

DJI Bulletin



Family Experiment

Global Change and its Effects: How Mothers, Fathers and Children Organize Everyday Life and Manage Crises

The Globalized Family

Fathers Put to the Test

One Child, Two Homes

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The **German Youth Institute (DJI)** is an independent social science research institute. Its tasks comprise application-oriented basic research on issues related to children, youth, women and families. Moreover, the Institute initiates and scientifically accompanies model projects carried out by youth and family welfare agencies and offers social-science services. In line with its tasks, the German Youth Institute works in the interface between policy, practice, science and the public. The task of the Institute is twofold: On the one hand, it ensures that knowledge is transferred to practical social work and political counselling; on the other hand, it incorporates the experiences gained in practical work into research.

The German Youth Institute was founded in 1963 as a non-profit association made up of members from institutions and associations specialising in youth services, politics and research. Its Board comprises representatives of the Federal and *Laender* levels, the afore mentioned non-profit association, and the scientific staff working at the Institute. At present, the German Youth Institute has four Research Departments: Children and Child Care, Youth and Youth Welfare, Family and Family Policy, Social Monitoring and the two Research Units "Transitions in Youth" and "Immigration, Integration and Interethnic Coexistence".

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New Realities, Old Ideals

A look at the daily life of the family shows that there is often a large gap between wish and reality. Holding on to traditional views of the family, however, prevents finding correct responses to the new challenges facing fathers, mothers and children.

In the debate about the family, things are moving again. This has become clear in Germany, too. There has never been so much public interest, so much controversy, so many discussions – about education and children, the well-being of the child and child protection, about born and unborn children in a society that is “lacking” children, about the dynamic within the family around parenthood and parental expertise, the role of mothers and fathers, about a family-friendly work environment and about the re-thinking of intergenerational relationships and fairness.

Today, across Europe, there are a variety of family and family-like ways of life. This plurality is by no means a new phenomenon, but is rather the result of growing cultural diversity. The states deal with this plurality very differently, though. Many of the problems Germany is struggling with at the moment are connected with the facts that, for one thing, the decision makers in business and politics have reacted too slowly to the challenges of a knowledge-based service society; and, for another thing, that for a long time the family policy in Germany was centered almost exclusively around monetary benefits for families.

A Way of Life without an Alternative

Twenty years ago the German Youth Institute (DJI) published a compendium entitled “How is the Family Doing? A Handbook about the Situation of the Family Today.” Already at that time the authors concerned themselves with recent “forms of appearance and states of being of the family.” Then as now the issue family was about two private and two public thematic blocks. In the internal relations of the family, the question of a stable partnership is just as central as that of a successful parenthood, that is to say, the question of the intergenerational relationships, the relationships between the parents and the children. With respect to external relations, it is additionally about adequate public support of the family; in other words, it is about a sustainable family policy, given the conflicting situations of privately and publicly managed efforts to provide education and care. Along with this, it is still necessary to improve the work-life balance – and with men in mind, as well.

While great significance and a value that is impossible to exaggerate are ascribed again and again to the family as the origin of human co-existence, at the same time empirical results and facts point out that, in reality, the German family is not always doing that well. Sinking birth rates, declining participation in two-generation households, partnerships

which have become more fragile, fewer first marriages, rising divorce rates as well as plentiful economically-precarious, one-parent families are unmistakable indicators, which have to let one worry about the sustainability of the family. These general trends in the reality of the family can be observed in all European countries, although an inner-European comparison does show differences. France and the Scandinavian countries, for example, have above-average birth rates.

One can twist it and turn it in whatever way one wants: the bottom line is that, even in the 21st century, no alternative to the way-of-life family has emerged in contemporary society, or even established itself to any significant degree. For now, family is and remains the only system of interaction in which people somehow succeed in managing the complex processes of living together, the material self-sufficiency, the social security, the dependability and the basal solidarity, the reciprocal care and support, the respect as well as the emotional attention.

Pioneering the Way to the Future

Nonetheless, one cannot help but see that the ideal of the family is suffering from both smaller and more serious erosion damage. The discrepancy between wish and reality, between publicly proclaimed family and the family that has empirically come to be, is getting bigger rather than smaller. It is important that this gap not be enlarged still more in that one unwaveringly attempts to bring the lived family back toward the old ideal. On the contrary. The challenge is much more to develop a pragmatic, realistic, though not resigned, definition of family in light of changed circumstances and today’s family reality. Alongside this, the question will need to be answered as to how one can succeed in keeping the system family viable given the currently-demanded realities of a modern lifestyle; within context conditions which can be circumscribed with catchwords and phrases such as mobility, flexibility, globalization, individualization, de-standardized ways of life, eroding milieus as well as disappearing ideological frames of reference.

The scientists of the DJI shed light on the family from various perspectives in this issue. Together with the German divorce specialist Sabine Walper and the renowned American sociologist Glen H. Elder, they show how global change is influencing the everyday life of mothers, fathers and children, and which reforms are needed. The contributions offer insight into what is known about the realities and potential of families, but also about the social risks facing families.

Thomas Rauschenbach

The Globalized Family

Mothers', fathers' and children's lives have become rich with options – for one person this brings undreamed of possibilities, others become losers. How precarious working conditions and competitive pressure affect everyday family life, and why parents need relief urgently.



Dozing in the bicycle trailer: Parents today often have to show some creativity with childcare. But at times the result is merely a bad compromise, since there are not any suitable support services.

Andreas Lange and Karin Jurczyk

Families are not structures opposed to society, but rather closely woven with other social fields and systems. And they must be actively produced, since fewer and fewer traditions are prescribed. For this, parents need shared time with their children, but also a reliable financial livelihood. So they are dependent on a working world that is increasingly performance-oriented. This dependence becomes especially visible in the course of globalization, understood as the multi-dimensional cultural, social and economic process, in which

international ties and interactions play a large role. In order to deal with market insecurities, many employers in the meantime rely on more flexible working conditions (Buchholz/Blossfeld 2009). The insecurities that result from this, and the growing competitive pressure, burden families in particular.

Couples Postpone Forming Families

The study “Globalife”, for which an international research team around the sociologist Hans-Peter Blossfeld examined life decisions in a globalized world for five years, did indeed show that nation-states could strengthen or weaken the effects of globalization on family life through their social, economic and family policies. However, the globalization process in the form of employment insecurities has changed the lives of women and men: they enter stable partnerships later, postpone starting a family and often enough remain childless.

“At the social level a dilemma arises from this, since, on the one hand, improved conditions for operational flexibility in the sense of improved competitiveness have been widely seen as desirable; on the other hand, though, also growing birth rates” (Blossfeld et al. 2007). Above all, young adults have to be regarded as losers of the trans-nationalization. Their later entry into the job market, and the delayed transition to an independent existence that is connected with this, prolongs the phase of economic dependence on their family of origin (Stauber 2007). This demands a considerable ability to adapt on the part of the family in view of the life situation of the young adults, for instance with respect to housing (Menz 2009).

Recent research about the consequences of job-related multilocal throws a light on another facet of the interrelation between globalization and families. A quantitative study of patterns of mobility in private living arrangements shows that women work mobility over broad distances much more rarely than men (Schneider et al. 2009). And these few women are conspicuously rarely mothers. Women who are responsible for family care according to the traditional role pattern are still strongly bound to a particular place. Consequently, the increasing demands for mobility in the working world are increasingly forcing them to decide between children and a career, or to accept a complicated balancing act. The everyday life of families that are multi-local for job reasons includes great, and sometimes highly stressful, demands on fathers, mothers and children.

The Fear of Downward Mobility is Growing

The challenges of a globalized economic system are gaining in importance as a result of the current economic crisis. Indeed, in the representative German “Vorwerk Family Study 2009”, only seven percent of those questioned in Germany claimed that their own family had been hit very hard by the economic and financial crisis. However, 52 percent of the parents with children under the age of 18 assume that many (other!) families in Germany are badly suffering because of it (IDA 2009). Already in the years between 1984 and 2007, especially

in the heart of the middle class, the fear of downward mobility had increased disproportionately (Lengfeld/Hirschle 2009). These worries set off psychic stress in a large number of mothers and fathers, which worsens the atmosphere in the family, and so the outlook of the family as well (Walper 2008).

Families are not, however, defenseless victims of the social and economic transformation. Rather, they try, within the limits of their imagination, goals in life and resources, to contribute to the shaping of this transformation. One result of the tightened competition, for example, is the increased effort on the part of many parents to offer their children the best education possible. In the process, tendencies in the middle class to set up firewalls can already be detected. The affected families try in this way to gain a head start for their children (Henry-Huthmacher 2008). The search for the “right” school is becoming more and more important for managing their own offspring’s future, which is perceived as insecure. In addition, already in the preschool period educational activities are increasingly being taken advantage of (Müller/Spieß 2009); during the school year many parents pay for private lessons.

With the help of a qualitative study conducted by the German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, DJI) and the Technical University Chemnitz, the dynamic between social and economic challenges and the domestic attempts to cope can be reconstructed (Jurczyk et al. 2009). On the one hand, the study makes clear the potential offered by the flexible work forms, which arise with the transformation to a service and knowledge-based society. For example, room grows for playing with the possibilities of a self-determined family life. On the other hand, though, the results also indicate that the new working conditions are leading to a stressful permanent presence of job-related work in all areas of life. From this, it is to be assumed that the current economic crisis, and the fear of losing one’s livelihood that is connected with it, will further strengthen this tendency.

Flexible Work Hours, Rigid Institutions

Have the developments gone as far, though, as the German sociologist Tilmann Allert diagnoses it? “The family is no longer an alternate world opposed to the principle of rationality of economic life; rather, the family has advanced to a preliminary model ... The auto-suggestive incantation of the work-life balance dictates the practical implementation of family life,” he wrote in August 2009 in an article in the important German daily newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. The DJI study confirms that especially work in the form of projects, part-time work that has been made flexible, extended work hours and increased demands for mobility all force a reaction from families (Jurczyk et al. 2009). For instance, shared time in the family has to be actively produced, planned and its coming-about constantly safeguarded. For this, creative practices on the part of the family agents are required, since a great discrepancy prevails between the often rigid timing cycles of relevant context institutions, such as schools or children’s day-care centers, and the temporal

demands of the family and the job. In everyday life families have to balance out this institutional lag on their own. Stressful working conditions hence also restrict the possibility of organizing family time according to ideas of one's own.

