

**Occupational control: New balances between state, market and family.
Business consultancy and social care work in Germany during the 1990s**

Hildegard Theobald

In: Svensson, Lennart G./ Evetts, Julia (eds.) Comparative studies of Continental and Anglo-American professions. Göteborg studies in sociology No 129; Göteborg University 2003, 123-138

Dr. Hildegard Theobald, WZB Social Science Research Center Berlin, Reichpietschufer 50, D-10785 Berlin, Germany, Tel. +49 30 25491 548; Fax +49 30 25491 556; E-mail: theobald@wz-berlin.de

Abstract

Sociological theories on professions have for a long time been dominated by the idea of two different models of professionalisation, the Anglo-Saxon model, which is based on the ideal of self-regulating professional bodies and the continental approach with its emphasis on state regulations. However, the changing political and economic conditions of professional work have forced market-oriented strategies even into countries typically defined as continental.

In this paper, the development of new strategies of two occupations in Germany, i.e. business consultancy and care work for the elderly, which have not yet reached occupational respectively professional status, will be analysed within the framework of the consequences of the political and economical changes during the 1990s. The focus of the presentation will be the creation of new balances within the market, state and family oriented strategies and their implications regarding the issue of gender- and social equality within the work force.

Key words: Professionalisation, Marketisation, Internationalisation, Welfare State Restructuring, Inequality

Introduction: Changing contexts for occupational control

Since the 1970s the establishment and maintenance of control over a specific activity, respectively working area, occupational control, is defined as the core element of professional projects (see Freidson, 1970,1994; Johnson, 1972; Abbott, 1988). In the scientific debate during the 1980s two different, ideal-typical models of professionalisation have been contrasted, the Anglo-Saxon, with its emphasis on self-regulating professional bodies and the continental with the state as decisive actor in the regulation of occupational control (Conze/Kocka, 1985; Burrage/Torstendahl, 1990). Abbott (1988) defined the term jurisdictional claim to analyse the link between a profession and its working-area respectively work-activities, i.e. how this link is created in work and how it is anchored by formal and informal social structures. He distinguishes in his theory of professions three arenas – the public, the working-place and the legal system - where a profession aims to establish jurisdictional claims and actors, the professionals in the working-place and in the

associations. In his approach he views professionalisation as an open process, where the relevance of actors, strategies and professional elements, e.g. licences or definitions of the body of knowledge and its success differs depending on the existing societal conditions.

In his analysis of the present changing conditions and status of professions in advanced industrial societies, Freidson (2001) describes professionalism as the third logic and distinguishes it from the logic of the market and the firm. As catchwords driving policy formation in the society during the last centuries, he emphasises 'competition' in a free market and 'efficiency' as the main goal of management in companies to be central to bureaucratic organisations. In the logic of the market, the essential mechanism is the possibility of free choice of the customers and producers who are free to sell and buy anything. In the logic of the company, the bureaucratic organisation, the logic of effective planning and supervision of specialised employees is the basis of performing the working-tasks. Finally, in the logic of professionalism the workers who have specialised knowledge have the power to organise and control their own work. Thus, in the logic of the market, competition, efficiency in the logic of the firm and exclusive rights of occupational control in the logic of professionalism are viewed as the basis for high quality goods and services at a reasonable price.

As a conclusion of his analysis Freidson (2001) states the increasing relevance of the logic of the market and of the company and a decline of the logic of professionalism. Evetts (2002) points out that in contrast to the assumption of the decline of the logic of professionalism the discourse of professionalism is used in an increasingly wide variety of work contexts. The discourse of professionalism aims to promote occupational change, i.e. to motivate employees and to appeal to customers especially in service work. The increasing demand for occupational training and high quality standards in service production, however, does not correspond to a rise in status, salary or the high degree of autonomy perceived as central features of a professional status. The use of a discourse of professionalisation in a variety of work-contexts necessitates an extension of research on professions even to non-professionalised occupations on the labour market. Saks (2002) shows how the incorporation of both professionalised and non-professionalised occupational groups in the division of labour can elucidate processes of professionalisation.

In this paper, the changing conditions and strategies for professionalisation and their consequences will be shown in an analysis of the development of two occupations in Germany during the 1990s. The study compares occupational changes in the area of business consultancy and care for the elderly, where the expansion of employment possibilities and occupational changes are associated with a discourse of professionalisation.

With business consultancy and elderly care occupations at different ends of the occupational scale have been selected to show the increasing influence of changing conditions for different groups on the labour market. Business consultancy has been chosen as a high-status, well-paid and autonomous activity, which has still not reached professional status. In contrast, care for the elderly represents an activity at the lower end of the occupational scale with low status and low wages, where the issue rather concerns the conditions for the establishment of an unpaid activity as a paid occupation on the labour market despite the occurring discourse on professionalisationⁱ.

The discourse of professionalisation in both working fields covers changes in the mode of occupational control characterised by increasing marketisation, familialisation and a departure from the mode of strict state regulations of occupational control which are typical not only for professions but for a wide range of occupations in the German system. In the case of business consultancy marketisation is closely related to internationalisation processes in private industry. In elderly care, marketisation, and further familialisation are reflected in welfare state restructurings with the New Public Management approach and the concepts of inclusion of informal care within the family framework. The processes of occupational change are associated with a new definition of gender- and social hierarchies among the workers within both working-areas.

