

Objectives and Effects of Family Policies in Germany

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European Symposium
„Family Policies Matter! National Policies against Poverty and Social Exclusion of Families. ”
German Caritas Association
January 22-23 2014, Brussels

1. Family policy objectives and poverty risks

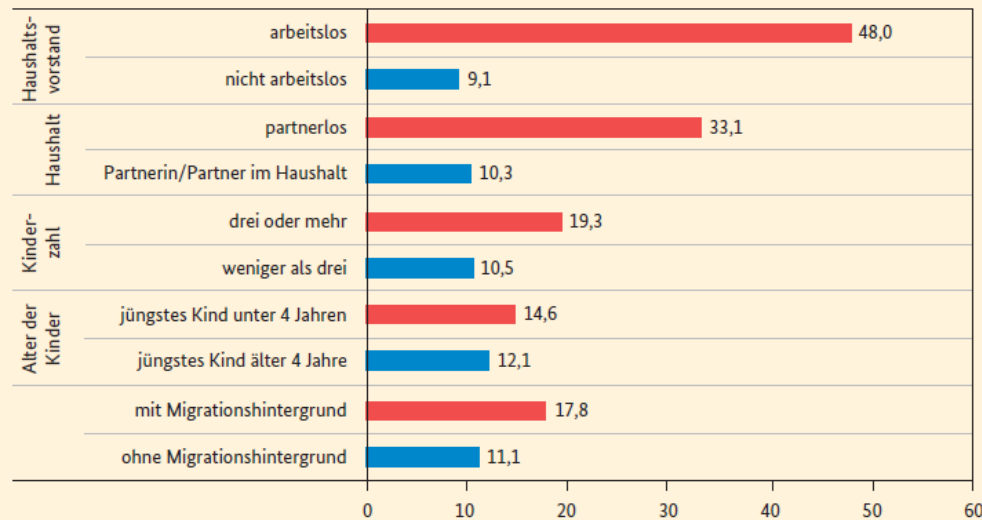
- German family policy: objectives of protecting and supporting families, (Art. 6 GG) plus explicitly economic stability for all families
- 2 aspects of social justice: horizontal and vertical
- Enforced through the UN Charta of Children's Rights, Art. 27, assigned by Germany

- **Contradiction:** High risk of poverty and social exclusion for certain groups of families and children
- No decrease despite economic stability
- Germany: Relatively high poverty rates for children + young people
2,8 Mill., ca. 15% (Dt. Kinderhilfswerk 2014), 19,4% (SOEP 2010) - close to EU-27-average: 20,6% (EU-SILC 2010)

- Why? And why these groups?

Poverty Rates: BMFSFJ 2012: Familienreport 2012

Abbildung 37: Anteil von Kindern im Alter unter 15 Jahren mit relativ geringem Haushaltseinkommen nach verschiedenen soziodemografischen Merkmalen



Relativ geringes Haushaltseinkommen = Nettoäquivalenzeinkommen (neue OECD-Skala) geringer als 60 Prozent des Medianeinkommens (EU-Konvention für die Armutsrisikoquote).

Quelle: SOEP 1995 bis 2009, Berechnungen des Wissenschaftszentrums Berlin für Sozialforschung