That families, with a variety of innovative strategies, try to work against the co-optation through paid work, only partially qualifies Tilmann Allert's thesis. The economic pressure and the fear of unemployment enlarge the gaps in care giving, because bad and long working conditions are accepted at almost any price. Parents feel exhausted, overloaded and do not take care of themselves properly. Not least, because of this, it also seems harder to actively organize the shared family time that remains (Jurczyk et al. 2009). These developments especially affect socially disadvantaged families, who can mobilize few (financial) resources to help themselves. But difficulties also emerge in families where parents additionally have to care for older or sick members of the family. Since there are not enough public support services in Germany, more and more often low-cost foreign female caregivers, especially from East Europe or South America, have been taking over duties in families. However, often these groups do not have any kind of social protection. These global care chains are extremely problematic "solutions" that are also caused by the political and economic conditions of the German welfare state. Trans-national family constellations are, for this reason, an important new field of research (Beck-Gernsheim 2009).

The Chances and Risks of Globalization

Globalization and the increasing flexibility of working conditions involve not only risks, however, but chances as well. Admittedly, the processes of the increasing heteronomy and colonization of the family, as the sociologist Tilmann Allert describes them, are impossible to overlook, since the economy influences the family with respect to its everyday practices and opinions, as well as its educational and socialization efforts. On the other hand, though, flexible work forms can also offer parents attractive new options: they make possible individual employment biographies and more mobility, open wider occupational spectra, as well as opportunities for training and self-fulfillment. Moreover, the improved integration of mothers into the work force promotes egalitarian gender arrangements in the family and contributes to the family's economic security. Provided the women are satisfied with their work, the children can even profit cognitively and emotionally from their mothers' occupation (Röhr-Sendlmaier 2009). If and how more families can use these globalization chances in the future will depend on a deliberate social and family policy shaping these developments at the nation-state level. In the process, the main precept should be to strengthen the family's autonomy and capacity to act.

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“We have to live within our means”

The American sociologist and psychologist Glen H. Elder discusses the effects of economic crises on families, the specifics of the recession today and the most needed skills for young people



DJI: Professor Elder, you are the first who examined the impact that a financial crisis and economic depression may have on families. Which families are being hit hardest by an economic crisis?

Elder: As I say in “Children of the Great Depression” (1974/1999), when a lower income family loses a job that event profoundly changes their level of income and circumstances. For a middle income to a high income family, the loss is more of a station in life. It is a different kind of thing. It requires middle class families to cut back, to pull back to learn how to

live on their means. For lower income families it comes closer to level of living essentials. So today, we have families who have to go to the food bank or use various means that are available to keep them going. This resembles the families in Berkeley in the 1930s who went to the Welfare Society to get something to eat.

DJI: How long does one have to follow and examine the lives of these children and their families to come up with valid results?

The sociologist and psychologist Glen H. Elder, a professor at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, directed one of the most important large-scale longitudinal studies ever on child poverty in the USA. Therein he investigated the effects of the Stock Market Crash of 1929 on middle and working class families. In his book "Children of the Great Depression" (1974) he describes how the "children of the worldwide economic crisis", through the slump in income of their families, matured into working adults early in life. Thereby, he brought a new perspective to sociology. He no longer regarded children and youth as passive, but rather as competent players. The economic deprivation, according to his study, did not only have negative effects on the family system and the biographies of the affected children; instead, many of those questioned were capable of successfully organizing their lives in the long run, despite these special circumstances. Against the background of the financial and economic crisis, Elder, the German Youth Institute, John Bynner (University of London), Walter Heinz (University of Bremen) and other institutes are planning studies that will allow a comparison of the effects of the current crisis on families and youth in Germany, the USA and Great Britain.

Elder: I could not have told the full story on the depression cohorts until the men and women had reached forty because many of them turned their lives around. There were experiences that gave their lives new direction.

You can think about it this way: No phase of life is a life, it is part of it. Clearly the early years are formative. Those who "lost" their fathers in this period of the 1930s had more of a struggle, but many of them were able to do so in effective ways. When teachers claim that a young person is not going to make anything of himself that teacher is saying something that can only be said much later in life. We don't know about the future and the possibilities that might be there.

In fact, if we look at what these young people were able to accomplish in life, there is not much difference at ages 40 and 50 between the younger boys (born 1928/29) and the older ones (born 1920/21), although one might recognize a hidden injury inside the younger boys. But in most cases, they have learned to manage and to make the best of life.

DJI: Comparing the Great Depression and the recession today, where do you see the main difference?

Elder: Well, one difference with the earlier Depression generations is that they did not have a level of living like we do today. And, they were not living beyond their means in

extraordinary excess like we have in recent years. When we think of the level of living in the late 20s, it was closer to hard times. Institutional protections (welfare state provisions) were not in place.

Today, if one does not have the money, it is possible to charge purchases to a credit card and live like someone at another level of income. I think institutions and banks have encouraged people to take out bigger loans and to buy houses they could not afford. Today, our challenge is to return to a point where we are living within our means. A major restructuring is needed, both of our social institutions and our own psyche.

DJI: Is the credit card system one of the reasons why the financial crisis of today does not hit as hard and as many families than it did in the 1930s because it is simply a lot more difficult to go bankrupt for an individual?

Elder: Easy access to credit for buying houses and cars dulled the senses as to what consumers could afford. Consequently, they were at risk of being far over-extended or heavily in debt. The financial crisis made it impossible to pay the debt. Bankruptcies soared.

Fortunately, we are in a process of going back to regulations and some discipline in this area. However, we have to go back a long way. In the 1980s and 1990s, when the number of bankruptcy cases increased, advertisement would often take the position: If you do not have money that is okay. You can come in and drive off in a car and put nothing down.

Credit cards have functioned as a sort of cushion, but they are by no means a good support system. Because basically they lower one into a cyclical process of becoming more and more in debt and never really being able to get out. Although it is easier now to declare bankruptcy, the pain prior generations went through is not there.

We have undergone quite a change in notions that past generations would pass down to us: You can have this if you have the money to pay for it. But before the crisis, there were few constraints on consumption because one could get it on credit and credit was so easy.

DJI: Supposedly the effects of the crisis are different in the USA, Germany and the UK – partly due to the social welfare systems and intervening political measures.

Elder: The USA learned a great deal of what it needed to do to support families during the 1930s but the contemporary support system is much less developed than we see in Germany. That is why it would be interesting to compare the effect of an economic crisis on families and youth in the three countries – Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

As a colleague of mine put it: children don't live in society, they live in a context, they live in a community, a neighbourhood. With our research and investigations we are basically taking seriously that notion of their own family, neighbourhood and community in these differing societies. There are notable differences in countries with respect to economic and social systems. In Germany, for example, we have the East-West-difference as well as North-South. Attention to such variations enable us to place young people in a context where they are making decisions about their future.

DJI: Do we know the exact figures of families suffering from economic hardship right now in the States as a result of the recession?

Elder: What we have is typically the unemployment rate. But unemployment is an underrepresentation of the full impact because some people are – what I would call – under-employed. They either have taken a job beneath the job they had or they were placed on a halftime basis. If we looked at the Great Depression in terms of such changes probably over 60 percent of the families were affected by them. We need to think about and include all these changes.

DJI: Would you dare give us a percentage of the number of families being affected today?

Elder: Well, the worst time in the Great Depression was 1933 with about 26 percent unemployed at a point in time. From an unemployment point of view and thinking of the economic consequences of it we can identify five states in the U.S. that are going through very hard times with unemployment up to 17 percent: California, Florida, Michigan, Illinois and Arizona.

But economic conditions vary greatly by region and type of industry. Some sectors are doing much better than others. The car industry (General Motors, Ford, etc.) nearly died a couple of years ago and now it is making money again and is re-employing people. What if government had decided not to help these companies survive?

The unemployment rate of students leaving American universities is at 9 to 10 percent. I have run into many students who have had very difficult times finding a job. What happens is basically they are bumped down. They take anything that is available. What they are doing is holding their place until times improve. Some are trading water while others are going back to school if they can manage the cost of it.

DJI: If you compare these figures with Germany?

Elder: As you know, Germany is down to a rate of 7 percent unemployed right now. But again there are lots of regional and even local differences throughout Germany. If we look at the area around the airport of Munich, the figures are down to 2 or 3 percent.

DJI: An essential part of your theory is that children are more than passive or re-active members of a family. The older they are the more active they become. As biographical “agents” they can play an active role in handling even difficult family situations and support the families. Where do you see opportunities for today’s youth to achieve this feeling of efficacy, that they matter at an earlier stage in life?

Elder: In hard times, we do many things ourselves that we have previously paid other people to do. In the 1930s and during the war years the household became a labour intensive environment with a lot of canning and preparation of food that would ordinarily be purchased. That was very common. And children had a role to play in this household production.

I have experienced this activity with my own children when we set aside a weekend to make applesauce. This was something I enjoyed doing when I was a child and wanted to do this with my children. Now they enjoy doing it with their

children. What happens here is that you have something like a family factory. We are all in the kitchen telling stories. One of my grandsons reportedly said the following to his father: “I like applesauce weekend even more than Christmas!”

When children are doing something that really matters, they are likely to enjoy being part of the enterprise. A lot of people in past generations grew up with this feeling of enterprise. I think that there is no question that children who are being counted on gain a sense of confidence, efficacy and thrive. One of my sons who enjoyed working with me in the vegetable garden asked me the following question: “Do you count on me, Dad?” I replied that I sure do. Then he answered by noting: “I work best when you count on me.”

DJI: Do you see any signs of a change in youth’s consuming behaviour? Does the experience of a recession help to change the no-limits-mentality resulting in debts and loans into a lifestyle that is more orientated on sustainability which is kind of fashionable right now?

