AG AboutGender
International journal of gender studies

http://www.aboutgender.unige.it/ojs

Vol.2 N° 4 anno 2013
pp. 60-75

Coping with the crisis – How have German women fared?

Ilona Ostner, Karin Kurz and Kerstin Schulze

Georg-August-University Göttingen

Abstract

The 2008/2009 crisis has harmed the German labour market and women's labour market chances only marginally and temporarily. Our contribution presents comparable data on German women's employment opportunities before and after the crisis. It also briefly discusses why Germany has coped better economically than other countries. We end by pointing to some shortcomings of the labour market for German women.

Keywords: employers' preferences; flexibility strategies; service sector employment; sustainable family policy; welfare reforms.

1. Introduction

Well into the 21st century Germany had been casted as particularly resistant to any major reforms of labour market, social and family policies. High rates of long-term unem-

ployment and non-employment among older citizens and working age women as well as low birth rates contributed to Germany's image as the "sick man of Europe" – in high need of reforms but incapable to change. Mal-performance and stalemate were said to result from strong socio-economic path dependencies and related policy feedbacks (Esping-Andersen 1996), for example from the adherence to the male breadwinner model upheld by "familialising" welfare policies, or from the meagre expansion of a 'post-industrial' service sector catering to the new needs of two-earner households.

Yet, during the last decade the image has changed greatly and major reforms have been put in place in various policy areas (Dingeldey 2011, 55), most notably in pension, labour market, and family policies. At the same time labour market participation rates have steadily increased, and rates of unemployment and non-employment – most strikingly of mothers, but also of older citizens – declined. Hence, when the 2008/09 crisis hit, Germany appeared to have eventually overcome an extended period of long-term unemployment and reform deadlocks.

The crisis has harmed the German labour market only slightly, selectively, and for a short period of time. In comparison to other OECD countries, the labour market in general has turned out to be rather strong (OECD 2010a; Ebert 2012; Brücker *et al.* 2012). How have women fared in this comparatively robust German labour market? Our contribution first presents recent and (where available) comparative data on German women's employment opportunities before and after the crisis. Second, it briefly discusses why Germany has coped better economically than other countries. We end by pointing to some shortcomings of the labour market for German women.

2. The German labour market for women – before and after the crisis

During the last decade female employment rates have steadily increased – despite the crisis – from 62% in 2001 to 71% in 2011, approaching some Nordic rates (see tab. 1). Male rates grew to a lesser extent in the same period (from 76% to 81% – not in tab. 1). Thus, still more men than women are employed, especially concerning full-time employment.

The rise in women's employment rates can be attributed mainly to the increasing employment participation of mothers, which has been facilitated by the growth of part-time work opportunities, including qualified ones (OECD 2010b). While in 2001 59% of mothers were in paid employment, the proportion rose to 61% in 2006 and 65% in 2010 (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend 2012, 26). The employment rate is lower when children are young; but since 2007 it has clearly risen, for mothers with children aged 1 to 2 from 33% to 40% in 2010 (Ivi, 29). When the youngest child is at least 12 years old, mothers' employment rate is similar to that of women without children (in 2010: 78%) (Ivi, 25).

Part-time work is widespread among mothers; three quarters of all mothers (aged 20-55) worked less than 32 hours a week in 2010 (Ivi, 40). In 2011, nearly every second employed woman aged 15-74 (46%) worked part-time (in contrast to 10% among men); however, only 17% of part-time working women (men 25%) did so involuntarily. Hence, the majority of female part-time workers preferred their shorter weekly hours. The economic pick-up after 2009 has helped women and men in involuntary part-time to work more hours (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012a, 30). Slightly more than half of the part-time working women (55% of women aged 15-64) did so mainly for family reasons (only 9% of men). The proportion of women working part-time due to such reasons fell by 11 percentage points from 2001 to 2011 (Ivi, 42), however. Fixed-term employment also slightly expanded, which is most common among newcomers to the labour market (both male and female, including qualified ones). Roughly 15% of women and men held fixed-term jobs in 2011, an increase from 13% for women and 12% for men in 2001 (Ivi, 32). Hence, while more men and women find jobs, they have to put up increasingly with fixed-term contracts.

Table 1: Employment rates of women aged 20-64 in 2011 in %
(EU countries with highest and lowest rates, respectively).

