 16-60 (%)	Part-time workers as % of employees			% female among full-time workers
	Male	Female	Total	
1950	1	6	3	-
1960	2	9	4	32
1965	2	16	7	30
1970	2	24	9	28
1975	2	29	12	29
1980	1	29	12	30
1985	2	31	13	30
1990	2	33	14	33

Trends in women's part-time vs. full-time employment in East Germany**

Activity rate of women aged 16-60 (%)	Part-time workers as % of employees			% female among full-time workers
	Male	Female	Total	
1950				
1960				
1967	3	29	16	42
1970	3	33	18	43
1975	3	33	19	44
1980	3	29	17	46
1985	2	27	16	46
1989	2	27	15	45

Source: Blossfeld, Rohwer (1997, pp 166-167)

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, Zweigstelle Berlin, own calculations
 * Source: Ministerrat der DDR, Staatliche Zentralverwaltung für Statistik, own calculations

**without the employees of the so-called „x“-sector (military, police etc.)

TABLE III

West and East German's views on gender roles, employment and the family, 1994

ITEM	AGREEMENT (%)	
	West	East
Employment and Family		
„A working mother takes as well care of her children as a mother staying at home.“	75	92
„Younger children (up to six or seven) need their mother staying at home to grow up well.“	71	34
„On the whole it has negative effects on family life if the wife is working full time.“	62	31
Gender roles		
„Having a job is quite well, but what most of women really dream of are a home and children.“	35	20
„A marriage career is as satisfying for a woman as to do paid work.“	48	20
„While the husband is considered to be the breadwinner of the family, the primary tasks of the wife are to look after the household and the children.“	37	11
„There is something wrong, if the man is staying at home looking after the children whereas the woman is going out to work.“	40	41
Economical reasons of employment		
„The best way for women to become independent is to have their own occupational careers.“	76	80
„Nowadays, many women have to be economically active because their families are in absolutely need of the additional money.“	78	90
„Both men and women should contribute to the household income.“	67	94

Source: Braun 1995, p. 6, based on data of the ISSP (International Social Survey Program)

TABLE IV**Preferred working time of employed persons in East and West Germany, 1995¹**

Preferred working time per week	West			East		
	total	men	women	total	men	women
in %						
35 hours or more	66	84	42	76	87	63
20 - 34 hours	23	10	40	15	5	27
up to 20 hours	11	6	19	9	8	11

¹ Replies to the question: „If you could choose your own working time, taking into consideration that your income would change according to the working time, how many hours per week would you prefer to work?“

Source: Schulze Buschoff 1997, p. 7, GSOEP 1995

TABLE V**Part-time working women in the G.D.R. and in the F.R.G., 1988**

	FRG	GDR
	in %	
Total of part-time working women	40,7	26,9
Part-time 1 (GDR: 35-39 hrs./FRG: 31-35 hrs.)	3,2	4,8
Part-time 2 (GDR: 25-34 hrs./FRG: 22-30 hrs.)	14,1	16,2
Part-time 3 (GDR: up to 24 hrs./FRG: up to 21 hrs.)	23,2	5,9

Source: DIW-Wochenbericht 19/90, p. 265

TABLE VI

Actual working time and preferred working time of employees in Germany, 1995

hours per week	West				East			
	men		women		men		women	
	actual working time	preferred working time						
	in %							
40 and more	65	50	34	17	89	67	67	40
30-39	30	41	29	39	8	24	22	41
20-29	2	3	18	25	2	2	7	8
up to 20	3	6	19	19	2	8	4	6

Source: Schulze Buschoff 1997, p. 10, GSOEP 1995

TABLE VII

Part-time employment as „second-best choice“ in East and West Germany, 1991-1996¹

		1991	1993	1996
Part-time workers stating that they are actually working part-time, because they could not find a full-time job (%)				
West				
	men	7,6	8,8	17,3
	women	4,5	4,6	6,8
East				
	men	12,8	20,4	31,6
	women	11,7	29,1	50,6

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, own calculations

TABLE VIII

Women working part-time in East and West Germany, by education and occupational status, 1995/96 (as % of female employees)

	West	East
Education*		
lower secondary leaving certificate ¹	45	26
intermediate leaving certificate ²	32	18
upper secondary leaving certificate ³	31	14
vocational education ⁴	38	22
vocational extension certificate ⁵	32	18
higher education ⁶	34	13
Occupational status**		
unskilled workers ⁷	57	55
skilled workers ⁸	38	27
white-collar workers ⁹	41	20
professionals/managers ¹⁰	39	11

¹ Hauptschulabschluß

² Mittlere Reife/Polytechnische Oberschule

³ Abitur/Fachabitur

⁴ Lehrausbildung

⁵ Fachschulabschluß

⁶ Fachhochschulabschluß/Universitätsabschluß

⁷ ungelernte Arbeiter

⁸ Facharbeiter

⁹ einfache Angestellte/Beamte

¹⁰ leitende Angestellte/Beamte

* Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 1996, own calculations

** Source: Schulze Buschoff 1997, p. 17, GSOEP 1995

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