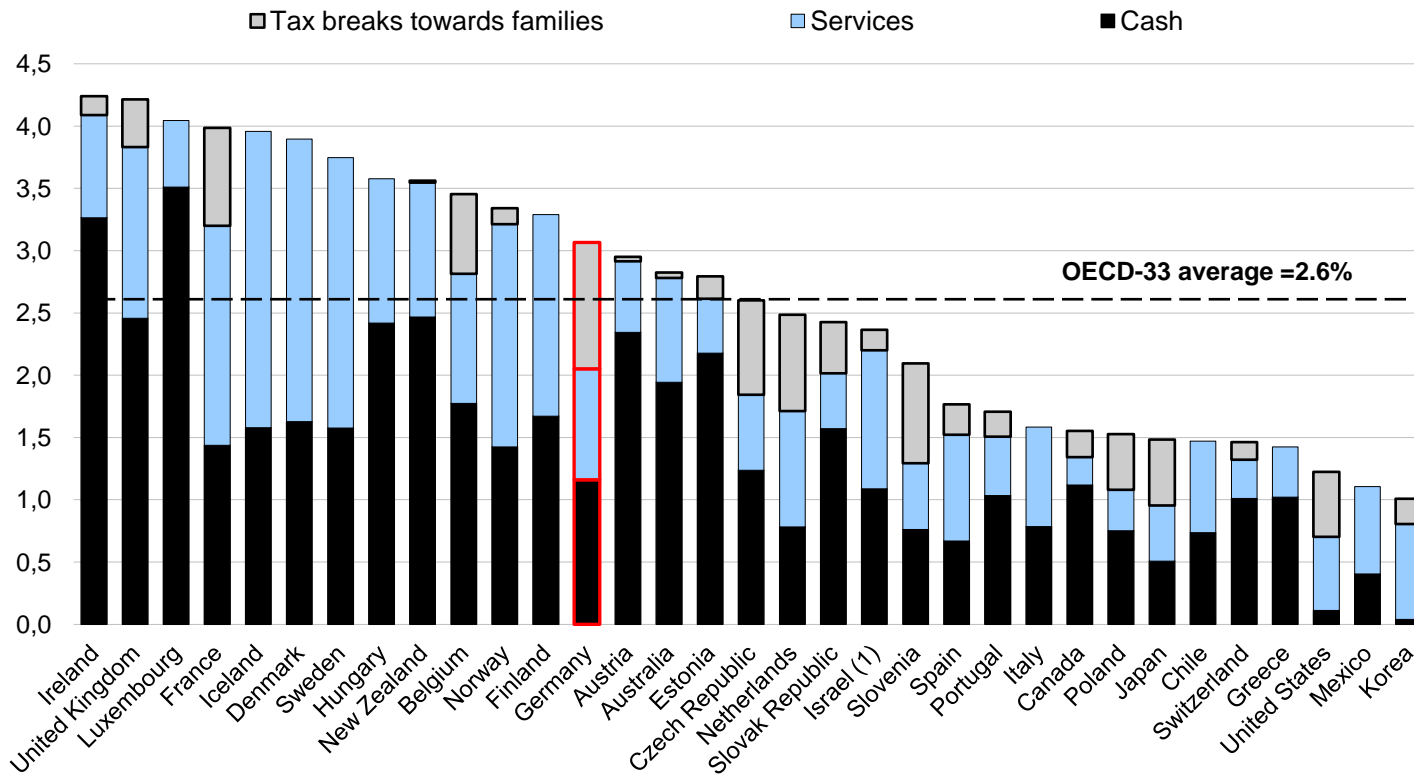
Distribution of Families

- **Jobless: less than 7% of all families**
- **Lone parent families: 19%, 85% mothers – high risk, many families, many mothers**
- **3 children: 10%, 4+ children: 2%**
- **Migration background: 29%! - high risk, many families**

Public Investments in Families

- **Even more astonishing: relatively high governmental benefits: 200 to 55 billion €**
- **The problem of definitions/numbers:**
 - **200 billion € include all benefits: fiscal, direct monetary transfers, social insurances, security, non-cash**
 - **(ca.) 55 billion € include explicit family benefits, which support families and are not obligatory through constitutional law = essential family benefits (“Familienförderung“)**