Country	**Employment rate in %**
Sweden	77
Denmark	72
Finland	72
Netherlands	71
Germany	**71**

EU-27	**62**
Hungary	55
Italy	50
Greece	49
Malta	43

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2012a, 9)

However, the increase in German women's employment rates has not only been borne by growing participation rates among mothers with preschool or school aged children, but also by older women (age 55-64) who remain in paid work until higher ages (tab. 2). The employment rate among the elderly has grown remarkably for both genders: from 29% for women in 2001 (men: 46%) to 53% (men: 67%) in 2011, thereby narrowing the gap between female and male employment in this age group to 14 percent points (type and scope of work not considered here).

Table 2: Employment rates of women and men (aged 55-64) in Europe 2011 in % (EU countries with highest and lowest rates, respectively).

Women		**Men**	
Country	**Employment rate in %**	**Country**	**Employment rate in %**
Sweden	69	Sweden	76
Estonia	57	Cyprus	70
Finland	57	**Germany**	**67 (2001: 46)**
Denmark	55	Netherlands	66
Germany	**53 (2001: 29)**	**EU-27**	**55**
EU-27	**40**	Italy	48
Italy	28	Poland	48
Greece	27	Luxembourg	47
Poland	27	France	44
Slovenia	23	Slovenia	40
Malta	14	Hungary	40

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2012a, 53)

Several factors help to explain the change of older citizens' employment rates: changing demographics, higher levels of education among middle-aged women and men, welfare state reforms like the phasing-out and partial abolishment of early retirement schemes (Trampusch 2005, Blossfeld *et al.* 2011), the rather radical 2001 pension reform, new activation measures (since 2004), also family law reforms (in 2007) which cut back on

the rights of divorced women to financial support from their former husbands, and the economic boom which has created employment opportunities for older people, too. Such factors contributed generally to the relatively positive German labour market performance.

During the crisis 2008/2009, unemployment increased only marginally in Germany, and mainly for men, while it even decreased for women. Table 3 presents German, Dutch and Danish data. Denmark and the Netherlands had been widely debated and even admired models for labour market reforms in the EU and in Germany. The ongoing crisis hit the Danish labour market more than the German or Dutch ones.

Table 3: Change in unemployment rates 2008-2009 in percentage points.

	Germany	**Netherlands**	**Denmark**
Men	0.8	0.9	2.5
Women	-0.3	0.5	1.3
Total	**0.2**	**0.6**	**2.0**

Source: EUROSTAT (2010) in Ebert (2012, 19)

In most recent years, decreasing rates of unemployment for both women and men and, particularly, relatively low rates of youth unemployment (tab. 4) are additional indicators for the robustness of the German labour market. The German apprenticeship system which works as an institutional bridge between school and work is a major cause of the low youth unemployment rate in Germany.

In 2011, the German unemployment rate had fallen to its lowest value (5.6%) since the early 1990s. Only Austrian and Dutch women had lower unemployment rates than German ones, yet, German women had slightly lower rates than their male counterparts (tab. 5). The unemployment rate in Germany grew somewhat due to the (transient) economic downturn in 2012, but has declined again thereafter (to 5.4% in March 2013).

Table 4: Youth unemployment rates in Europe 2012 in %
(EU countries with highest and lowest rates, respectively).

Country	**Youth unemployment rate in %**
Germany	**7.9**
Austria	8.8
Netherlands	9.3

Malta	11.9
EU 27	**22.6**
Portugal	36.4
Slovakia	36.5
Spain	52.7
Greece	52.8

Source: EUROSTAT in Statistisches Bundesamt 2012b (data as of August 2012)

Table 5: Female and male unemployment rates[1] in Europe 2011 in % (EU countries with highest and lowest rates, respectively)

Women		**Men**	
Country	**Unemployment rate in %**	**Country**	**Unemployment rate in %**
Austria	4.3	Luxembourg	3.8
Netherlands	4.4	Austria	4.0
Germany	**5.6**	Netherlands	4.5
Luxemburg	6.3	Czech Republic	5.8
Rumania	6.8	**Germany**	**6.2**
EU	**9.7**	**EU**	**9.5**
Greece	21.4	Greece	15.0
Spain	22.2	Spain	21.2

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2012a, 13)

One effect of the 2008/2009 crisis is the narrowing of the gap between the male and female unemployment rates. Many men lost their jobs in hitherto typically male sectors, for example in construction or non-competitive manufacturing. Women who typically hold service jobs were less affected (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012a, 12; Ebert 2012, 119).