In the following, the impact of the changing conditions on the strategies and process of professionalisation and the occupationalisation of the activity, respectively, and the consequences for the members of the work-force in both expanding working areas will be discussed. The paper draws on the hypothesis that the newly developed forms of occupational regulations and the corresponding strategies enhance hierarchism within the occupational field and thus foster forms of gender- and social inequality.

1. Business Consultancy: Associations, the market and the gender issueⁱⁱ

1.1. Changing demands and forms of regulation

Processes of internationalisation and European integration are giving rise to fundamental restructuring processes in the business consultancy sector. Changes in the international division of labour rely on and foster new production modes, which Castells (1996) describes as a transformation to “information capitalism“ with its emphasis on knowledge-based production. In their efforts to meet the increasing international competition in the

marketplace, companies try to “rationalise” working processes, outsource company internal activities to external companies and even to consultants. The processes of transformation in private sector led to an increase and new forms of demand on consulting advice (BDU, 1998; Dicken, 1998; Antal/Krebsbach-Gnath, 1999; Sperling/Ittermann, 1998). In this context, the consulting companies developed an extended, broad based and even international oriented spectrum of consulting services to serve the diverse expectations of the customers. Thus, business consultancy proved to be an area of growing employment possibilities for men and increasingly even for women. In the former western part of Germany, the number of employed consultants has tripled since the mid-eighties with the female share rising from 11% in 1985 to 23% in 1999 (Parmentier et. al., 1996; Biersack et al., 2000).

Due to the significant role of knowledge in the internationalisation processes, newly-defined political regulations on a European level or on an even broader transnational level, e.g. the negotiation on liberalisation of trade in professional services (GATS), aim to enhance transnational economic activities by changing regulations for transnational professional services. The professional regulations established on the level of the nation-state have been viewed as a barrier for increasing international trade because they limit access to professional fields by the definition of specific requirements, which are closely related to the educational system of the different countries. At the fore, is a new balance between professional regulations, which assure quality standards, as well as openness and competition within the sector to enhance possibilities for international trade and transnational labour flexibility (OECD, 1995a).

The control of access to an occupational field by the definition of a spectrum of qualifications and ethical standards of behaviour, however, forms the central issue of professional activities. Traditionally, the strategies are oriented towards the nation-state where professional associations strive to establish specific legal qualification requirements and thus gain control of access to the field. Professional strategies, which are put to question by the claim for weaker forms of re-regulations on a European, respectively international level create a new balance between legal regulations and the possibilities of increasing competition of even the transnational service providers and thus the steadily growing impact of market forces. Evetts (2000) points out that the complex processes of the development of transnational forms of occupational control has only rarely been theoretically and empirically analysed. Greenword (1998) states that as one decisive actor in the professional project, the national professional associations are sceptical against the European regulations and are lacking in strength and developed forms of cooperation on an European level and have therefore limited influence. Evetts and Bucher-Jeziorska (1997) describe a complex form of

lobbying-activities of the associations, which can be characterised by a division of labour between the national and the European level.

On a national level gender-sensitive research on professional development has shown the crucial impact of both the norms and reality of gender relations in any specific country. The professionalisation of the prestigious medical activity, for example, proved to be a male project, which was intertwined with the exclusion and later segregated inclusion of women and the definition of the typical female activities, like nursing, as semi-professional. Witz (1992) conceptualised professional projects as strategies of occupational closure and showed the differences between professional projects of men and women and the impact of the existing gender relations on both their form and outcome. Recent research on gender relations in business-oriented services under the perspective of internationalisation revealed ambivalent results. On one hand, empirical studies indicate an opening up of different professional activities in this labour market area but on the other, processes of gender segregation and discrimination can also be observed (Schäfer/Zimmer, 1995; Villiger, 1994). A similar ambivalent process between an opening up and re-segregation can be found in studies on the gendered effects of internationalisation processes in private industry (Goldmann, 1997; MCDowell, 1997; Young, 1998; Lenz, 2000).

The observed ambivalent processes of women's extended employment possibilities and the forms of "re-segregation" describe their situation in the working-place and indicate probable changes in personnel management policies of the companies. The working-place is only one central area of occupational control, for traditionally the associations influence qualification profiles, access to the field and the professional status of a specific professional activity. Research results on female participation and influence in different professional organisations in Germany revealed that despite the increasing female share within the different professions, the women are only marginally integrated into national and to an even lesser extent, into international professional associations (Händle, 1998, Kuhlmann, 1999, Koch-Baumgarten, 1998; Quack/Hancke, 1997).

Business consultancy can be viewed as an example where both, processes of political and economic internationalisation and feminisation of the workforce gain a specific relevance. Despite its increase in societal status, the activity could not yet reach professional status. In the following, the results of a research project will be presented on the consequences of internationalisation and feminisation for the selected professionalisation strategies from the perspective of the associations. The question here is how the associations respond with their professionalisation strategies to the changing conditions of their business and which consequences the strategies will have on gender relationsⁱⁱⁱ.