Elder: Surveys have been done on this with college students and on how the crisis has influenced them. It is clear that a lot of students are putting aside credit cards and are changing their purchasing habits in response to the economic situation. For those who are much more on the margin, it has changed their decisions on whether they are going to spend all year in school or take a semester off and work full time. And then come back to finish up.

We need to think about what living in a consumer-oriented society does to us as people and what it does to our children. It removes activities that typically give us a sense of fulfilment and efficacy. It is true that we can buy many things but when we make them it gives us so much more gratification. This is true for gifts, too. Making a gift for someone becomes a special treat for that person.

DJI: The future is to some extent always unknowable. Do you see adaptability as the most needed skill today?

Elder: You are right, but one can be as prepared as possible to deal with it. It is kind of like what some rural families in the American Midwest experience: “We don’t know what weather is going to bring. It is always an uncertain world out there. But we get as prepared as we can. Instead of using all our resources we save some back because we know we are going to have some difficult times in the future.” Today the pace and nature of change has accelerated exponentially. We are having to adapt in a shorter period of time to new and more challenging conditions.

Interview: Susanne John



Glen H. Elder, Jr. (born 1934) is Howard W. Odum Research Professor of Sociology and Psychology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He did longitudinal research on the positive and negative effects of poverty and deprivation on the life course of children and became famous with his study “Children of the Great Depression” which was published in 1974 and reissued in an enlarged 25th anniversary edition in 1999.

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Fathers Put to the Test

Modern men want success on the job and fulfillment within the family. However, having both is not easy to achieve in today's work world. As long as increased involvement with the child remains a financial risk, hardly anything will change about the traditional understanding of the man's role as that of the provider for the family.



Men would like to be involved in the family, yet often enough they fail to meet their own expectations.

Claudia Zerle and Isabelle Krok

Young men today want to be “modern providers” and devote themselves both to their jobs and their families. That is the central conclusion of the study titled “Pathways to Fatherhood”, which the German Youth Institute (DJI) conducted for the Bertelsmann Foundation. In order to allow men the possibility for an active fatherhood, Germany has been including fathers more and more in its family policy. For example, since the beginning of 2007 a father can, just like the mother, take a paid break from his job to care for a child by going on parental leave. During this phase he receives a parental leave benefit (“Elterngeld”) from the government as – at least partial – compensation for foregone wages.

The impact of the new rules for parenting payments is already reflected in the federal statistics: Almost 18 percent of the “Elterngeld” taken by the middle of 2009 were claimed by

fathers, according to the Federal Statistical Office. Before the introduction of the new rules it was scarcely 3.5 percent. This family policy measure has had an effect, then – and an ongoing one.

Fathers who have taken parental leave spend more time with their children, have a more intensive attachment to them, and care for them more, even after the parental leave, as shown by a recent study conducted by the Rheinisch-Westfälische Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (RWI 2009).

This development is also an expression of a change of consciousness. There is a greater desire that men and women might be on an equal footing in fulfilling their roles; that women and mothers are part of the work force has become the norm. These days young fathers would like to be financially responsible for the family on the one hand; on the other hand they also would like to take care of their children and find more time for them. They would like, it seems, to live a modernized version of the paradigm of man as provider for the family (Zerle/Krok 2008).

Despite the growing involvement of fathers and the increasing participation of mothers in the labor force, there does not appear to be any move toward a balanced sharing of family responsibilities: With only two partner months, the majority of the fathers (73 percent) assume responsibility for a considerably shorter part of the total 14 months of parental leave (Federal Statistical Office 2009). For the total period of care, fathers take an active part during the child's first year 11 percent of the time, on average; during the second year, 16 percent of the time (RWI 2009). For every second family, in contrast, the mother takes responsibility for more than 95 percent of the care during the first year; during the second year it is only a few percentage points less. What can be said is that despite changing attitudes and the desire for a balanced sharing of responsibility, a severe imbalance remains between the commitment of the men and that of the women. What might be behind this?

New Facets of Fatherhood

First of all, attention needs to be drawn to the fact that fatherhood today – in addition to the “new fathers” demanded by society – has many facets and forms in which it is put into practice. In her qualitative study, the German educationist Jeannette Abel, for example, identified three types of fathers, for each of whom fatherhood plays a particular role in their lives (Abel 2009). The *superficially involved father*, according to Abel, gets his “reward more from his career or other activities”. His minimal fatherly involvement is caused by powerful traditional concepts of masculinity. The *insecure ambivalent father* does not see very many binding expectations for his role

around him. He lays stress on his responsibility for the family income; for taking care of the children he has less time than he would like to give. He sees the reasons for this in “external circumstances” such as the situation at work and in that the mother is inherently better at dealing with these responsibilities. The *actively involved father* best corresponds to the “new father” type, because he tries in everyday life to participate actively and fairly in caring for the children. He is successful at this when he happens to find supportive work conditions, has a partner who does not want to look after the child alone and when sufficient financial resources are available.

Contradictory Social Signals

The three types ideally illustrate the difficulties that young fathers have to confront these days in trying to live a “modern fatherhood” in Germany. First, already existing traditional concepts of masculinity still make it difficult for men to wander very far from the role of the family provider. Taking responsibility for safeguarding the family financially is still regarded by the young men as their main job – even though working mothers are almost always accepted today (Zerle/Krok 2008).

Second, the demands on the father are contradictory. On the one hand, society increasingly expects their commitment because, owing to legislative changes such as the new alimony law, women, also as mothers, have to keep working and avoid taking off for long periods of time. That fathers assist her with the family responsibilities has become flat-out necessary. On the other hand, society does not seem to be ready for the “modern father” yet, as indicated by the insufficient opportunities for combining fatherhood and career. For 68 percent of the young fathers who were not able to take advantage of parental leave, it “was not possible to reduce their work hours” (German Parliament 2008). And those who do make use of parental leave fall all too quickly into the “father trap”, as the German weekly newsmagazine “Stern” titled it in August 2009. They would like to be successful at work, but they also want to satisfy the demands of a committed fatherhood. To escape this trap, fathers do not

change their roles completely, but broaden them instead. They are far more involved with the children, but do not question their professional identity in the process (Jurczyk/Thiessen 2008). Women, on the other hand, continue to take on less paid work or work part time for the benefit of the child.

The Limits of Equal Rights

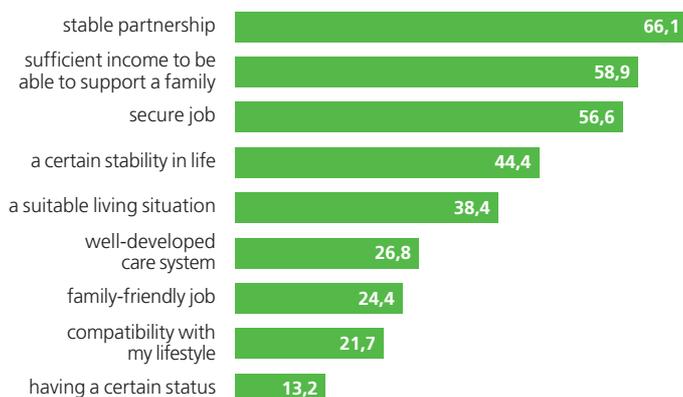
In order to be able to practice modern fatherhood today, a father friendly environment is needed with work conditions that facilitate the compatibility of career and family – and that also goes for fields and positions in which the supposed indispensability of the men is to date still generally accepted. At the same time, the different needs of the parents must be taken into account. After all, it should not be the goal to make out of every father a modern one, and out of every partnership an egalitarian one. The needs and possibilities of fathers and mothers differ according to social and regional backgrounds, according to the education and according to the career as well as the personal wishes and opportunities. A real freedom of choice has to be established for everyone.

Whether or not in the end the father reduces his obligations at work in favor of the family is, however, also the result of the financial balance that the pair strikes. The salary gap between the sexes and the insufficient opportunities for combining two full-time careers with childcare are still mainly responsible for the fact that in many cases a traditional male/female paradigm turns out to be the result – despite new parental leave rules. Norway, which guarantees full wage compensation for 46 weeks and has set up a ten week “father quota”, leads the way here. Ninety percent of the Norwegian fathers go on parental leave. Modern parenting also has to be affordable. That is the only way modern providers can become modern fathers.

Claudia Zerle and Isabelle Krok are research associates at the German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, DJI). From 2007 to 2008, commissioned by the Bertelsmann Foundation, they investigated young men’s concepts of fatherhood in Germany. Under the title “Pathways to Fatherhood”, 1800 men, with and without children, were interviewed. Participants in the survey were between 15 and 42 years old.

Personal Circumstances Influence the Desire for Children

Which personal conditions men find important for starting a family [%]



Source: DJI-Bertelsmann Study

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A most welcome guest of their own family: Nearly a fifth of the grandparents have to put a journey of more than an hour behind them in order to visit the grandchildren.

Network Family

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is closer today than it has ever been before, also because the relationship between young and old is less encumbered with external constraints. However, the modern multi-generational family relies on institutional support.

Walter Bien

The German state currently provides for an ever-tighter net of preschools and daycare facilities. In the face of changing living conditions, that is important; however, it would be a mistake to claim, inversely, that the family is on the verge of breaking apart. Grandparents, parents and children continue to be there for each other, even if today they have to deal with other day-to-day conditions than earlier generations. Evidence for this is provided by the data from the Family Survey conducted by the German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, DJI), in which more than 10,000 people between the ages of 16 and 65 were interviewed.

As shown by the results of the national family survey, at the beginning of the 21st century only about five percent of the grandparents live with their grandchildren in the same household (see illustration). However, the children often grow up in the immediate vicinity of Grandma and Grandpa. Almost two thirds of the surveyed grandparents reported living in the same building, in the neighborhood or in the same location as their

offspring's families. But, in addition, there are also a lot of older people who have to undertake a relatively long journey when they want to see their grandchildren. At least almost 20 percent of the grandparents still reach their children's children within an hour. 17 percent, however, have to deal with a trip of more than an hour for this.