As table 6 indicates, high educational attainment has helped German women (and men – not in tab. 6) to fight the risk of unemployment. Employment opportunities for qualified women have steadily improved in Germany, due to labour shortages in high-skill labour market segments (particularly in production-related services in the private sector and in public social services). Qualified women (with tertiary education) have entered employment in growing rates, also in full-time positions. They have had very low unem-

[1] According to the ILO definition unemployment refers to economically active persons who are without paid work, currently available as well as looking for work. For details see Hussmanns (2007, 13).

ployment rates (2011: 2.7%). In contrast, the German labour market offers little job security to the low-skilled.

Table 6: Female unemployment rates 2001 and 2011 by level of education in % for German women (aged 15- 74).

	Unemployment rate in %	
Level of education (ISCED)	**2001**	**2011**
Total	7.8	5.6
Low (0-2)	10.1	11.9
Middle (3-4)	7.9	5.4
High (5-6)	4.9	2.7

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2012a, 11)

Women could even fare better in the German labour market, if (as students) they chose MINT subjects (mathematics, informatics, natural sciences and technology) more readily or numerously. However, only 16% of women studied these subjects in 2010, in contrast to 46% of male students (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012a, 22f.), and female numbers have only marginally grown since 2001 (plus 1 percentage point). In recent years, women have steadily increased their educational attainment. In 2011 26% of the female labour force (aged 15-64) had high (5-6) levels of education versus 20% in 2001. The younger female cohort (aged 30-34) has meanwhile overtaken their male counterpart with respect to tertiary education (35% versus 31%) (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012a, 18). Still, the share of women with tertiary education (high level of education) was below the EU-27 average in 2011 (EU-27: 32% versus Germany: 26%), below the rates of Spanish (38%) or Greek women (33%), and only marginally above the rate of Italian women (22%) (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012a, 21). However, while educational attainment has worked well for German women as a buffer against unemployment, it has not had similar effects for Spanish or Greek women. An important reason for the lower shares of tertiary education in Germany is the German vocational training system. It represents an important route to qualified occupational positions which attracts persons who otherwise (or in other countries) might opt for a college or university education (Shavit and Müller 1998).

3. Factors which might explain women's labour market performance

The economic consequences of the 2008/09 financial crisis varied widely between countries. While labour markets recovered rather quickly in some countries, as e.g. in Germany, other countries which had done rather well in previous recessions (such as Denmark or the US) experienced a longer economic downturn and higher unemployment rates (Brücker *et al.* 2012, 74-83).

Basically, countries differ in the predominant strategies firms adopted to deal with the plunge in demand caused by the financial crisis; depending on the characteristics of the employment system, they used either external or internal flexibility strategies. That is, firms reacted to the slump by either firing employees or keeping them with reduced working hours ("internal flexibility"). Generally and in a comparative perspective, labour market consequences of the crisis proved to be less negative in countries which adopted the internal flexibility strategy, such as Germany. Fostered by government subsidies for short-time work[2], the internal flexibility strategy dominated and proved to be extremely successful in Germany (OECD 2010a; Ebert 2012; Brücker *et al.* 2012). Short-time work was mainly used for (mostly qualified, hence, valued) core workers in the industrial sector directly or indirectly linked to the export industry. Otherwise unemployment would have been higher in these sectors, especially for their predominantly male employees.

Various welfare reforms which have been put in place during the last decade contributed to the steady increase in female employment. We already mentioned the phasing out of early retirement schemes which has steadily increased the number of older women and men in paid work. The 2001 pension reform bid farewell to the status-maintenance principle hitherto built into the earnings-related pension pillar. Pension levels have further deteriorated thereafter: a growing number of wage workers will have to rely on basic pensions, marginally topped by (still non-obligatory, but state-subsidised) revenues from privatised pension funds in the future (Hockerts 2011). The

[2] Subsidies for short-time work were not the only measure. Besides, a support programme for the construction industry and the so-called environmental bonus ("Umweltprämie") to support the automobile industry were important (Brücker *et al.* 2012, 49-52).

2007 pension reform lifted the statutory retirement age from 65 to 67 for the next cohorts. Levels of widows' pensions have declined, and the number of divorcees without noteworthy derived pension rights has also increased. Hence, a growing number of women has entered and remained in the labour market to earn sufficient pension credits for their old age.