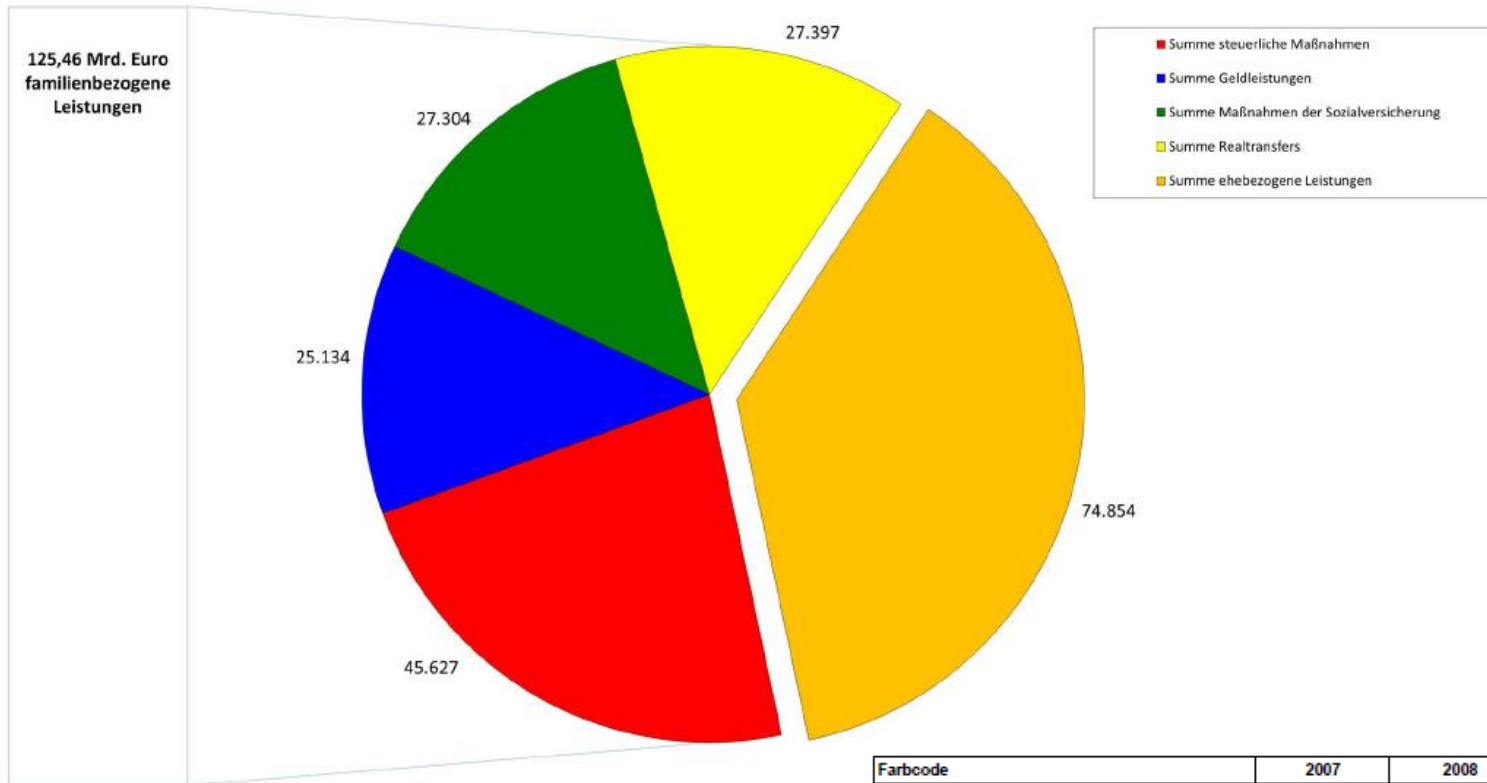
Chart PF1.1.A: Public spending on family benefits in cash, services and tax measures, in per cent of GDP, 2009



Source: Social Expenditure Database (www.oecd.org/els/social/expenditure), December 2013

Composition of family benefits Germany (BMFSFJ 2011):

Finanztableau der ehe- und familienbezogenen Leistungen 2010



Farbcode	2007	2008	2009	2010
Summe steuerliche Maßnahmen	42.115	41.152	43.594	45.627
Summe Geldleistungen	23.249	24.087	24.749	25.134
Summe Maßnahmen der Sozialversicherung	24.942	25.551	26.953	27.304
Summe Realtransfers	20.804	22.453	25.129	27.397
Summe ehebezogene Leistungen	71.180	73.272	74.541	74.854
ehe- und familienbezogene Leistungen	182.290	186.515	194.966	200.316

Quelle: BMFSFJ (2011): Bestandsaufnahme der familienbezogenen Leistungen und Maßnahmen des Staates im Jahr 2010. Berlin, S. 2 /13