1.2 Business consultancy associations: State vs. market-oriented response

According to their different position on the consultancy market big, medium-sized and small companies as well as self-employed consultants differ in their goals and preferences of professionalisation strategies. The bigger companies approve limited regulations because they are often well established on the market and are able to convince the customers of the quality of their service and the competence of their employed consultants by means of their brand name or a specific product. Furthermore, a limited regulation of qualification requirements provides the possibility of personnel management adaptation to the specific interests of the company. In contrast, the smaller firms or self-employed consultants are more often in favour of stricter regulation of the access to the field, which they justify with the possibility of proving their qualifications to the customers and competition on a more rational scale with non-qualified consultants. The heterogeneity of interests between the different firms and self-employed consultants led to the establishment of a range of associations with different professional goals and corresponding strategies.

Merely two of these associations have the possibility of defining a strategy and using their impact on the political system and the business sector. BDU (Bund Deutscher Unternehmensberater/Association of the German consultants), which is the most influential association, organises large, medium-sized and small consulting firms and has therefore to balance the interests of the different member groups. In fact, until the 1990s, the interests of the bigger companies prevailed and were manifested itself in the sceptical attitude of the BDU towards any form of legal regulation and its attitude in favour of the free choice of customers to choose among the different consulting firms. BVW (Bundesverband der Wirtschaftsberater/ Federal association of consultants) represents the self-employed and mostly small companies in different areas of consulting, who were in favour of legal regulation until the end of the 1980s. The influence of the larger BDU in the sector and its scepticism towards regulation impeded and even prevented any form of legal regulation.

The development of professional strategies in these two influential associations during the 1990s reveals on the onset a re-direction to a more state-oriented approach, which was superseded again by the change to a further-developed market-oriented approach according to the Anglo-Saxon model. At the beginning of the 1990s the strategy with the prevalence of free choice for the customers, which was favoured especially by the BDU impeded the establishment of a business-consulting sector in the new federal states in Germany. Consultants with a low qualification profile offered their services to the firms in the former east and thus damaged the image of the consulting service as a highly qualified activity. To counteract the problem the BDU and BVW decided to use their combined impact to establish

a form of albeit weaker, legal regulation. Their aim was to create a legally protected job title “Unternehmensberater“ for consultants who fulfil specific requirements. Despite the regulation it would still be possible to offer consulting services by making use of any other job title, e.g. consultant etc. The suggestion was regarded as a compromise strategy, which on one hand, gives the consultants the possibility to demonstrate a specific profile towards the customer and on the other hand leaves the companies enough scope for their own approach to personnel management by using other job titles.

On a national and on a European level this idea was rejected with the reference to the process of European integration, corresponding changes in the approaches of professionalisation policies in general and the specific profile of the sector. The proposed form of regulation was judged as being in contrast to the general development in the professional field with its emphasis on a reduction of regulations, the removal of barriers for free trade thus enabling more competition in the fields of activity. Furthermore, in German Ministries the dominance of the international Anglo-Saxon consulting firms was highlighted as allowing more space for professional activities of associations and limiting the role of the state. The indication of the role of the powerful association in the Anglo-Saxon model and the tendency to de-regulate professional regulations and define new, weaker forms of occupational control resulted in a change in the professionalisation strategies of the associations.

In their newly defined strategies the two associations combined two approaches for quality assurance in the consulting service, which they define as main goal of their professional activities. Firstly, the body of knowledge in the area of business consultancy was to be defined and integrated into the curricula of different forms of professional education at university level and below. In cooperation with universities of applied science, the associations supported the establishment of different courses of studies. The basic knowledge of the courses was to centre around knowledge of counselling, organisational change and social competences but was to be extended by different courses according to the educational level and professional experiences of the participants and the specific orientation of the educational programme (Theobald, forthcoming). Besides educational training, the definition of basic scientific knowledge enables research activities in the field and is aimed at raising the status of the activity.

Despite the establishment of business consultancy programmes, access to the field is still to be at the discretion of consultants with different educational backgrounds and professional experience and thus emphasizing the free choice of customers to choose any of the many service offerings. In accordance with this market-oriented model the associations already

perform and introduce new forms of „control of professional competence“. Already, the membership in an association is connected to basic requirements, which centres around the assessment of a successful consulting activity, defined by a minimum time period of activity as a consultant, references of satisfied customers and the assessment of the professional abilities by leading members of the association.

Since the middle of the 1990s, the two most influential consultant associations, BDU and BVW, have introduced a new form of market-oriented registration. The regulation enables consultants with different educational backgrounds to be registered and use the specific title of consultant in their marketing activities. Just as the membership in the associations the requirements are related to a successful career as an experienced senior consultant, which has to be proved with a successful track record and efforts in further training. In addition, the market-orientation is reflected in the goal of the registration. In their strategy, both associations are striving to establish the title as evidence of advanced professional competence for potential customer companies. But they have not developed any plans for legal protection of the title and the process of registration.

Despite these common elements in both the process of registration and market-orientation, the two forms of registration differ in their orientation towards specific target groups. The registration of the BVW called 'Berufsregister' is mainly oriented towards the typical customer of the self-employed and small consulting companies, the small and medium-sized firms. In contrast, the BDU awards the international title of Certified Management Consultant (CMC), which is accepted by associations in 35 industrial countries and aims to support the marketing activities of the consultants towards even more influential, international orientated companies.