The 2004 reform of the German unemployment protection scheme (colloquially known as the "Hartz IV reform") remarkably tightened eligibility rules for the receipt of unemployment benefits. Those claiming the new Unemployment Benefit II (UB II), an income- and work-tested job searcher benefit, are obliged to intensify their job search and accept whatever kind of job or measure (workfare or "learnfare") offered by the employment agencies. Since 2004 the non-employed partners of UBII recipients are also required to search for a job or accept an offered job or "activating" measure. Single mothers who claim UB II have become a preferred target of labour market activation in Germany. The Social Code VIII rules preferential treatment of single mothers who need childcare in order to do paid work. Dingeldey (2011, 65) points to the fact that within

> UB II, unemployment became more broadly defined since it covers all persons "capable to work", that is, able to engage in paid work for at least three hours daily, and [who] do not have to care for a child younger than three years of age. Moreover, not only people with severe health problems and many lone parents but also the (female) partners of the (long-term) unemployed are now administratively treated as being part of a wider pool of unemployed people.

Once established, UB II rules and procedures helped to reduce long-term employment prior to the 2008/09 crisis. They also contributed to the expansion of a low-wage sector. In 2010, less than half of UB II recipients were registered as unemployed (44%); the remaining part largely consisted of persons eligible for the benefit but temporarily not available for labour market participation due to family reasons or because they attended employment programmes. And, for a considerable number of recipients UB II served as a subsidy to their weekly or monthly income 'below the poverty threshold'. Hence, as Dingeldey rightly argues (2011, 66),

> the introduction of UB II not only widened the risk category of unemployment but also blurred the boundary between unemployment transfers and an in-work-benefit.

Eligibility rules for Unemployment Benefit I (UB I), the earnings-related social insurance benefit, were also tightened in 2004 and the duration of benefit receipt shortened. Hence, the numbers of UB I recipients have also declined. At the same time, dismissal rules have been weakened, and rules for temporary work, or fixed-term employment, relaxed (Ebert 2012). Taken together, labour market and unemployment policy reforms during the past decade have stimulated labour market participation, including non-standard employment (part-time, temporary or fixed-term, and low wage employment). Employment in Germany has become more flexible. Yet, labour market flexibilisation and activation are only part of the answer to the question why German women have entered and remained in the labour market to a larger extent than other European women.

Since 2004 Germany has steadily expanded full-time childcare facilities for children below the age of three. Children under age three will have a right to public or licensed full-time non-family care from August 2013 onward, which extends the right of pre-school children older than 3 that has existed since 1993. In 2007 Germany replaced the old childcare leave[3] by a "Swedish style" parental leave. Both measures are part and parcel of what is officially coined "sustainable family policy". The new parental leave benefit is earnings-related and provides 67% of former wage income or a maximum of € 1800 per month (a minimum of € 300). At the same time the 2007 parental leave reform significantly reduced the duration of the paid leave from 24 (as in the old scheme) to 12 or 14 months (if the other parent takes at least two months of leave). The shorter leave combined with a higher benefit was mainly established to increase the employability of women and to reduce the non-employment times of mothers (Knijn *et al.* 2008). Apparently, the new policy succeeded to do so. Interestingly, Germany has continued its ex-

[3] The old care leave (*Erziehungsurlaub*) established in 1986 provided a monthly income-tested flat-rate benefit (about € 300) for the child's first two years. It catered to lower income parents, while the non-income-tested, earnings-related 2007 parental leave favours better-off parents and redistribution from lower to higher incomes.

pansion of labour market-friendly family policy, the crisis notwithstanding. With the introduction of "sustainable family policies", or "family-related employment policies", Germany has for the most part moved away from the male-breadwinner model and its underpinnings. It has become more "Nordic". The window for a return to the past has been closed by now.

Comparative welfare scholarship regularly turns to political-institutional factors such as the composition of parties in government to explain institutional change. Windows of opportunity for new policy ideas within and across parties, including opportunities for interested political and societal actors, have driven recent shifts in German pension, family and labour market policies. But such drivers can at best indirectly explain outcomes like the positive labour market performance concerning women. Fleckenstein and Seeleib-Kaiser (2011) emphasise "employers' preference formation" as an additional explanatory factor. Drawing upon the "Varieties of Capitalism" literature they elaborate why German employers have been key promoters of women's employability, hence, of employment-friendly state family policies such as public full-time childcare, including for the under-threes, and a short well-paid parental leave. As said, both measures help to sustain continuous female employment. The authors also point to the accelerating shift from the industrial sector towards services, including corporate production/industry-related services, and – in the German case – to an increased demand for higher and more general skills of both men and women (see also Fleckenstein *et al.* 2011). Table 7 highlights the sectoral shift. The German service sector has continuously grown; the growth has been highest for firm-related services[4], followed by (public) educational and health-related services.