2. Why poverty, why these groups? The Peculiarities of German Family Policy

- **Characteristics of recent FP**

- Established definition of objectives/ motivations of FP (Herlth/Kaufmann 1982):
demographical, social-political, institutional, emancipatory
- Equilibrium as challenge
- Nowadays because of very low birth rate, lack of working craft and partially modernization focus on demographical and emancipatory objectives:
- i.e. supportive social ecologies for growing up: child wellbeing
 - Increase of child-care facilities
 - Capacitating parents to be ‚good enough parents‘
 - Time to care
- i.e. reconciling family + job, enforcing qualified mothers‘ employment
- i.e. twice emphasizing valuable human capital – economic focus

Misfits

- **Challenges of modernization - FP as triad of time, money, services for sustainable FP (7th Federal Family Report, BMFSFJ 2006)**
- **Differentiated families and modernized family policies misfit with**
 - highly different family ideals and traditional ideologies on family and gender
 - ongoing moderately familialistic welfare-regime along traditional family and male breadwinner with sufficient income
 - Concept of „free choice“
 - demanding male-oriented organization of the labor market - flexible and precarious neoliberal capitalism
- **Consequences: Conflicting objectives, contradictory measures, inconsistencies**

The Case of Single Mother Families

- **Problem:** The orientation of traditional FP at the male breadwinner model and marriage
- **Money:** no benefit from tax splitting for married couples, tax free amount much lower, less benefit from child allowance as the potentially „Kinderfreibetrag“ because of gender pay gap, no benefit from free health insurance for family members, child allowance is charged upon child support advance payment „Unterhaltsvorschuss“, parental money low because of low income
- **Time:** time pressure, lack of time to care and work („double duties“), more often full-time jobs, reinforced by new maintenance law, no „free choice“, misfit of work, day-care and school time schedules; parental time/money interrelated to sole child custody (which is against the ideal of shared custody)
- **Services:** depending on qualitatively and quantitatively sufficient child care facilities, no guarantee despite recent increase for the under 3, lack of all-day care facilities and schools

The Case of Migrant Families

- **Problem:** Interconnection of social exclusion, labor market disadvantages, low educational level with migrant status
- **Money:** often low income families with male breadwinner, therefore disadvantaged by several lower monetary benefits i.e. child allowance, tax reductions. Supplementary child-benefit „Kinderzuschlag“ and educational voucher „Bildungsgutschein“ useful for low income families , but difficult access and bureaucratic procedures plus low amount (10€/month). Child related benefits (including parental leave money) are charged upon unemployment benefit II. Parental leave money low or only base sum of 300€
- **Time:** a) breadwinner model releases from time pressure, but mothers staying at home causes marginalization; b) low wage working poor families: double time pressure, no „free choice“
- **Services:** lingual deficits, differing cultural values, uncertainty of education, little skills to sponsor children – need of supportive institutions – some specific supplies, but “dilemma of prevention“

Class-culture-specific profile/use of services

○ Users family services (trainings, counseling)

- Scarce research!
- Mostly middle class
- Participants distanced from education: 16% (Loesel 2006)
- Exception language courses, used by migrant families (DJI-TU-Dortmund (2012))

● Users childcare U3

- Children with migration background: attendance rate of 14%
- compared to 30%: Children without migration background
- Mothers educational achievement: without school attainment 12,6%, with university-entrance diploma 29,5% (Alt et al. 2012)

The case of large families

- **Problem: Necessity of mothers staying at home because of a lack of caring institutions**
 - Mothers at home (35-40%) (supported by tax system, free health insurance, gender pay gap, traditional family discourse etc.)
- **Lack of reconciling measures to release parents to care for children**
 - Lack of sufficient day care facilities and all-day schools
 - Rising part-time: mainly for mothers (70%), but very often low income (gender pay gap) and minijobs, no right to return into full-time, only 6% fathers working part-time
 - No model of „family working time“: 32-hours week for (both) parents
 - No model of sufficient monetary compensation for care-breaks in the life course - except parental time, child care subsidy of 100/150 €/month and a small step towards elder-care break
 - No family/child friendly working environment
 - Risk of low family income – better chances for high income families to spend time for care and to support their children (enforced through marriage splitting model)