A more detailed analysis shows that the changes in the professionalisation strategies are by no means gender-neutral. In fact, as gender-sensitive professionalisation research has proved that the existing gender relations are reflected in the strategies and perceptible in the female share in the different forms of market-oriented occupational control (Theobald, forthcoming). The increase in the female share in the sector of business consultancy to 22% at the end of the 1990s, does not lead automatically to a rise of female members in the associations. In fact, five of the six participating associations under the study, state that the female share is about 5% and that there is a male-dominance. In contrast, only the BVW showed a clear rise in the female share to 36%. The close relationship between a conscious strategy of recruiting female consultants and the professionalisation strategy could be observed in the interview with expert in this association. Female consultants are viewed as a resource in the goal towards organising as many consultants as possible to increase the

member number and thus extend the influence of the association in the sector. The specific female social and communicative competence and the success of women in small and medium-sized companies was emphasised especially by the president of the association.

The ambivalent situation in the BVW strategy to organise women and the passive attitude of the other associations, especially the BDU, has led in fact to a form of integration of women which fosters processes of gender segregation and hierarchism. In both associations, BVW and BDU, the integration in the association is reflected in the number of women on the register. The BVW has a female share of about 35% and there are about 6% registered CMCs in the BDU. The different target groups of both forms of registration, the small and medium-sized companies for the BVW and the more international oriented companies for the BDU enhances the gender segregation on the consulting market.

Furthermore, even the efforts of the associations to establish educational programmes in the consulting area to specify the qualifications and to develop a specific body of knowledge shows a gender image. The BVW has created two courses of educational training below university level to provide small and medium-sized companies with well-educated employees. Both courses define female students as their target groups. At university level a spectrum of programmes has been established and here, too, the female share reflects a gender hierarchy. The basic educational programme at the University of Applied Science in Emden, in Germany for example is free of charge and 40% of the students are women. But only 10% of the students are female in the fee paying graduate MBA educational programme at the University of Applied Science in Offenburg.

2. Social Care: New balances and the issue of social inequality

2.1 Occupationalisation of care work and welfare state development

In care work processes of occupationalisation are closely related to welfare state development and reveals a hierarchy of unpaid, paid and on the top of the hierarchy even professionalised care activities. The definition of specific working tasks in the area of social care as unpaid, respectively paid care, the definition of expertise and the forms of funding and the organisation determine the development of a corresponding labour market segment and its basic conditions. These definitions form a core element of welfare state policies and as Esping-Andersen (1990) has shown it differs from one prototypical welfare state regime to the other. Elements of professional regulations are related to the establishment of a labour market segment, i.e. the professional jurisdiction to conduct specific working tasks on the

basis of expert knowledge concerning issues of a definition of a body of knowledge, necessary basic qualifications and corresponding forms of occupational control (for Sweden see Evertsson, 2000).

One main characteristic of the care occupations is their contradictory position between paid and unpaid work. Both the development of a public or privately funded market for social services and legal protection find their conditions and limitations within the political-economic framework of a country and thus the negotiators are influential actors (Kühn, 1994). The contradictory position of social care between paid and unpaid work and the frequently re-negotiated limitations on a political level, create a structural barrier for the occupationalisation of care work. There is always the risk, that the motivation of specific expertise for the performance of certain tasks will be repeatedly put to question.

Because it is a mainly female activity the organisation of social care as paid or unpaid work influences women's labour market opportunities and is strongly related to the arrangement of gender relations. Thus, feminist researchers claim the central position of social care in the development of gender-sensitive welfare state approaches. The broad analytical potential of the concept of social care enables both the inclusion of macro-level relations, indicated by the care infrastructure and distribution of provision between the state, the market and the family and shows care activities on a micro-level among individuals within the family and community (Lewis/Daly, 1998). The most important topics here are the conditions under which paid and unpaid care is carried out, inherent in a complex relationship in the normative framework of obligations and responsibilities divided up between the state, the family and the market. Empirical results confirmed social care not only as a mainly female activity, but also showed the influence of social stratification for both carers and the care receivers. The conditions under which different types of care work is carried out varies considerably and reveals a complex interplay between gender and social position of women in society (Baldock/Ungerson, 1994; Ungerson, 1997).

The analysis of the organisation of social care specific to the different welfare state systems advanced to a main topic for a common analysis of issues of gender- and social inequality. Statistics on the interplay of the extent and form of female labour market participation and their educational background has stimulated the debate. Since the middle of the 1990s, OECD-statistics have repeatedly shown a high cross-border employment rate for highly qualified women whereas the proportion of middle- or low-qualified women on the labour market differs considerably between countries (OECD, 1995b, 1997). Empirical results proved the decisive role of the organisation of social care in a society for the development of these differences either as a service system, supporting female labour market participation or

as typical female labour market area and thus creating labour market opportunities (O'Connor et. al, 1999; Theobald, 1999; Theobald/Maier, 2002).