In our modern affluent society in Germany, with a more or less secure pension plan, direct "material transfers" to meet the cost of living are becoming less significant. What does remain important is the parents' and grandparents' financial support of the younger generation. Since, during the past few decades, the amount of living space has increased simultaneously with the growing need for an independent lifestyle, it is not surprising that many families have spread themselves across several households. The demand for job mobility also forces some young families to move away from the grandparents.

The traditional and locally bound nuclear family is being replaced by widely spread multi-generational relationships. To begin with, though, the closeness with which old and young family members encounter each other hardly suffers from the

growing spatial distance. Not until a trip of more than an hour is needed for the visit with the grandchildren do the actual relationships between the generations become demonstrably limited.

Unconditional Ties in Emergencies

When there are problems, these usually arise between parents and children and only rarely between grandparents and grandchildren. One reason for this is that parent-children relationships are more weighed down by mutual responsibilities. For example, it is the mother's and father's responsibility to raise their offspring and, in doing so, to set clear boundaries. The child in turn has to accept these and act accordingly. This situation contains, logically, cause for conflict. Grandparents can more easily evade such controversies. If they also have the possibility of retreating to their own apartment on such occasions, this is even more successful.

The relationship between young and old, then, does not have to suffer at all when Grandma and Grandpa do not live in the same building – quite the contrary. Often, the relationship is even more heartfelt because it is less strained by external pressures, such as the care of the parents in one's own household. The slogan for the new family harmony is "intimacy at a distance". At the same time, what is important is to have someone one can rely on in potential emergencies, even though this emergency case only rarely occurs. Neither parent-child nor grandparent-child relationships can be annulled. There is no way to divorce or separate, as is possible with partners and friends. Even if parents fall on hard times or the children have problems – apart from very few exceptions – help will come. The fundamental solidarity among the generations counts on this dependability.

More Grandparents for Ever Fewer Grandchildren

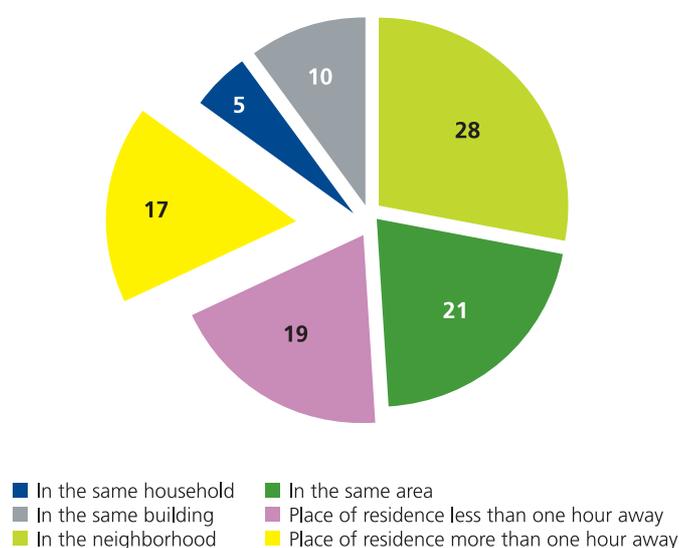
Yet a further social development in industrial nations contributes to the more easy-going relationship between grandparents and grandchildren – particularly in the middle and upper classes. The three-generation family is virtually becoming the rule, due to people's increasing life expectancy. Even families in which four or even five generations converge on each other for a certain time are not a rarity anymore. As a result, children experience, in addition to Grandma and Grandpa, the great-grandparents and the great-great-grandparents as well. Additionally, in the case of a separation of the parents, step-grandparents might also be included. Conversely, the attention of the grandparents concentrates itself on ever fewer grandchildren, because the birthrate is sinking. The daily responsibilities that grandparents now take over in young families are in this way shouldered by many. The family has become a widely spanned network, that requires, however, members who are healthy and ready for duty.

Because there are constellations in life and situations in which today's extended families are totally overwhelmed, institutionally supported cross-generational encounters are essential: so, for instance, through rent-a-granny organizations

or in multi-generational centers, which, as drop-in centers and meeting points for people of all ages, are supported by the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth. At the same time such projects offer childless older people the chance to participate in an exchange with other generations. The growing potential of older people,

A Relationship at a Distance

Grandparents in Germany have to travel far in order to see their young grandchildren. The distribution of places of residence [%]



Source: DJI Family Survey 2000

who could and want to actively participate in family and social life together, has yet to be exhausted.

The young people definitely seem to want closer contact; at least almost 86 percent of Europeans between the ages of 15 and 24 agreed, in the European Commission's Eurobarometer "Intergenerational Solidarity – Analytical Report" which appeared in 2009, that initiatives which strengthen the relationships between young and old people need to be supported.

The author, **Dr. Walter Bien**, is head of the Center for Social Monitoring at the German Youth Institute (Zentrum für Dauerbeobachtung und Methoden am Deutschen Jugendinstitut, DJI). The **DJI Family Survey**, which was commissioned by the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, described the transformation and development of domestic living arrangements in Germany. Between 1986 and 2006 three waves of surveys, each time of more than 10,000 people, were conducted and evaluated by the DJI. In 2009 the survey was superseded by the major new DJI study entitled "**Growing up in Germany (AID:A)**". Based on a national, representative survey, people in 25,000 households were questioned, with the goal of understanding the life situation of all groups between the ages of zero and 55. The first main results of the study were presented at a DJI conference in Berlin in November 2010.

“Separation Can Be a Salvation for the Children”

A separation or divorce of the parents rarely leaves behind lasting emotional harm for children. Yet they are the ones who suffer from the conflict. The Munich psychologist, Sabine Walper, speaks about feelings of guilt, mistaken ideals and the question as to how children can emerge from the crisis stronger than they were before.

DJI: Professor Walper, even today the idea survives that children of divorced parents are pitiful, traumatized and torn creatures. Does this idea have anything to do with reality?

Walper: The separation or divorce of the parents naturally puts a strain on most children initially. Often behavioral issues and poor school performance are observed. However, new research results show that many of the psychologically compromised children recover after two or three years. Like the parents, apparently they need a certain amount of time to find their bearings in the new situation in life.

DJI: What comes apart in children when the parents separate?

Walper: The feeling of emotional security in the family gets lost. For children it is bad to see the parents fighting, screaming at each other or even physically attacking each other. The stress, however, mostly does not begin with the separation, but rather already years before. Not the separation, the fighting makes the children sick. Many studies have shown that children from families with a lot of conflict display the same stress as children of separated parents who are on bad terms with each other. According to our results, chronic conflict is actually far worse.

DJI: What effect do such fights have on the child's development?

Walper: As a rule, children feel attached to both parents, and as a result often get caught up in a conflict of loyalty. True to the motto: When I love Mother, then I am disloyal to Father, and vice-versa. When the parents fight with each other a lot, it is immensely exhausting and stressful for the children. They react with depression, sometimes even with aggression. Often the self-esteem suffers. This can also have a negative influence on other social relationships – for example with their peers. Children from high-conflict families of divorce often lose not

only their parents' support, but also feel excluded by their peers.

DJI: Is there a certain age in which children have more difficulties in coping with a divorce or separation?

Walper: Younger children, as a rule, deal with it more poorly than older ones. For preschoolers, for example, there is still a great risk that they will misconstrue the parents' breakup and blame themselves. For a 13-year-old youngster, on the other hand, there is less danger that he will develop feelings of guilt.

DJI: That sounds as though the parents have to pretend to be a happy couple for as long as possible, and then things will not be so bad.

Walper: No, because children have very sensitive antennas. They feel it when something is smoldering under the surface. Naturally, it is always best for children when the parents get along well. But it also shouldn't be that harmony reigns at any price. In every normal family there is conflict and fighting. Children have to learn to cope with it, that's important for their development and their own ability to deal with conflict. In addition, children who are confronted with the divorce of their parents without any prior warning are the worst at being able to adjust to it. Often these children still suffer from negative effects when they are adults. Those who saw that the parents have a reason can get something positive out of the divorce.

DJI: To what extent is disagreement in the family healthy, and when should the parents consider a divorce?

Walper: It is difficult to find this fine line. Research has yet to succeed at it because it depends on many individual factors. It can only be said that when the disagreement is expressed in a civilized way and the quarrel solves the conflict, all participants can benefit from it. But when the conflict

between the parents continues for a long time, when the children are showing stress symptoms, when the problem is chronic and attempts at a solution have failed repeatedly, that's not a good learning environment for the children. Often the parent's role as teacher suffers. With parents who fight vehemently and very often, their separation can be a salvation for the children.

DJI: Does that mean that children can also benefit from a separation?

Walper: Absolutely. Admittedly, not all frustrations and disappointments let themselves be made up for after the event. But provided the parents succeed in setting aside their disagreements after the separation or divorce, the children can benefit long-term. Often enough they become unusually responsible, resilient and goal-oriented young adults. And naturally the separation is a benefit for those children for whom the violence in the family in this way comes to an end.

DJI: How can the children be helped to get over the first hard phase?

Walper: How well a child copes with a divorce depends above all on whether or not the parents, despite their own stress, take the needs of their children into account and are able to establish a good atmosphere for child-rearing. But financial resources also play a role. American studies show that half of the problems that children have after a divorce actually do not have anything to do with the divorce itself, but rather are a reaction to the financial difficulties of the single mother.

DJI: To what extent can teachers, child-care providers or social workers have a positive influence on the children?

Walper: Quite similar to the atmosphere for child rearing in the family, the atmosphere in the school also has a decided influence on children who have experienced a divorce. What is decisive is a loving, consistent child-rearing style, very sensitive, but on the other hand also with very clear rules and limits. In fact, the expectations in the school or kindergarten have to be reduced for a reasonable period, because the children are under a lot of pressure in the beginning and have to be concerned with themselves. But children who have experienced a divorce must not be stigmatized, because then they might permanently lower their expectations for themselves. So it is important to get across to children that they are indeed going through a tough time, but that there is light at the end of the tunnel.

DJI: Many parents, despite good intentions, do not succeed in separating on amicable terms and cooperating. How can counselors work against this?