3. Selective Effects - Critical Points

- **Money: complexity of 150 benefits, not transparent, high barriers through bureaucracy**
 - High amount of child allowance does not prevent poverty (for those who already are poor)
 - Child allowance: poor families only get the obligatory part (Constitutional law), not the supportive part
 - Child allowance charged upon unemployment benefit II
 - Supplementary child benefit (Kinderzuschlag): narrow limits
 - Parental money/time: 1 year - less time + money than before, low base 300€ (students, minijobs etc.) charged upon unemployment benefit II
 - **No consistent + transparent definition/calculation of a ‚child needs‘**
- **Services: variety of (specified) supplies**
 - Lack of low-access institutions and supplies
 - Child care subsidy may avoid institutional child care + advancement of children in need
- **Time: supplies at the beginning**
 - Poor families: less money, working poor - forced to work, no „free choice“
 - Low income through favourite temporal models of part-time, minijobs or breadwinner-model

Effects on decreasing family poverty?!

- Research gaps – few evaluative studies on effects, mostly models, not in established instruments (exception „Gesamtevaluation“)
- **Conclusion: paradox of high financial investment and high poverty rates because of**
 - Human capital orientation - priority to promote better qualified parents/children) (parental leave - best for high income high qualified parents!) and recruit mothers as labor force. **Remark:** Focus on reconciling policies neglects needs of families with chronicle diseases/disabilities, permanent need of care)
 - Priority of tax oriented benefits and supporting marriage + middle class, white and healthy families
 - Currently strong focus on behavioral prevention (parental training etc.) is not consequently combined with **structural** poverty prevention
- **Objective of equalizing living conditions is not fulfilled**
- **Ongoing** polarization of living conditions (BMAS 2013, Dt. Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband 2013), rising poverty rates – poverty is experienced worse in a rich country – marginalization and shame (Andresen 2013)

4. Restructuring family policies along social justice - Updated objectives (Deutscher Verein 2013)

- 1. Security, support and participation of families and children**
- 2. Realization of life concepts of all families and taking into account their living conditions**
- 3. Equality oriented living conditions of men and women**

What can be done?

- All financial transfers connected to children or persons who need care
- Recognizing family-care without middle-class bias (Care Manifest 2013)
- Targeted measures for poor families/children

Parents

- Labor market participation: sufficient, fitting, well paid jobs (minimum wage!) – family friendly **carer-worker-model** and working time for both genders, no adult worker model

Children

- Basic social income for children („Kindergrundsicherung“)
- Free access to day-care-facilities, meals, cultural and sport supplies for poor children
- High quality + sufficient care + education for all children from 0
- Permeable learning institutions, inclusive, all-day facilities + schools
- Inclusive, culture-sensitive, low-access infrastructures + supplies
- Simplifying bureaucratic procedures
- Systematic cooperation of family policies with other political sectors/ ministries : labor market, economics, social policy, education, youth services, gender equality
- Good practice: Nürnberg/Fürth „Perspectives for Families“!



Thank you!

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Appendix

Additional to slide 3: Jurczyk/Klinkhardt 2014: Risikolagen von Kindern nach Familienform

Tab. A3-3A: Kinder im Alter von unter 18 Jahren 2005, 2007, 2009 und 2010 nach Risikolagen* in der Familienform für ausgewählte Familienformen bzw. Kinder mit Migrationshintergrund (in %)