Hence, changes in the organisation and funding of social care during the 1990s and welfare state restructuring and their consequences must be analysed from the perspective of gender- and social inequality. The restructuring, which is decisive for the organisation and funding of social care can be characterised by the two catchwords 'Marketisation' and 'Familialisation' and concerns thus the interplay between state, market and family. The ideal of free choice for the customers should be realised firstly, by opening up the production of social services for competition between public, private and non-profit providers while aiming at the same time to create versatile, customer oriented and cost-efficient services. Secondly, the acceptance and inclusion of social care within the family framework would extend the range of options. Gender-sensitive research emphasises that the reduction of services and the re-familialisation does in fact limit the labour market possibilities for women and corresponds to a rise in their workload within the family. In this line of debate, a convergent development in different welfare state systems is assumed (see e.g. Lenz, 2000). Other researchers opt for 'path-dependency', i.e. a more divergent development determined decisively by the existing welfare state system and its important actors. In her comparison between different welfare state developments during the 1990s, Pfau-Effinger (2001) following this line of debate has shown that reductions in some areas contrast with expansion of social services in the other. In Germany during the 1990s, a new social insurance was introduced, which extended the possibilities for public funding of social services for the elderly. In the following, the introduction of the insurance, the decisive elements of its construction and the consequences for (mostly female) carers will be discussed from the perspective of social inequality.

2.2 Care for the elderly: Re-defining the border between family, market and state

Traditionally, elderly people in Germany were usually cared for by female relatives – wives, daughters, or daughters-in-law. This reality is a reflection of gender norms and ideals on the shared responsibility for social care and division of labour between the families and society. The principle of subsidiary, the guiding norm on social care in Germany, ascribes the responsibility for the provision of social care to the family first. If the family can't manage the care properly, either state subsidised, or alternatively, voluntarily organisations take over some tasks but are still partly paid by the family itself. The concept of family was not to be understood as gender-neutral, because usually the female members of the family who were financially protected and supported by their husbands took over the care tasks.

Corresponding to the emphasis put on the informal, family-oriented care in Germany, the social services in this area have until the 90s, failed to reach a professional status (Ostner, 1998). The replacement of nuns at the beginning of the 70s with secular female employees has not led to the establishment of an independent, professional care service. Until the end of the 80s, the local centres rendering home care (Sozialstationen) usually hired casual labour with different educational attainment levels, often students, housewives and former nurses (Landenberger, 1994).

It was only in the 1990s that the care of frail elderly people advanced to an important issue in the German social-political debate. The necessity for new regulations in this area of the social services was motivated by social and demographic changes, i.e. the low birth rate, the increasing longevity of the population, the increasing number of divorces and the growing female employment, thus reducing the informal networks of social support. In the poorly developed level of services, efforts to rehabilitate or to activate the elderly were very rare and the carers had a perceptible low level of professional competence. However, the high cost of long-term care, especially in the institutions, advanced very quickly to the centre of the debate on new regulations. The local municipalities who had the responsibility for financing social assistance complained of the heavy budget constraints due to increasing costs. In 1991, about one third of the total social assistance expenditure was used to cover the costs of long-term care.

Ultimately, the high costs on the local level were decisive for the introduction in 1995 of a new and compulsory fourth pillar in the German social insurance system. The construction of the insurance reflects both, the acceptance of public funding of social care and to a development of adequate care for the elderly with the aim of minimising costs with a new public management approach. The ambivalent goals of the insurance can be shown in the decisive features of the construction:

- Orientation towards basic needs
- An ideal of free choice for customers between informal care in the family framework or paid care for by public, non-profit or private service providers
- Efforts to enhance the quality of services albeit under the pressure of cost-efficiency associated by a discourse of professionalisation

In sharp contrast to the already established social insurances in Germany, the Long-Term-Care Insurance guaranteed the social right to basic care provision but it was by no means comprehensive to the existing needs. Thus, this insurance model only reduced but did not abolish the risk of poverty for frail elderly people. According the model, the potential care receivers have to undergo detailed medical assessment and may then decide either to

accept cash to pay the carers themselves, to accept professional care packages or even to choose a combination of both. The options should enable care receivers to make their free choices between informal family care and different service providers and thus create their own balance between different forms of care. Gender and social norms and the corresponding reality are clearly reflected in the construction of the insurance (Behning, 1999). The possibility to choose between cash and professional packages is meant to induce care within the family, i.e. mostly to be carried out by women, strengthen informal networks and reduce costs.

To increase the quality of services using new regulations have been established associated by a discourse of professionalisation. Despite the introduction of a new law for the educational training of the carers for the elderly the regulation of the insurance makes only small demands on the qualification of the employees. In contrast, the law of quality assurance emphasises the necessity for the providers to introduce measures to assure the quality of the services in daily work-life.

Goals and regulations connected to the law, interact with the norms and reality of gender and social relations in Germany, create their own balance between family, public and private services and as a consequence enhance processes of inequality. Since the introduction of the insurance, the vast majority, 82% in 1995 and 72% in 2000 of the care receivers has preferred cash (Evers, 1997, Altenbericht, 2002). Evers (1997) explains the high proportion of the elderly who qualified for the benefits preferring cash, as corresponding to the specific culture of caring, which existed even before the introduction of insurance and which includes care provided by relatives, neighbours or on a private basis by paid domestics. The benefits are used to secure arrangements enabling the elderly to give the relatives or neighbours a type of symbolic payment and also facilitating the purchase of private service.