Walper: It is about strengthening the parents' resources: the child-rearing competence, the ability to handle conflict, the self-confidence. The parent's course "Children in View", which we developed together with the Family Emergency Counseling Center ("Familien-Notruf") at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich, picks up at exactly this point. The participating adults benefit in a variety of ways. They learn to control their stress and to communicate better with each

other, in role-play they even take up the child's point of view and experience through the contact with the other parents, often for the first time, that they are not alone with their problems.

DJI: Do parents expect too much from themselves?

Walper: In fact they do often make too many demands on themselves. Although it is not so important that the parents cooperate closely in caring for the child. More important is that they end the conflict. That can also mean that the mother and the father only continue to assume parental responsibility separately, so that they don't constantly fight about joint rules. This so-called parallel parenthood, by the way, is just as good for the child as the cooperative parental relationship, in which the parents come to a close agreement with each other.

DJI: Many fathers today feel obliged to maintain the close relationship with the child in order to actively exercise their custody.

Walper: Fathers who live separately can be an important resource for their children. At the same time, though, the frequency of the contact plays a very subordinate role. A few years ago it was assumed that the well being of the child suffers when the contact to the father falls off sharply, or even breaks off. But meanwhile many studies show that the reliable payment of child support and the quality of the fatherly child-rearing behavior is far more crucial. Decisive is that the children are given security, attention and orientation, so that they don't drag the insecurities into their own partnership later.

DJI: Children who have experienced a divorce later separate from their partner one and a half times as often as children of intact marriages.

Walper: That's right. There are a lot of reasons for that: missing role models for solving conflicts constructively, sometimes a less-successful choice of partner, and often an insufficient faith in the viability of a partnership. Many children in no way expect a stable family life after the first breakup of the parents. Often new partners step into their lives several times. These instabilities in the family get to the children over time. They shake the belief in the durability of a partnership – and having this belief is part of committing oneself to someone.

Interview: Birgit Taffertshofer



Dr. Sabine Walper is a psychologist and holds the Professorship for General Pedagogic and Education Research at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich, with the main focus on youth research. She studies the effects of divorce, the consequences of poverty for the affected parents and children, parent-child relationships and partnerships during youth and early adulthood. She is a member of several scientific advisory councils, among these the scientific advisory council for family issues at the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth.

One Child, Two Homes

Life with separated parents not only makes new demands on children, but also takes up a lot of their time. A DJI study investigates, for the first time ever, how families in Germany succeed in mastering daily life after a separation or divorce.



Commuting children: In 2009 the Deutsche Bahn's escort service looked after 6229 children who were traveling alone.

Michaela Schier and Anna Proske

More and more often children in Germany, as a result of a separation or divorce, do not live together with both of their parents in one household. This leads to children increasingly living multilocally. They spend their time to a different extent now at their mother's, now at their father's. How often and with what timing they commute between their parents' households is not yet known. However, some statistical data permit an approximation of the number of children who might be commuting. According to the German government's Seventh Family Report, almost one-fifth of all children in the old and one-third in the new federal states experience a change of the family setting and, with that, also with the separate residences of their biological parents (BMFSEJ 2006). This highly relevant and probably growing phenomenon is presently being investigated by the Independent Schumpeter

research group "Multilocal Families" at the German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, DJI). The project group concerns itself with the question as to how family life is established and arranged when parents and their dependent children live apart from each other after a separation or divorce, or due to job mobility. The goal is to systematically work out the new demands that are made on children, youth and adults who conduct their lives on several locations. In this way criteria and general conditions are to be identified, which are of importance for the success of multilocal family arrangements.

Legal and Normative Transformation

The legal and normative changes that have taken place over the last decade support children's multilocality. Since Germany's Children's Law Reform Act in 1998, the law takes as its starting point the continuation of joint custody after a

separation or divorce. The lawmakers assume that the contact with both parents best serves the child's interests. At the same time, a normative transformation of the concept of fatherhood has taken place, from distanced to active father, which is reflected, if not in the actions, than clearly in the attitudes of the fathers (Grunow 2007).

Both developments have created a certain pressure on the mothers and fathers to find day-to-day practical solutions for practicing parenthood together, despite the different places of residence. This affects the daily routine of the children. Studies show that children whose parents share custody commute more often between their parents than children for whom only one parent has custody (BMFSFJ 2006). Even when, following the separation, everyday life is marked by a conflict-free relationship between the parents and a well-organized flow, the children are confronted with specific demands due to the new spatial situation in life.

Over and Over Again Goodbye: Children in Transit

In order to be able to live together with both parents, at least alternately, after a separation, children have to first manage to cover the distance between their places of residence more or less regularly. For children and parents this means that they have to develop a new everyday practical routine. The distance between the parents' places of residence plays a large role in the frequency of the personal parent-child contact, as well as in the perceived strain resulting from the mobility, as several studies have shown (Jensen 2009; Smyth 2004; Schmitz 2000; Tazi-Preve et al. 2007). The nearer the parents live to each other, all the more often do the children visit the other parent.

In general, children value being allowed to contribute to the decision as to when and for how long they will visit the other parent. However, the greater the distance between the parents' places of residence is, all the less influence do the children usually have on the planning, and all the more stressful is the commute for these girls and boys, who increasingly travel alone with the bus, train or plane (Jensen 2009). In 2009, for example, the Deutsche Bahn's escort service "Kids on Tour" looked after 6229 children who were traveling alone. Transferring or waiting for a train is a big accomplishment for them. The situation becomes complex when the train is late or the itinerary is changed at short notice (Jensen 2009).

Some children, though, also experience the commute as something exciting that enlivens their everyday life; for many it becomes routine over time (Smart et al. 2001). The journey, though, always means a departure from one parent and an arrival at the other, whom they may not have seen for a long time. Both moments are often described by children as awkward. Frequent travel also means a daily routine of regularly packing the suitcase, leaving beloved things behind, thinking carefully so as not to forget anything that one needs at the other place,

being excited. On top of this, the trip can be strenuous and demands time; time that is missing for playing or being with friends.

Friends and Leisure Activities Have to Wait

Due to the parents' separation, not only do the spatial but also the temporal conditions of the shared time with their mother and father change for the children. In most cases, following the separation, the children spend more time with their mother, whom they normally live with. Everyday and random contact with the father drops off drastically. This is something that many children especially regret (Hogan et al. 2003; Werneck 2004). When the separated parents live near each other, sometimes the fathers try to continue to participate in the

Marcel, eleven years old, attends a high school in the north of Munich. For four years he has been living alternately one week at his mother's, with her new partner and his guinea pig, in the north of Munich; and one week at his father's, with his new wife and her daughter, who is likewise eleven years old, in the south of Munich. He walks to school from his mother's, many of his friends live in the neighborhood. In the weeks with his father he uses the bus and the subway to get to school – often together with a friend from school, who also travels from the south of Munich to the high school in Schwabing.

everyday life of their children, for example by joining in dinner at the ex-partner's home a few times a week or by accompanying the children to school everyday (Jurczyk et al. 2009).

When there are larger distances between the parents' places of residence, everyday contact with both parents is not possible. Longer phases, in which the children are separated from their fathers, often are only punctuated by very short visits. It is not always easy to readjust themselves to each other in this limited time together. For stays with the parent who lives elsewhere, consultation and planning are required, spontaneous visits are difficult. Visits that are short or limited in number are not automatically more negatively experienced than frequent contact. What is important for them is to have the feeling that both parents are interested in having a close relationship, and make an effort to accomplish this (Hogan et al. 2003; Werneck 2004).

After a separation, children almost never experience time together with both parents. On the whole, fewer parent-free phases remain for them, because they (have to) share the available time between their parents. Sometimes, therefore, conflicts arise between parental interests to spend a few hours with their children, and the children's wishes for discretionary time (Jensen 2009). During the times in which children live

with the out-of-town parent, they have to do without seeing their friends or participating in organized leisure activities. Participation in a football or handball team, for instance, which involves regular training and weekend games, becomes complicated.

In order, nevertheless, to stay in touch while they are apart, parents and children often use communication media such as the Internet, telephones and cell phones. To what extent such “virtual visits” can replace face-to-face contact with the parents, though, must be judged with skepticism (Werneck 2004), because the contact becomes different in character through the technical intermediation. Especially younger children find it difficult to satisfy their need for closeness over the telephone or Skype. It is, after all, characteristic of children’s needs that they arise spontaneously and have to be responded to quickly (Jurczyk et al. 2009).

A Multifaceted, but Stressful Day-to-Day Life

Children who live multilocally are at home in two places: at their mother’s and at their father’s. This means that they have to, but also may, make two apartments, living and social environments their own. In addition, they participate alternately in two family routines, and contribute to these routines. This presents a big challenge for children, but also offers opportunities. In some cases the ways to school, to the sport club or to friends, from different parts of the city and with various means of transportation, have to be managed. In a qualitative British study children tell of difficulties adjusting themselves again and again to new rules, rituals and everyday routines of the respective family. When the child-rearing styles of the parents are very different, some children even speak of the feeling of being two different people, according to which parent they are staying with. Many experience it as very stressful to be at home in two places. However, they wouldn’t want to change their everyday arrangements, because the contact with both parents is very important to them. A few, though, only come to terms with this model because they want to be “fair” to both parents. They neither want to hurt anyone’s feelings, nor cause any conflict (Smart et al. 2001).

The older the children get, all the more often do they refuse to commute regularly (Jensen 2009). When new partners and siblings additionally appear, it can come to disputes or competitive situations between the commuting and the non-commuting children over room, objects and attention. On the other hand, some children experience precisely these different family environments as enriching. They use the parents’ different lifestyles and personalities for their own interests (Sieder 2008).

Taking Children Seriously As Multilocal Agents

The significance for growing children of multilocal family life, as well as of the demands for mobility following a divorce or separation, is still rarely taken into account by divorce research in the German-speaking world. This research has been almost blind to the everyday, practical needs that result from a spatially separated family life, and has until now focused on the psycho-social stresses and strains that result from the

parents’ separation. Given this, the question that is to be pursued in the DJI study is how children experience and specifically shape daily life in more than one place. Until now it has mostly been assumed that the commute between as well as the localization of children in two households affects their development negatively. Only a few studies also point out the positive aspects that can be linked to this situation in life (Sieder 2008; Haugen 2010; Smart et al. 2001). In this regard, taking children seriously as multilocal agents, and empirically investigating their actual practice promises a significant gain in knowledge for science, policy and praxis.