So far, the German system of occupational education and training has provided the needed qualifications, though not to the extent expected by employers. Obviously, they have begun to perceive qualified women as a valuable pool of skill resources. Shifts in the German production regime towards a smaller, yet still strong industrial sector supported by all sorts of services and related skills (medium to high) have contributed both

[4] Defining the shift as "de-industrialisation", as Fleckenstein *et al.* (2011) do, is misleading with regard to the German case; see Scharpf's (1986) useful distinction between production-related services, consumer (household) services and social services.

to the robustness of the German labour market and to female employment, even during the crisis.

However, other factors too play a role for explaining the robustness of the German labour market. In particular, it makes a difference whether economic difficulties are mainly due to a temporary plunge in demand or due to structural economic problems. In the years before the 2008/09 financial crisis, the German economy had undergone a restructuring resulting in increased competitiveness which probably helped to keep the effects of the crisis relatively small (Brücker *et al.* 2012, 84). Hence, given that the financial crisis was handled rather successfully in Germany, it was not able stop the long-term trend towards higher female employment rates.

Table 7: Employed persons by sector in Germany

Year	All	Agriculture, Forestry, Fishery	Industry (Construction excluded)	Construction	Services[5]
Persons in 1000s					
2004	39034	687	7884	2408	28055
2012	41586	668	7833	2456	30629
Change in %					
2004-2012	6.1	-2.8	-0.7	2.0	8.4
Share of all employees in each sector in %					
1991	**100**	**3.0**	**28.5**	**7.6**	**60.9**
2004	100	1.8	20.2	6.2	71.9
2012	**100**	**1.6**	**18.8**	**5.9**	**73.7**

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2013, 4)

4. Shortcomings

We have drawn a rather positive, even an optimistic, picture of how women have fared in the pre-and post-crisis German labour market. Our optimism has been nourished by arguments which related the robustness of the German labour market, including the employment of women, to requirements of the particular German economic and production

[5] "Services" include trade, transport, hotel and restaurant industry, information and communication, finance and insurance services, property and housing, corporate services, public services, education, health and other services.

regime and concomitant policies. Such requirements might change, of course, as they last did in the 1990s.

Despite many positive aspects of the recent developments, two shortcomings must be mentioned. First, while German women have increased their educational attainment and employability, not many women have gained leading positions. The share of women in leadership positions has grown by only three percentage points, from 27% to 30%, between 2001 and 2011 and ranges below the EU average (34%). Interestingly, it is not the Scandinavian countries with their high shares of women in the labour market who are particularly successful in this respect, but several Eastern European countries along with France, Ireland and the UK (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012a, 29; see also Mandel und Semyonov 2006). In Germany, female leadership rates are higher in sectors with larger shares of employed women, for example in health and social services (share of employed women: 77%; share of leading positions: 44%) (Statistisches Bundesamt 2012a, 26).

Table 8: Gender Pay Gap 2010 (unadjusted) in %,
(EU countries with highest and lowest gender pay gap, respectively)

Country	Gender Pay Gap (unadjusted, in %)
Estonia (2008)	28
Czech Republic	26
Austria	26
Germany	**23**
EU-27	**16**
Malta	6
Italy	6
Poland	5
Slovenia	4

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2012a, 41)

The second shortcoming refers to the "gender pay gap" - defined the average difference in hourly wages between female and male employees. With female wages being 23% below male wages, Germany ranks clearly below the European average (16%; see tab. 8). However, these are unadjusted gaps which may be explained by structural differences, i.e. men and women holding different hierarchical positions in their jobs or dif-

fering in their occupations and branches. Women also tend to work in part-time or marginal work to a much larger extent than men; and they have more family-related employment interruptions. The presented data rather hide than reveal such factors. Also, due to a lack of data, we cannot say how the crisis affected the 'gender pay gap' or women's careers (attaining leading positions). Further research is needed to tackle these questions.

References

Blossfeld, H.-P., Buchholz, S., and Kurz, K. (eds. by) (2011), *Aging Populations, Globalization and the Labour Market. Comparing Late Working Life and Retirement in Modern Societies*, London, Edward Elgar.