A more detailed analysis, however, reveals the influence of the position in the social strata influencing the decision between formal and informal care. In families of the upper strata in society, the care receivers more often prefer services in contrast to the families of the lower strata. Potential female informal carers with a higher qualification level tend to stay on the labour market and pay for the needed care (Beck et.al.,1997; Giese/Wiegel, 1999; Klie/Blinkert, 2002). Beck et al. (1997) distinguish care providers and care managers and relate it to the women's working situation and the economic background of the families. Working-time flexibility and economic resources, which characterise the typical situation of well-educated people, enables the potential female carers to be continuously employed and organise the paid social care, while the less-educated people with more time and economic restrictions often provide the care themselves.

In this context, service providers have in general the problem of establishing attractive services in competition to the informal help of family. In addition, many care receivers don't view professional competence as being very important for their daily care (Evers, 1997). As a consequence there seem to be only two areas where the care services can create a market. The first is on the basis of their specific competence where the educated carers can advise and support the carer family in their caring activities. The second is that wealthy elderly people may be interested in buying professionalised care services as well as a spectrum of household tasks.

Thus, the occupationalisation of the activity during the 1990s proved to be an ambivalent process. The process was impeded by the prevailing norms of free choice between informal and formal care. On the labour market the higher demand for care services was met with a rise in employment rates mostly for qualified labour, despite the low status of the working area (Ostner, 1998; Gerste/Rehbein, 1998). The state subsidies ran parallel with requests to develop and assure high quality standards albeit under the pre-requisition of limiting the emerging costs. This seems to be a contradictory request, which tends to be solved by an increasing social distinction between different groups of care workers according their educational attainment level. Less qualified women are over represented within only marginal part-time employment and there is even the risk of them finding themselves outside the primary labour market on a so-called grey market. Thus, in both areas formal and informal care patterns of gender and social hierarchy which seem to be highly interconnected are perceptible.

3. Conclusion: Marketisation, familialisation and inequality

This paper analyses the definition of professionalisation and occupationalisation strategies, respectively, in two working-areas in Germany during the 1990s in a period of far-reaching political changes. Business consultancy was chosen as an example for a high-status activity, oriented mainly towards private industry, while care for the elderly represents an example for an activity at the lower end of the occupational scale within the context of the welfare state. The strategies defined for the establishment and further development of the status of the activities on the labour market are viewed as embedded within the restructuring of the working-fields and the changing regulations on a national and international political level. In addition, they are assessed in their consequences for the members of the work force from the perspective of gender- and social inequality.

Customer-orientation, competition and marketisation, as well as familialisation are used as catchwords to characterise the changes in the working areas and on a political level, but are finding their specific expression for the two activities. For the business consultancy sector the 1980s and 1990s proved to be a period of steady expansion with an extension of their traditional circle of customers. Despite the fact that business consultancy has not yet reached professional status especially in the forms of occupational control, the interviewed representatives of the associations view the activity as a profession and emphasise the expertise and the high degree of work autonomy. Furthermore, the high income level and the high status of the activity in society resemble the traditional professions. However, the goals and strategies for the professionalisation developed by the associations differ from traditional strategies and reveal a strong orientation towards the market which is reflected by the catchwords market success and customer satisfaction. The market-based strategies are fostered by the process of internationalisation and increasing European integration. The developed strategies confused two elements. Firstly, they supported the introduction of different educational programmes even at university level to develop a scientific body of knowledge, create opportunities for research, the qualification of students and to prove the expertise of the occupation. However, the educational programmes and the qualification acquired during this course of studies were by no means supposed to define qualification requirements for access to the activity. Secondly, the form of control of professional competence established by the associations, the membership and the newly developed forms of registration are even more strongly related to a successful professional activity, e.g. a proven track record of successful projects and satisfied customers. Thus, the acquired titles or registration, which can be used for marketing-activities reflect success and acceptance on the market but can not be viewed as an indication of specific formal qualifications.

In the field of social care, the expansion of formal care services for the elderly and the accompanying ambivalent processes of an occupationalisation of the activity are strongly related to the introduction of the “Long-Term Care insurance” a new pillar of social insurance in Germany, which provides the economic conditions for public funding of the services. The extension of social rights on the basis of social insurance structures, emphasises the free choice of the customers between private, public and non-profit providers as well as informal care within the framework of the family. In addition, a discourse of professionalisation of the activity can be observed and further different laws concerning the educational programme of the carers and demands for quality assurance in the daily working place have been introduced. Despite there is some control of the quality of the services access to the activity is not based on a vocational training as carer for the elderly. The goal of limiting costs impedes a clear occupationalisation of the activity. The service providers must offer high

quality service under the conditions of cost-efficiency and competition. At the same time, the cheaper informal services question the expert competence of the activity.

In both occupations, the developed strategies reflect existing forms of gender- and social inequality and enhance them. A clear image of segregation and hierarchism of men and women can be observed in business consultancy in the share of women, their intake into the different educational programmes and their integration into the different forms of membership and registration. The career possibilities for women, however, can be influenced but not determined by this development; for the associations are only one actor in the business consultancy sector. In the area of social care for the elderly, the demand for cost containment and the ambivalent occupationalisation processes between the family, state regulations and marketisation result in an hierarchism of the carers from the only symbolically paid informal carers in the family, to the informal carers on the grey market, the formal carers in marginal part-time employment and full-time carers. These shows a hierarchy, which is closely related to the qualification level of the carers and the position in the social strata of the care receivers and the (potential) informal carers within the family.