Dr. Michaela Schier is director of the Schumpeter research group “Multilocal Families” at the German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, DJI), which is being financed for five years by the Volkswagen Foundation. **Anna Prose** contributes to the project as a research associate. In a first step, the project group will investigate, by means of a secondary analysis of available data sets, the quantitative distribution of the phenomenon of multilocal families and its “geography”. Following this, two qualitative sub-studies will be at the center of the research project. They will focus both on the parents and on the children and youth, as well as their concrete action, in the context of the multilocal family, following a divorce or separation or because of the mobility demands of the working world. Further information about current research is available online at www.dji.de/multilokale_familie.

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A Fresh Start Free of Anxiety

Children of violent fathers need special protection even after the separation of the parents. A permanent restraining order, however, is rarely necessary, as long as all of the affected members of the family are receiving support according to their individual needs.

Heinz Kindler

Nearness does not only bring out love, but also aggression, contempt and hate. Sometimes the result is physical violence. How often women in partnerships become violent is a matter of debate. It is clear, however, that violence which results in injury or violence in connection with a pattern of control and humiliation is predominantly carried out by men (Archer 2000). All too often children are witnesses of these conflicts or their results. In a representative survey in Germany, in about 70 percent of the cases of domestic violence children were also members of the household (Müller/Schröttle 2004). The home, which is supposed to provide love and a feeling of security, becomes in this way a place of anxiety as well.

When bringing up the issue of domestic violence in connection with separation and divorce, it is important to pay attention to its form and degree of severity, since the impact on children varies greatly. To be sure, every eruption of violence between partners is unacceptable. However, children who often witness serious violence seem, on average, to be under greater strain than children who are faced with rare and less harmful altercations. Accordingly, family courts and youth welfare services need complex instruments in order to be able to react to a particular case appropriately. The following three anonymous case vignettes from real-life experience are meant to illustrate how different the experiences of violence can be for children.

Amanda, nine years old, witnessed how the mother shortly before the final separation of the parents smashed the dishes to pieces and threw a pitcher at the father. Afterwards the mother cried half the night. Amanda tried the whole subsequent week to cheer the mother up. Often she herself couldn't help thinking about the incident before falling asleep and also cried a bit. The aunt helped her, to whom she could tell everything and who comforted her.

Mirko, three years old, was quite surprised by the parents' separation. Then the father visited him on the weekend. Mirko was very happy at first, because he had really missed the father and playing with him. But then the father preferred to talk with the mother. The parents screamed at each other and the father held the mother and cried. On the next weekend it was worse, because the father even slapped the mother in the face. Mirko became really afraid of the father's visits. The mother then said that the father wasn't allowed to come anymore. First Mirko felt calmer, but then also missed the father from before.

For as long as she can remember, Mirijam, six years old, has experienced the father beating the mother. On a number of occasions she has even seen how the father hit the mother in the face and kicked her. Mirijam was terribly afraid that the mother would die. The fear accompanied her then, even when she had hidden herself in bed in her room, as soon as the father got loud. Now the mother has moved out and they live in a house with other mothers and children. But Mirijam is still afraid, because the

father also said that he is going to kill both of them. When Mirijam looks at her mother she feels that she is still afraid as well.

The loss of a partner is experienced as something threatening and unleashes intense feelings within most people. When they find a justification in this for showing the partner their own desperation by all means or squelching the partner's demand for a separation, the risk of violence climbs. In line with this, in a representative survey in Germany, one fifth of the women who had had to suffer violence within a relationship reported that the first of these conflicts had been a reaction to their demand for a separation (Müller/Schröttle 2004). This results also showed, though, that 80 percent of the affected women had already experienced violence earlier.

During the past decades a number of research studies have appeared about the psychological, biographical and social histories of domestic violence (Babcock u. a. 2000; Ehrensaft u. a. 2003; Moore/Stuart 2005). Meanwhile, different types of violent men can be described (Dixon/Brown 2003). Particularly important for the family courts was the realization that domestic violence does indeed often lead to separation, but that in many cases that does not end the violence. A large Canadian study (Hotton 2001) found that during a separation about 40 percent of the women who had already been faced with earlier violence experienced renewed attacks. In comparison with relationships that did not have a history of violence, it constituted an appreciably increased risk – which means that those women in the midst of separation and divorce proceedings frequently require protection.

Severe Experiences of Violence Make Many Children Ill

Almost every child who has ever been surveyed has described witnessing domestic violence as very stressful. Averaging results from international studies, clinically significant mental health symptoms turned up at least intermittently in more than a third of the children who had repeatedly witnessed serious violence that led to injury (Kindler 2006). Between 10 and 20 percent of the children showed clear signs of a post-traumatic stress disorder. The surveyed children did react to repeated incidences of violence by withdrawing more, but not with an inner habituation or deadening of feeling. Instead, the research teams observed an increase in sensitivity, i. e., a heightened physical reaction to stress. If anything, the children seemed to be more disturbed than ever.

The children and youth welfare services and the family courts should draw two conclusions from these results. For one thing, it is necessary to protect children who have experienced violence in a special way, so that they will not have to repeat such experiences. Often supervised visitation is required for this. For another thing, greater importance needs to be assigned to child-centered services in women's shelters and the cooperation between children and youth welfare

services and women's shelters, since a substantial number of children who experience their parents' violence require support. There are already a few positive experiences with such services (Seith/Kavemann 2007).

Women Suffer from Trauma Symptoms for Years

Serious violence can shape relationships and often has lasting effects. For example, many of the affected women still suffer from trauma symptoms years later (Jones et al. 2001). This does not mean, though, that after a separation violent relationships automatically end in a high-conflict divorce. At least not when the common definition for high conflict is used, which assumes a high level of strife that has continued for years after the separation, and the failure of attempts at mediation and the establishment of peace. This is also confirmed by the results of a survey conducted by the German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, DJI) as part of the joint research project "Child Protection in Cases of High-Conflict Parenting".

One of the reasons for this is probably the personality dynamic among the majority of those who are guilty of domestic violence. If the separation cannot be called off and if renewed control over the partner cannot be achieved, then there is a relatively good chance of dissociation and the turning of attention to other partners. However, for the short term, as shown, a high degree of protection for the affected women is sometimes required. These results make clear that the mediation and counseling services that have been developed for high-conflict parenting cannot be indiscriminately applied to separated families with experience of violence.

Visiting the Father Together with a Professional

In principle, visitation rights are supposed to make it possible for all children of separation and divorce to maintain the relationship with both parents. However, in some cases these good intentions reach their limits with respect to children of violent fathers. While for high-confrontational separations children mostly try to mediate between the fighting parents for a long time, the offspring of violent parents are often very afraid of a continuation of the violence. Sometimes they are afraid that the abandoned parent is going to punish them. In addition, in these families the attachment relationship to both parents is often strained (Zeanah et al. 1999), since in the terrifying situation of physical conflict neither the mother nor the father is accessible for the child. The contact to both parents, which actually is supposed to maintain the attachment to both parents after a separation, paradoxically can lead to the child having no stable attachment at all for some period of time after the domestic violence.

In order to protect children from further experience of violence and to find rules that best serve the interests of the child, it is necessary to find solutions that meet individual needs. In the case study of Mirko it became apparent that the young boy was most afraid of the moment when his mother dropped him off at his father's place. Playing alone with the father, on the other hand, was something Mirko enjoyed. In this case it proved to be beneficial when a professional accompanied the family at times of drop-off and pick-up. A restraining order was temporarily lifted. For the mother it was additionally reassuring to see in several videos that Mirko felt well at his father's.

In Mirijam's case, on the other hand, the risk that the violence would continue even after her parents' separation was judged to be high. The self-centered and emotionally unstable father did not succeed in coming up with ideas for his visits with Mirijam that were age appropriate. Even with the help of an expert he was not able to recognize the strain his daughter was under owing to his violence, and to accept responsibility for it. As a result, in this case it was at first necessary to bar contact with the child.

Although in Germany the understanding for the need to protect and support children following domestic violence has undoubtedly been growing recently, it cannot yet be said that the situation is satisfactory. At least two challenges demand attention in the coming years. For one thing, it is necessary to test and implement support services that have been proven successful for children and their mothers during and after their stays at women's shelters. Another thing that needs to be investigated is whether or not supervised visitation in combination with a court order that the father takes part in an anti-aggression training program leads more quickly and more often to a safe and positive visitation arrangement than supervised visitations alone.

The author, **Dr. Heinz Kindler**, works for the National Centre on Early Prevention (Nationales Zentrum Frühe Hilfen, NZFH), which is run by the German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, DJI) together with the Federal Centre for Health Education (Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung, BZgA). His main research areas are risk estimation procedures, the further development of the German child protection system, as well as the situation of foster children. In addition, he acts as an expert witness for the family courts.

