International Symposium
November 6th and 7th, 2008 at the Center for the Advancement of Working Women (CAWW)

Fertility and Social Stratification
Germany and Japan in Comparison

Friday, November 7th, 2008
Section 5: Gender

“Age Stratification and Gender Roles in Germany’s Fertility Crisis”

PowerPoint by Alexander Röhler and Heather Hofmeister
(both RWTH Aachen University)

If you use any information from this presentation, please have the courtesy to properly cite this source. Thank you.
Age Stratification and Gender Roles in the German Fertility Crisis

Dr. Alexander Röhler and Prof. Heather Hofmeister

RWTH Aachen University
Sociology and Gender Studies

Tokyo, Japan
November 2008
Overview

• Prospects of age stratification in Germany

• Pressures for ages 20-40 („fertility window“)

• Division of paid and unpaid labor in couples
  – Past and current models
  – Puzzles

• Unpaid labor:
  – Mechanisms of housework division in couples

• Two scenarios and summary
Prospects of Age Stratification in Germany

Model Assumptions:
- Low birth rate among Germans (1.25);
- Decrease of birth rates among Migrants (from 1.9 to 1.64);
- Rise of living expectancy to 80.9 (men) and 86.9 (women);
- Immigration surplus of 170,000 per year.

Source: Birg (2000), Table 2, p. 29
German men and women in their (social) fertility window (Age group 20-40) …

- have to support themselves
- pay for children
- pay for pensions
- have and raise (more) children

…. face multiple pressures
Pressures in ...

The Labor market
• Pay for children
• Pay for pensions
  – for older people
  – for own pensions
• Pay for eldercare

Household work
• Care for own children
• Care for elder relatives
  („sandwich squeeze“)
Past German Models

Gendered division between paid and unpaid labor
- „Career men“ with housewives
- „Career women“ with no children

Boths models are no longer an option
- „Career men“ with housewives -> labor market needs all
- „Career women“ with no children -> society needs children
Current German Models

1. Changed attitudes towards egalitarian labor division
   -> reduced housework hours of women

2. „Traditionalization“ after birth of first child
   - In the home
   - In paid work arrangements (Reichart 2008)

3. Stable and gendered labor division within families
   - Women face more pressure than men

How to reconcile attitudes for gender-equitable labor division, couples’ practices and pressures from fertility crisis?
Age stratification, labor market demand, couples‘ labor division and supply of children

- Future Age Stratification
- New Division of Labor
  - High Labor Market Participation Rates required (ages 20 - 40)
- Traditional Division of Labor
- Possible High Fertility
- Probable Low Fertility
Unpacking the puzzle –
The case of household labor division
Mechanisms…

- Gender ideologies
- Competencies
- Preferences for doing
- Interest in the outcome
- Transaction costs
- „Doing gender“ (West & Zimmerman 1987)

…. that restructure housework

(source: Röhler & Huinink 2008)
Effects of Housework

Mechanisms …

- Fading of gender roles
- Individualized household arrangements
- Efficiency issues and transaction costs
- Identity construction
- More female attachment to household issues

… Inequality in the household persists
Challenges within couples

- Individualization of couple’s unpaid work
- Search for new models to reconcile paid labor and family work under the pressures of high work force integration of both men and women
New Models?
Future Scenarios

Dystopia

- Rising inequality and pressures
- Cohort conflict (age fragmentation)
- House and care work left alone
  - Very few children
  - Elderly in self care, regardless of ability
- Immigration with isolation
- Overburdened social system / Social collapse
New Models?  
Future Scenarios  
Utopia

• Expectations of men and women, mothers and fathers more realistic and attainable (Baur & Hofmeister 2008)
• Societal support (time, money, encouragement)  
  – Images, Rewards, Offers, Cooperative models
• Employers rethinking lock-step career path  
  – Support parents  
  – Support older workers
• Immigration with integration
• Fertility rate increases or at least remains stable
• Social cohesion / Societal welfare
Given the need for high labor market participation in the future from both men and women:

The future fertility rate in Germany depends, in part, on the success of German couples and German society at developing new arrangements of paid and unpaid work.
Additional material for discussion
Today’s and future age stratification in Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>Percentage of age groups</th>
<th>2030</th>
<th>2050</th>
<th>2080</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below 20</td>
<td>21,6</td>
<td>15,5</td>
<td>14,3</td>
<td>14,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to below 40</td>
<td>30,0</td>
<td>21,0</td>
<td>19,7</td>
<td>19,6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to below 60</td>
<td>26,7</td>
<td>25,7</td>
<td>25,2</td>
<td>24,7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and older</td>
<td>21,8</td>
<td>37,9</td>
<td>40,9</td>
<td>40,9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(80 and older)</td>
<td>3,7</td>
<td>8,5</td>
<td>14,7</td>
<td>14,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td>100,0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Birg (2000): Table 3, p. 30
### Prospects of Age Stratification in Germany (Percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>2030</th>
<th>2050</th>
<th>2080</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 20</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 39</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 59</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 to 79</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 and older</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All population</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Birg (2000): Table 2, p. 29
(Model Assumptions: low birth rate among Germans (1,25) and a going down of birth rates among Migrants (from 1,9 to 1,64); rise of living expectancy to 80,9 (men) and 86,9 (women), and an immigration surplus of 170 000 per year)
Age dependency ratio in different countries; among them Germany and Japan (source: Birg (2000))
Table I: Survey Sample
„Housework in pair relationships“ (Huinink / Röhler 2005)
(64 pairs, 128 individual interviews) (Röhler / Huinink 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region of socialization</th>
<th>GDR/GDR (30 pairs)</th>
<th>FRG/FRG (30 pairs)</th>
<th>GDR/FRG; FRG/GDR (4 pairs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marr. (12)</td>
<td>Non married (12)</td>
<td>Marr. (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LAT (6)</td>
<td>Non married (12)</td>
<td>LAT (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marr. (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non married (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living arrangement / Children within the household</td>
<td>6 6 3 6 6 3 - 2</td>
<td>6 6 3 6 6 3 - 2</td>
<td>6 6 3 - 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No children (32)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children (32)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Current models for paid work

• Before birth of first child:
  – most men and women work fulltime

• After birth of first child prevailing work arrangements are:
  – Men fulltime, woman housewife
  – Man fulltime, woman parttime

(source: Reichart 2008: analysis with GSOEP longitudinal study)

conclusion: women reduce their paid work for the sake of their partners and children (to do the unpaid work)
Cohort-analysis: Support for male breadwinner model in USA, West-Germany, and Hungary

Indicator: “Do you agree or disagree ...? A husband’s job is to earn money; a wife’s job is to look after the home and family.”

Women doing laundry – Are there age or cohort differences? Is there change over time?

Question: “Please answer if you are married or living as married. In your household who does the following things ... Who does the laundry: the washing and ironing?” Answer “Always the woman.” ISSP 1994, 2002, weighted data, no filter.