References

- Abbott, Andrew (1988) *The System of Professions*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Altenbericht (2002) *Vierter Bericht zur Lage der älteren Generation in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Risiken, Lebensqualität und Versorgung Hochaltriger – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung demenzieller Erkrankungen*. Berlin: Bundesministerium für Familien, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (www.bmfsfj.de).
- Antal, Ariane Berthoin and Krebsbach-Gnath, Camilla (1999) 'Consultants as Agents of Organizational Learning. The Importance of Marginality', in Meinolf Dierkes, Ariane Antal, John Child and Ikujiro Nonaka, (eds.) *Handbook of Organizational Learning and Knowledge*, pp 462-83. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baldock, John and Ungerson, Clare (1994) *Becoming consumers of community care: Households within the mixed economy of welfare*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Beck, Brigitte Naegele, Gerhard, Reichert, Monika und Dallinger, Ute (1997) *Vereinbarkeit von Erwerbstätigkeit und Pflege*. Schriftenreihe des Bundesministeriums für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- BDU (Bundesverband Deutscher Unternehmensberater) (1998) *Facts and Figures zum Beratermarkt 1998*. Bonn: Verlag BDU.
- Behning, Ute (1999) *Zum Wandel der Geschlechterrepräsentation in der Sozialpolitik*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich.
- Biersack, Wolfgang Parmentier, Klaus und Schreyer, Franziska (2000): *Berufe im Spiegel der Statistik. Beschäftigung und Arbeitslosigkeit 1993-1999*, Beiträge zur Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung. Nürnberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung.
- Burrage, Michael and Torstendahl, Rolf (eds.) (1990) *Professions in Theory and History*. London/Newbury Park/New Delhi: Sage.
- Castells, Manuel (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Conze, Werner und Kocka, Jürgen (1985) *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert. Teil 1: Bildungssystem und Professionalisierung in internationalen Vergleichen*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.
- Dicken, Peter. (1998) *Global Shift. Transforming the World Economy*. New York/London: The Guilford Press (Third edition).
- Esping-Andersen, Gösta (1990) *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Evers, Adalbert (1997) 'Geld oder Dienste?', *WSI-Mitteilungen*, 7: 510-18.
- Evetts, Julia and Bucher-Jeziorska, Anna (1997) 'Professionalisation in European Markets: The International Order of Engineering in the UK and Poland', *Policy Studies* 18 (3/4): 239-49.

- Evetts, Julia (2000) *The European Professional Federations: Occupational Regulation in European Markets*. Discussion paper Centre for Professions and Professional Work, School of Sociology and Social Policy. University of Nottingham, UK.
- Evetts, Julia (2002) *Discourses of Professionalism: market closure, occupational identity and occupational change*. Paper presented at the Second Interim Workshop for Research Network Sociology of Professions, European Sociological Association, Paris, 2-4 May 2002.
- Evertsson, Lars (2000) 'The Swedish Welfare State and the Emergence of Female Welfare State Occupations', *Gender, Work and Organization* 7(4):230-41.
- Freidson, Eliot (1970) *Professional Dominance: The Social Structure of Medical Care*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Freidson, Eliot (1994) *Professionalism Reborn*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Freidson, Eliot (2001) *Professionalism. The Third Logic*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gerste, Bettina und Rehbein, Isabel (1998) *Der Pflegemarkt in Deutschland*. Bonn: Wissenschaftliches Institut der AOK.
- Giese, Reinhard und Wiegel, Dieter (1999) *Veränderungen durch die Pflegeversicherung in der häuslichen Pflege*. Vortrag zur Ringvorlesung „Altersforschung in Hamburg“. Hamburg: Arbeitsstelle für Rehabilitations- und Präventionsforschung.
- Goldmann, Monika (1997) 'Globale Konkurrenz at Home. Umbrüche im Geschlechterverhältnis bei der Organisation von Dienstleistungsarbeit', in: Stefan Hradil (Hg.) *Differenz und Integration. Die Zukunft moderner Gesellschaften. Verhandlungen des 28. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Dresden 1996*, S. 764-78. Frankfurt a.M./New York: Campus.
- Greenwood, Justin (1998) 'The Professions', in Justin Greenwood and Mark Aspinwall (eds.) *Collective Action in the European Union*, pp. 126-48. London/New York: Routledge.
- Händle, Christa (1998) *Professionspolitik und Geschlechterdifferenz: Das Beispiel des Lehrerinnenberufs*. Working Paper No.3, Workshop des Arbeitskreises „Professionelles Handeln“ 5./6. Juni, MPI für Bildungsforschung, Berlin.
- Johnson, Terence (1972) *Professions and Power*. London: Macmillan.
- Klie, Thomas und Blinkert, Baldo (2002) 'Pflegekulturelle Orientierungen', in Clemens Tesch-Römer (Hg.) *Gerontologie und Sozialpolitik*, S.197-217. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Koch-Baumgarten, Sigrid (1998) 'Von „Hausfrauen der Lüfte“ und Transportarbeitern, Arbeitnehmervertretern und „Gewerkschaftswitwen“'. Geschlechterverhältnisse in der internationalen Transportarbeiterförderung', *Leviathan* 26(2): 270-91.
- Kühn, Hagen (1994) 'Zur Zukunft der Pflege: Anmerkungen aus gesamtwirtschaftlicher Sicht', in Doris Schaeffer, Martin Moers und Rolf Rosenbrock (Hg.) *Public Health und Pflege*, S. 190-200. Berlin: edition-sigma.
- Kuhlmann, Ellen (1999) *Profession und Geschlechterdifferenz. Eine Studie über die Zahnmedizin*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich.
- Landenberger, Margarethe (1994) 'Pflegeversicherung als Vorbote eines anderen Sozialstaats', *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform* 40 (I): 314-42.