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International Projects

G8WAY: Web 2.0-Enhanced Gateway to Educational Transition

G8WAY is an international project (duration: 01.11.2009–31.10.2011), funded by the European Union within the framework of the Lifelong Learning Programme (Transversal Programme, Information and Communications Technologies). Today's educational and vocational pathways place enormous demands on young people who are on their way to employment. There are a considerable number of young people who are overwhelmed by the challenges of transition periods. As a consequence, diverse support services have been set up in European societies. However, the new opportunities arising from the implementation of technology-enhanced learning continue to be neglected. G8WAY aims at making use of Web 2.0, as well as intra-generational and intergenerational social networks, to help youth to successfully transition. With this purpose in mind, the eight project partners of G8WAY are concentrating on different target groups. The German Youth Institute emphasizes supporting disadvantaged young people, who are facing major difficulties in their efforts to enter the job market. In this context, the potential of Web 2.0-enhanced learning as well as intergenerational support (mentoring) will be explored. The project's first step is the theoretical and empirical investigation of individual transitions, national contexts and aspects of learning with new technologies. The results of this research will feed into the development of an online platform that will encourage young people and their mentors to use new media in order to support transitions to work. Different Web 2.0 assisted tools and services will be brought together in order to allow a learner-centered approach. Project website: www.g8way-eu.net

VOLUE: Validation of Non-Formal Learning in Voluntary Work

VOLUE is a learning partnership within the framework of the EU GRUNDTVIG Programme (duration: 01.08.2009–31.07.2011). The idea of volunteering is strongly perceived as civic engagement, as being a service of individuals for the benefit of the society. However, within VOLUE, the issue is not primarily dealt with from a societal perspective, but examined regarding its value for volunteers themselves. Thus, voluntary work is looked at as a setting for non-formal learning processes. In international meetings, the five project partners exchange ideas and critically discuss methods of making what has been learned in voluntary work visible. Additionally, external voluntary organizations as well as volunteers are invited to contribute to the meetings with their expertise and experiences. The main aims are to promote awareness of volunteering as a learning field, to support the validation of learning in voluntary settings and, thus, the attractiveness of volunteering and to develop further strategies and methods that capture

and uncover learning effects within the framework of volunteering, as well as to harness these effects for the benefit of individual employment pathways. The project plans to produce a short statement regarding validation of learning by volunteering as well as guidelines for voluntary organizations that wish to enhance their validation and recognition processes. In order to discuss and disseminate the project's results, the partners will organize a closing conference on "Inspiration for Recognition" in Velp, Netherlands, in April 2011. Practitioners, decision makers and researchers will be invited.

FamCompass: Competency through Family Life

Within the project "Family Competences Portfolio" (FamCompass), together with cooperation partners from other European countries, the German Youth Institute (DJI) developed an instrument that can assist in the documentation and evaluation of competences gained through everyday family life.

FamCompass is pursuing the goal of better inclusion of these family competences in the accreditation process for training and employment in social, care and pedagogical fields. In this way, new employment perspectives can be made available to mothers who have had no job training, for example, or for immigrants, especially women, whose diplomas are not recognized. The bases for FamCompass are the competences assessment, that the German Youth Institute helped to develop, and the portfolio procedures that have been developed across Europe to evaluate and recognize competences. Further information can be found online at www.famcompass.eu and www.dji.de/famcompass.

ICONET: Informal Competencies Net

The ICONET project (duration: 01.10.2007–31.10.2009) was funded by the European Union's LEONARDO Programme (transfer of innovation). Only recently has the learning that takes place outside of institutional settings begun to be recognized.

Within ICOVET (Informal Competencies and Their Validation), ICONET's precursor project, a qualitative interview procedure was developed in order to validate the informally acquired competencies of disadvantaged people. Building on these results, the eleven ICONET partners from seven countries undertook the adaptation and transfer of the ICOVET method to specific national and regional conditions and target groups (disabled people, juvenile prisoners, young offenders, students in higher education, unemployed people), and the integration into existing support services for disadvantaged groups. In Germany, the ICONET method was adapted for use in the stages of preparation and review of work placements for young people whose school completion is at risk. Project website: www.iconet-eu.net

Intercultural Competence through International Exchange for Children

Which intercultural learning experiences can children between the ages 8 and 12 have in the course of their participation in international exchange? To what extent do they learn in the process to recognize and understand the perceptions, thinking, feelings and actions of people from other cultures? These main questions are at the center of the study "Intercultural Competence through International Exchange for Children", which was conducted by the German Youth Institute (DJI) between February 2009 and August 2010. The results show that already at this age it is possible for children to experience intercultural learning on different levels. This is especially so when the children's interest in one another is successfully aroused, and contact with each other is deliberately facilitated. However, clear differences were noted among the international exchange programs that were examined. On the one hand, there are projects in which intercultural contact takes place more sporadically or irregularly, and which depend on the initiative of individual children, who tend to be more active and self-confident. On the other hand, there are projects in which, through suitable activities, intercultural contact is initiated, supported and kept going. In this way it is treated as a given, so that all of the children, through their daily contact with each other, can gain manifold (learning) experiences with respect to cultural similarities and differences.

In order to determine the potential of international exchange, 75 participating children were questioned in writing in three waves – at the beginning, at the end, as well as three to four months after the exchange.

This quantitative survey was complemented by participatory observation at the beginning and end of the respective exchange, as well as by extensive interviews with individual children approximately two to three months after the end of the exchange. The study is part of a strategy, initiated by several international youth work institutions in 2005, to further develop and certify the range of international exchanges for children. More information can be found online at www.dji.de/internationale-kinderbegegnung.

Selections from the DJI's International Activities, 2009/2010 – Time Line

Growing up in Germany (AID:A)

In view of the rapidly changing world with respect to work and the general environment, society and politics are increasingly required to develop new, forward-looking solutions and possibilities for taking action. As a result, there is a growing need for representative, empirical data that can be of use for the analysis of individual, targeted groups (e.g. children, youth, adults and families), as well as serve as the basis for political advice. The extensive new study by the German Youth Institute (DJI), "Growing up in Germany (AID:A)", seeks to provide an up-to-date groundwork for this. Based on a national, representative survey, people in 25,000 households, from 300 municipalities, were questioned, with the goal of understanding the life situation of all groups between the ages of zero and 55.

The study is being conducted at regular intervals by the German Youth Institute, with the support of the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ). A scientific advisory council is accompanying the ambitious project. Among other things, AID:A answers the following questions: How is the family as a place of mutual support doing in Germany? What can it achieve at present? What forms of care do parents want for their children? What care services are available? How do people live and work in Germany? What effects does the working world have on couples and families, and their conduct of everyday life? When does parenthood and the desire to have children become a reality: early, late or not at all? What social risks are children confronted with these days? What about their participation in social life? The first main results of the study were presented at a DJI conference in Berlin in November 2010.

The DJI Survey research was reorganized at the end of 2008. Individual surveys of life circumstances (Family Survey, Youth Survey, Children's Panel, Child Care Study) were brought together as the comprehensive DJI Survey AID:A. AID:A is meant to comprehend in more detail those factors and constellations that shape and influence individuals' lives. In addition to personal characteristics – such as individual competencies and abilities, values, subjective interpretations and ideas about the future – at the same time the changing social conditions and social context, within which individuals are bound up at any given moment, are also being taken into account. In view of the complex interrelationship between the private and public spheres, AID:A joins the current discussions in research about children, youth and families. The DJI Survey understands itself to be an integrating component of the discourse about growing up that is taking place in research, practice and policy – also with respect to the question of public responsibility as well as the related policies. More information about the study and its first results can be found online at www.dji.de.

2009

AUGUST

■ Dr. Beatriz Barquero and Dr. Andrea G. Eckhardt present the latest DJI research results at the "XIV European Conference on Developmental Psychology" in Vilnius, Lithuania, as well as at the Campbell Collaboration Group's conference on "Better evidence for a better world" in Oslo, Norway.

SEPTEMBER

■ September is devoted to international youth research: Dr. Wolfgang Gaiser gives a lecture on "Citizenship and participation" at the International Conference "From theory to practice – evidence based youth policy" in Vienna. Dr. Boris Geier presents DJI research results concerning "Educational Pathways of Disadvantaged Youth in Germany and Switzerland" at an international conference in Switzerland.

■ In Lisbon, Dr. Tanja Betz presents a paper at the IX Conference of the European Sociological Association (ESA) about methodological considerations in childhood research and the implications for a politics for children.

OCTOBER

■ The DJI welcomes participants to the international conference of the section "Sociology of Childhood" of the German Sociological Association; the subject is "European Childhood – Childhoods in Europe".

■ The EU project FamCompass, with project partners from Romania, Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Finland and Belgium, present their results at an international closing conference and an international experts-workshop in Brussels (see page 21).

■ Dr. Karin Jurczyk presents a lecture at the education department of the University of Bologna about family policy in Germany with the title "Tempo e politiche familiari in Germania".

■ Is today's youth fed-up with politics and refusing to participate? These are the central questions at the international conference "The Participation of Younger People in the European Context". The conference is organized by the German Youth Institute and the national agency "Youth for Europe" in Bonn.

NOVEMBER

■ At the 6th Annual Conference of the European organization Eurochild, Prof. Klaus Wahl gives a lecture on "Monitoring child well-being: better policy and practice. Indicators and listening to children."

JANUARY

■ Dr. Iris Bednarz-Braun participates in the International Integration Symposium in Berlin, that is organized by the federal government's Integrations Commissioner, Maria Böhmer, as well as the Vodafone and Mercator Foundations.

FEBRUARY

■ Prof. Klaus Wahl gives a lecture on "Aggression: Biopsychosocial Mechanisms" at the conference "Understanding Violence. Recent Advances in Biology, Sociology and Modeling" in Lausanne.

MARCH

■ Prof. Atsushi Kondo from Meijo University in Nagoya (Japan) is a guest at the DJI and discusses various kinds of integration policies with Dr. Iris Bednarz-Braun.

APRIL

■ Dr. Tina Gadow from the DJI department "Youth and Youth Welfare" receives a grant from the European Union (EU) to attend the seminar "Health + School = Well-being".

■ In Brussels, Ján Figel', EU Commissioner for Youth, presents recommendations for a modernization of the youth-policy cooperation within the European Union. The DJI – in its function as a policy advisor – contributed its ideas in the preparatory stage.

MAY

■ The EU project ICONET, in which, in addition to the DJI, partner institutions in eleven countries are involved, holds its third workshop in Évora/Portugal. The workshop is organized and moderated by, among others, Ulrike Richter and Dr. Jan Skrobánek from the DJI unit "Transition to Work" (see page 21).

JULY

■ Members of the international and interdisciplinary network "SpaceTime Structures of Multilocal Ways of Living" are guests at the DJI and learn about the project "Multilocal Families".

2010

MARCH

■ "Happy – or something else? Happiness from a Child's Point of View" is the title of the DJI-researcher Dr. Christian Alt's talk for the lecture series "Collegium generale" at the University of Bern.