Brücker, H., Klinger, S., Möller, J., and Walwei, U. (2012), *Arbeitsmarkt 2013. Analysen, Daten, Fakten*. Bielefeld, Bertelsmann.

Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (2012), *Ausgeübte Erwerbstätigkeit von Müttern. Erwerbstätigkeit, Erwerbsumfang und Erwerbsvolumen 2010*, in http://www.bmfsfj.de/RedaktionBMFSFJ/Broschuerenstelle/Pdf-Anlagen/Ausge_C3_BCbte-Erwerbst_C3_A4tigkeit-von-M_C3_BCttern,property=pdf,bereich=bmfsfj,sprache=de,rwb=true.pdf (January 17, 2013).

Dingeldey, I. (2011), "Germany: moving towards integration whilst maintaining segmentation", in Clasen, J., and Clegg, D. (eds. by), *Regulating the Risk of Unemployment. National adaptations to post-industrial labour markets in Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 55-74.

Ebert, M. (2012), *Flexicurity auf dem Prüfstand. Welches Modell hält der Wirtschaftskrise stand?*, Berlin, edition sigma.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1996), "Welfare States without Work. The Impasse of Labour Shedding and Familialism in Continental European Social Policy", in Esping-Andersen, G. (ed. by), *Welfare States in Transition. National Adaptations in Global Economies*, London, Sage, pp. 66-88.

Fleckenstein, T., Saunders, A. M., and Seeleib-Kaiser, M. (2011), *The Dual Transformation of Social Protection and Human Capital: Comparing Britain and Germany*, in «Comparative Political Studies», vol. 44, pp. 1622-1650.

Fleckenstein, T., and Seeleib-Kaiser, M. (2011), *Business, skills and the welfare state: the political economy of employment-oriented family policy in Britain and Germany*, in «Journal of European Social Policy», vol. 21, pp. 136-149.

Hockerts, H. G. (2011), "Abschied von der dynamischen Rente – Über den Einzug der Demografie und der Finanzindustrie in die Politik der Alterssicherung", in Hockerts, H. G., *Der deutsche Sozialstaat. Entfaltung und Gefährdung seit 1945*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 294-324.

Hussmanns, R. (2007), *Measurement of employment, unemployment and underemployment – Current international standards and issues in their application*, Geneva, ILO Bureau of Statistics.

Knijn, T., Lewis, J., Martin, C., and Ostner, I. (2008), *Patterns of Development in Work/Family Reconciliation Policies for Parents in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK in the 2000s*, in «Social Politics», vol. 15, pp. 261-286.

Mandel, H., and Semyonov, M. (2006), *A Welfare State Paradox: State Interventions and Women's Employment Opportunities in 22 Countries*, in «American Journal of Sociology», vol. 111, pp. 1910-1949.

OECD (2010a), "Chapter 1: Moving beyond the job crisis", in OECD, *Employment Outlook 2010. Moving beyond the job crisis*, Paris, OECD, pp. 15-102.

OECD (2010b), "Chapter 4: How good is part-time work?", in OECD, *Employment Outlook 2010. Moving beyond the job crisis*, Paris, OECD, pp. 211-266.

Scharpf, F. W. (1986), *Strukturen der postindustriellen Gesellschaft oder: Verschwindet die Massenarbeitslosigkeit in der Dienstleistungs- und Informationsökonomie?*, in «Soziale Welt», vol. 37, pp. 3-24.

Shavit, Y. , and Müller, W. (eds. by) (1998), *From School to Work. A Comparative Study of Educational Qualifications and Occupational Destinations*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Statistisches Bundesamt (2012a), *Frauen und Männer auf dem Arbeitsmarkt. Deutschland und Europa*,

https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Arbeitsmarkt/Erwerbstaetige/BroeschuereFrauenMaennerArbeitsmarkt0010018129004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (January 17, 2013).

Statistisches Bundesamt (2012b) *Deutschland hat die niedrigste Jugenderwerbslosigkeit in der EU*, Press release, Dec. 10th 2012, in https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2012/08/PD12_274_13321pdf.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (January 17, 2013).

Statistisches Bundesamt (2013) *Zahl der Erwerbstätigen erreicht im Jahr 2012 erneut Höchststand*, Press release, January 2nd 2013 , in https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2013/01/PD13_001_13321pdf.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (January 17, 2013).

Trampusch, Christine (2005), "Institutional Resettlement: The Case of Early Retirement", in Streeck, W., and Thelen, K. (eds. by), *Beyond Continuity. Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 203-228.