Merkmal	Insgesamt	Darunter								
		Beide Elternteile vorhanden	Alleinerziehend	Mit Migrationshintergrund	Deutsche mit Migrationshintergrund	Türkische Herkunft	Sonst. ehemalige Anwerberstaaten	Sonstige EU-27-Staaten	Sonstige europäische Staaten	Sonstige Nicht-EU-Staaten
Risiko des bildungsfernen Elternhauses	Bildungsstand unter ISCED 3									
2005	13,5	11,1	26,4	30,1	21,3	60,3	38,6	11,0	23,4	44,7
2007	12,5	10,2	24,7	28,3	21,0	57,1	34,7	9,6	24,0	41,4
2009	12,0	9,6	24,0	26,4	20,7	50,7	33,5	12,8	17,7	38,6
2010	11,6	9,2	23,9	25,6	20,5	51,7	32,7	9,1	15,6	39,0
Soziales Risiko	Nicht erwerbstätig									
2005	12,3	7,4	38,6	18,9	15,3	22,0	18,5	12,9	27,8	25,6
2007	10,6	6,0	34,8	16,6	14,0	20,5	14,4	11,5	21,2	22,6
2009	10,6	5,8	34,6	16,4	14,2	19,3	13,6	13,4	20,9	21,1
2010	10,1	5,3	33,5	15,2	13,0	18,7	14,0	10,1	19,8	21,3
Finanzielles Risiko	Äquivalenzeinkommen unter 60% des mittleren Äquivalenzeinkommens									
2005	19,5	15,8	39,5	32,8	26,7	40,1	34,6	19,5	46,6	44,4
2007	18,3	14,5	38,5	31,1	25,9	39,7	31,8	21,4	41,2	42,1
2009	18,6	14,4	39,8	31,0	26,9	39,6	30,5	24,0	38,5	41,1
2010	18,1	14,0	38,4	30,0	26,3	40,6	28,6	21,1	36,4	41,0
Zusammen	Alle drei Risikolagen									
2005	4,0	2,3	13,3	8,3	5,5	14,5	8,8	4,1	8,0	13,1
2007	3,5	2,0	11,6	7,3	5,1	12,9	7,6	3,2	7,4	11,4
2009	3,5	2,0	11,5	7,0	5,3	11,6	7,2	4,3	5,8	10,7
2010	3,4	1,8	11,4	6,7	5,1	11,5	7,5	2,8	/	10,6
Zusammen	Mindestens eine Risikolage									
2005	32,4	26,4	65,5	54,0	44,7	75,5	61,3	31,7	64,3	70,9
2007	29,8	23,7	61,8	50,8	43,0	73,1	55,2	32,5	59,2	66,8
2009	28,4	22,2	59,4	48,3	42,1	69,4	52,5	34,4	52,7	63,1
2010	28,6	22,5	58,4	48,0	42,3	70,7	52,6	30,5	50,6	64,3

* Allgemeiner Schulabschluss, Teilnahme am Erwerbsleben und Äquivalenzeinkommen (auf Basis des bundesweiten Haushaltsäquivalenzeinkommens ermittelt)

Quelle: Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder, Mikrozensus 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010

Short overview on monetary benefits

● Direct Compensation

- Child allowance (up to 25 years) (2 types, 1 fixed, 1 depending on tax amount – benefit for higher incomes)
- Tax reduction – splitting for married couples (not for children), best for breadwinner with high income; small tax reduction for single parents, partially for care, learning and training (BEA)
- Parental leave/child raising allowance: 12 + 2 months based 67% of replaced income, basic rate 300€ (entitlement since 1/2007)
- Child care subsidy, 22 months (since 8/2013) „Betreuungsgeld“
- Child related parts of unemployment benefit II
- Supplementary child-benefit for low income families „Kinderzuschlag“
- Educational voucher/bonus „Bildungsgutscheine“ for children of social benefit receivers (10€ p. month, since 2011)

● Indirect compensation

- Free health insurance for family members
- Partially free access or reduction of fees for child care facilities or learning institutions, public transfer/institutions (differing in „Länder“/municipalities)

Short overview on Services/Infrastructures

- **Instruments/measures (joining, completing, replacing families)**
 - Broad spectrum of supplies for parental training and counseling
 - Increasing low-access or specific supplies for marginalised family groups (i.e. migrants, poor, low qualified, multi-strained,) such as parental training programs HIPPY, Opstapje, PAT, „Elternchance als Kinderchance“, Early Prevention (NZFH)
 - Extended integrative services such as family centers, multi-generation-centers, mostly combined with day-care-facilities
 - Development of institutional supplies for day-care and education, since 2006 for toddlers 0-3 (now up to 39%)
 - Extending child/youth welfare services since the 1990ies - including in-home family support services/“Hilfen zur Erziehung“, passing or permanent replacements