APRIL

■ The DJI promotes the internationalization of research and practice concerning the mobility of young people, and participates in the first meeting about the initiation of the Europe-wide network "Framework, Quality, and Impact of Learning Mobility of Young People in Europe", under the aegis of the Researchers'-Practitioners'-Dialogue; Dr. Christine Heinke represents the DJI.

MAY

■ Dr. Sabrina Hoops attends the international Euroqual Conference, organized by the European Science Foundation (ESF). With her colleagues, the DJI scientist conducts the panel "A multifaceted view of qualitative research and its methodological challenges"; her presentation deals with the family processing in cases of juvenile delinquency, from a longitudinal perspective.

■ Elisabeth Helming, Dr. Christine Heinke and Dr. Heinz Kindler compare research results about working with multi-problem families with colleagues at the Netherlands Youth Institute in Utrecht. Central questions of the meeting are: What know-how – in research and practice – is there in both countries concerning work with this target group? What data, what concepts and programs are there in Germany and the Netherlands?

■ The DJI Family department presents its research results outside Germany. Department head Dr. Karin Jurczyk speaks at the "Conference on Families in Europe" at the University of Lisbon about "Doing Family – a new approach to understanding Family and its developments". Alexandra Sann gives a lecture in Atlanta, USA, at the conference "Families in a changing world: Challenges, Risks and Resiliencies" about "Early Childhood Prevention: Bridging the Gap between Health Care and Youth Welfare Systems in Germany".

JUNE

■ How does the financial crisis affect young people in Great Britain, the USA and Germany? An international workshop concerning this subject takes place at the DJI. The goal is a longer-term examination of the effects of the crisis and the coping strategies of the young people, within the frame of an international research partnership. Among the international scientists is Prof. Glen H. Elder from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, whose study "Children of the Great Depression" (1974/1999) is one of the most important works in the field of poverty research (see page 7).

■ Dr. Christine Heinke introduces DJI's research results concerning "Transition to Adulthood: How does it affect demographic trends?" at the meeting of the European Commission's expert group on demographic issues.

■ Children and youth as victim and perpetrator of criminality – that's the subject of the exchange and discussion between Turkish specialists and the DJI project Centre for the Prevention of Youth Crime, hosted by the DJI.

■ The DJI project "Right-Wing Extremism and Xenophobia" organizes an exchange and discussion in both the Netherlands and Belgium about prevention of right-wing extremism, racism and Xenophobia. The goal is to hear some ideas from the international prevention work with young people that might help in the further development of German work in this area.

DECEMBER

■ The three on-going EU projects of the DJI, with the titles FamCompass, ICONET und Up2Youth, come to an end (see page 21).

JANUARY

■ At the beginning of the year, two new EU projects start at the DJI. In Halle "G8WAY: Web 2.0 Enhanced Gateway to Educational Transition" begins. In the Netherlands the starting signal is given to the Grundtvig project "Validation of non-formal Learning in voluntary work", in which the DJI unit "Transitions to Work" is involved (see p. 21).

FEBRUARY

■ Dr. Wolfgang Gaiser, senior researcher at the DJI department "Youth and Youth Welfare", introduces the DJI's experiences and skills at the workshop "Implementation of the EU Youth Strategy in Germany" in Berlin.

■ Dr. Michaela Schier gives a lecture at the CRFR International Conference 2010, "Changing Families in a Changing World", at the University of Edinburgh's John MacIntyre Centre, Great Britain, about "Multilocal families: the accomplishment of daily family life under the conditions of multilocality".

■ Alexandra Sann gives a lecture at the 12th World Conference of the "World Association for infant mental health" about the improved interdisciplinary cooperation and networking in the field of early childhood prevention and intervention (Early Childhood Prevention and Intervention: The Imperative for Interdisciplinary Networking and Cooperation). This subject is one of the main concerns of the National Centre on Early Prevention, that is run jointly by the DJI and the Federal Centre for Health Education (Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung, BZgA).

JULY

■ At the 10th year-anniversary conference of the Information Centre Child Abuse and Neglect (IzKK), located at the DJI, the internationally renowned social scientist Prof. Eileen Munro from the London School of Economics, LSE, gives a lecture about "A multi-systems approach in child protection".

■ Social monitoring experts of the DJI, Dr. Walter Bien, Holger Quellenberg and Dr. Ulrich Pötter present the DJI's research results at the "Annual Meeting of the International Network for Social Network Analysis" in Riva del Garda, Italy.

AUGUST

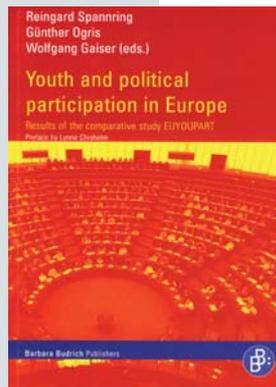
■ The national implementation of the European Youth Strategy, agreed in Brussels in November 2009, is promoted with great élan. The DJI takes on the job of monitoring the process.

SEPTEMBER

■ In London the follow-up meeting to the DJI conference "Youth and the Great Recession" takes place. In June 2010, German researchers, together with British and American colleagues, exchanged views concerning the effects of the financial crisis on the lives of children and youth. In London, the British research on this subject and international connections are given the most attention. DJI scientist Martina Gille participates in the conference, organized by John Bynner, Glen H. Elder and Walter Heinz.



■ *Jan Skrobanek*
Perceived discrimination and (re)ethnicisation of young immigrants in school-to-work transition in Germany
 Halle/München: Deutsches Jugendinstitut 2009
 ISBN 978-3-935701-40-2
 66 pp.



■ *Reingard Spannring, Günther Ogris, Wolfgang Gaiser (eds.)*
Youth and Political Participation in Europe
 Results of the Comparative Study EUYOUPART
 Opladen/Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers 2008
 ISBN 978-3-86649-146-5
 178 pp., 16.90 €

Papers by DJI authors

■ *Wolfgang Gaiser et al.*
Changes in the Political Culture of Young Eastern and Western Germans
 In: Al-Ahram Democracy Review, Issue No. 31, 2008, pp. 22–41

■ *Wolfgang Gaiser et al.*
Quién cuenta con Europa? Un análisis empírico de las actitudes de las generaciones jóvenes en Alemania
 In: Revista de Estudios de Juventud, Issue No. 81, 2008, pp. 161–177.
 English online version: **Who counts on Europe? – An empirical analysis of the younger generation's attitudes in Germany.** Young People's Studies Magazine, Young People and Political Participation: European Research, Issue No. 81, 2008, pp. 151–166, <http://www.injuve.migualdad.es>

■ *Wolfgang Gaiser, Johann de Rijke*
Participación política y social de los jóvenes en Alemania
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■ *Wolfgang Gaiser, Johann de Rijke*
La participation politique des jeunes allemands depuis la réunification
 In : Agora, Débats/Jeunesses, Issue No. 4, 2008, pp. 6–17
Political Participation of Youth: Young Germans in the European Context
 In: Leaman, Jeremy/Wörsching, Martha (eds.): Youth in Contemporary Europe. New York/London 2010, pp. 233–248

■ *Wolfgang Gaiser, Johann de Rijke*
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■ *Wolfgang Gaiser, Johann de Rijke, Reingard Spannring*
Youth and Political Participation – Empirical Results for Germany within a European Context
 In: Young. Nordic Journal of Youth Research. SAGE Publications. Los Angeles/London/New Delhi/Singapore/Washington DC 2010. Volume 18 (4), pp. 427–450

■ *Nora Gaupp, Tilly Lex, Birgit Reißig*
Allemagne: Entre la scolarité et emploi: que faire?
 In: Diversité, Issue No. 154, 2008, pp. 222–228

■ *Karin Grossmann, Klaus Grossmann, Heinz Kindler, Peter Zimmermann*
A Wider View of Attachment and Exploration: The Influence of Mothers and Fathers on the Development of Psychological Security from Infancy to Young Adulthood
 In: Cassidy, Jude/Shaver, Philip (eds.): Handbook of Attachment (2nd ed.). New York 2008, pp. 857–879

■ *Karin Haubrich, Hans-Peter Lorenzen*
Standards for Evaluation and Recommendations for Clients of Evaluation. Steps to Foster Professionalisation and Professionalism in Germany and Austria
 In: Fouquet, Annie/Méasson, Ludovic (eds.): L'évaluation des politiques publiques en Europe: cultures et futures. Paris 2009, pp. 177–187

■ *Andreas Lange, Johanna Mierendorff*
Method and Methodology in Childhood Research
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■ *Hans Rudolf Leu, Regine Schelle*
Between Education and Care? Critical Reflections on Early Childhood Policies in Germany
 In: Early Years, Issue No. 29, 2009, pp. 5–18

■ *Nationales Zentrum Frühe Hilfen*
Early Childhood Intervention – Pilot Project in the German Federal States
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■ *Ulrich Pötter, Andreas Behr*
Analysing Wage Differences between the USA and Germany Using Proportional Hazards Models
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Alternatives to the Normal Model of Stock Returns: Gaussian Mixture, Generalised logF and Generalised Hyperbolic Models
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■ *Barbara Rink*
Résultats de l'étude sur les rencontres internationales des enfants réalisée par l'Institut allemand de la Jeunesse
 In: Observatoire des politiques culturelles (eds.): Le dialogue interculturel en Europe: nouvelles perspectives. Grenoble 2010, p. 109

■ *Eric van Santen*
Predictors of Exit Type and Length of Stay in non-kinship Family Foster Care – The German Experience
 In: Children and Youth Services Review, Issue No. 10, 2010, pp. 1211–1222

■ *Jan Skrobanek, Solveg Jobst*
Devaluation of Cultural Capital. A comparison between Pierre Bourdieu und Paul Willis
 In: Orbis Scholae, Issue No. 1, 2009, pp. 7–20

■ *Claus J. Tully*
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Transitions from function-oriented to effect-oriented technologies – some thoughts on the nature of modern technology
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■ *Claus J. Tully, Wolfgang Krug, Ekkehard Sander*
Common differences: Youth Research in Europe. An Analysis Based on Published English and Spanish Journal Articles
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