- Lenz, Ilse (2000) 'Globalisierung, Geschlecht, Gestaltung?', in Ilse Lenz, Hildegard Maria Nickel und Birgit Riegraf (Hg.) *Geschlecht – Arbeit – Zukunft*, S. 16-48. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.
- Lewis, Jane and Daly, Mary (1998) 'Introduction: Conceptualising Social Care in the Context of Welfare State Restructuring', in Jane Lewis. (ed.) *Gender, Social Care and Welfare State Restructuring in Europe*, pp. 1-23. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- McDowell, Linda (1997) *Capital Culture, Gender at Work in the City*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- O'Connor, Julia, Orloff, Ann Shola and Shaver, Sheila (1999) *States, Markets, Families. Gender Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge: University Press.
- OECD (1995a) *Liberalisation of Trade in Professional Services*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD (1995b,1997) *Education at a glance*. Paris
- Ostner, Ilona (1998) 'The Politics of Care Policies in Germany', in Jane Lewis (ed.) *Gender, Social Care and Welfare State Restructuring in Europe*, pp. 111-37. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Parmentier, Klaus, Schade, Hans Joachim und Schreyer, Franziska (1996) *Berufe im Spiegel der Statistik. Beschäftigung und Arbeitslosigkeit 1985-1995*. Beiträge zur Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung. Nürnberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung.
- Pfau-Effinger, Birgit (2001) 'Wandel wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Geschlechterpolitiken im soziokulturellen Kontext', in Bettina Heintz (Hg.) *Geschlechtersoziologie. Sonderband der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* S. 487-511. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Quack, Sigrid and Hancke, Bob (1997) *Women in Decision Making: National and European Financial Institutions. Report for the Commission of the European Communities DG V, Project No: Soc 94 102 484* Brüssel.
- Saks, Mike (2002) *The Limitations of the Anglo-American Sociology of the Professions: A Critique of the Current Neo-Weberian Orthodoxy*. Paper presented at the Second Interim Workshop for Research Network Sociology of Professions, European Sociological Association, Paris, 2-4 May 2002.
- Schäfer James and Zimmer, Michael (1995) 'Gender and Earnings of Certain Accountants and Auditors: a Comparative Study of Industries and Regions', *Journal of Accounting and Public Policy* 14: 265-91.
- Sperling, Hans Joachim und Ittermann, Peter (1998) *Unternehmensberatung - eine Dienstleistungsbranche im Aufwind*. München/Mering: Rainer Hampp-Verlag.
- Theobald, Hildegard (1999) *Geschlecht, Qualifikation und Wohlfahrtsstaat. Deutschland und Schweden im Vergleich*. Berlin: edition sigma.
- Theobald, Hildegard (2001) *Professionalisierungspolitiken im Kontext von Internationalisierung und Feminisierung – Das Beispiel der Verbände in der Unternehmensberaterbranche*. (Dis-Pap. FS I 01-101) Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, Berlin.
- Theobald, Hildegard (im Erscheinen). *Unternehmensberatung: Neue Ansätze in Ausbildung und Regulierung des Zugangs*. Discussion-paper. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, Berlin.
- Theobald, Hildegard and Maier, Friederike (2002) 'Women between labour market integration and segregation. Germany and Sweden compared', in Hugh Mosley, Jacqueline O'Reilly and Klaus Schömann (eds.) *Labour Markets*,

- Gender and Institutional Change. Essays in Honour of Günther Schmid*, pp.212-41. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Ungerson, Clare (1997) 'Social Politics and the Commodification of Care', *Social Policies* 4 (3): 362-81.
- Villiger, Danielle (1994) *Die Unterrepräsentation von Frauen in der Wirtschaftsprüfung und -beratung*. Winterthur: Schellenberg-Verlag.
- Witz, Anne (1992) *Professions and Patriarchy*. London/ New York: Routledge.
- Young, Brigitte(1998) 'Genderregime und Staat in der globalen Netzwerkökonomie', *Prokla*, 28(2):175-98.

ⁱ I would like to thank Julia Evetts for her inspiring comments on this paper.

ⁱⁱ The following explanations on professionalisation processes in the business consultancy sector are mainly based on concepts and results of a study on the changing politics of the association in this sector, which I conducted within the framework of the research project „Marktliche und verbandliche Professionalisierungsstrategien. Restrukturierung und Feminisierung der Unternehmensberatung“ Project management: Prof. Dr. Hedwig Rudolph (Theobald, 2001)

ⁱⁱⁱ The empirical results are based on a interview study with leading managers or presidents in six associations in the business consultancy sector in Germany as well as an analysis of documents.