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Birgit Fix
Social Work of Religious Welfare Associations in Western Europe
For decades, comparative research on the welfare state concentrated on social security systems, neglecting the dimension of social services. The concept of social care was established by feminist analysis as late as the mid 1980s. Subsequently, a growing number of empirical studies on social services for children, the elderly, and handicapped people was published. Theoretical research on the classification of welfare regimes, including social services, concentrated on the range of activities and on the extent of state expenditure for social care. The fact that social care is an important pillar of welfare production at the intersection of state, market, family, and the voluntary sector has been neglected. There are big variations in Western Europe as to how social work has been approached by public policy: we will show that by using the example of religious welfare associations. It is the aim of the Mannheim comparative project to systematically collect data on the qualitative and quantitative dimension of social service provision by the church in Western Europe. In a first part we will explain why in our eyes the study of religious welfare associations is of vital importance for scientific and political reasons. In a second part the design of the research project and the proceedings will be presented. In the last part we summarize the empirical findings.

1 Religious Welfare Associations as Research Topic
The knowledge that the architecture of European welfare states is to a great extent influenced by Christian ideology is not new. Comparative research on religion and the welfare state was first carried through in the 1980s, stimulated by Arnold J. Heidenheimer’s imaginary dialogue between Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch about the influence of religion on the rise of social security systems in Western Europe. In the years to follow, a number of studies pointed out that religion makes a difference in social policy outcome. Thus, in 1993 Stefan Leibfried discovered the rudimentary welfare state as a fourth welfare regime besides the modern welfare regime of Scandinavia, the institutional welfare regime of the Bismarckian countries, and the residual welfare regime of the Anglo-Saxon states. He argued that in Southern Europe an old tradition of welfare connected to the Catholic Church resulted in a poverty regime with a lack of a guaranteed social minimum and a right to welfare (Leibfried 1993). One year later, Francis Castles identified a Catholic family of nations consisting of a group of core Western European and Southern European countries. The argument of Wilensky (1981) and van Kersbergen (1995) that the existence of Catholic or Christian democratic parties is a precondition for becoming a member of a Catholic family of nations did not convince Castles. Taking the example of France, Ireland, and Spain he argues that the Church in predominantly Catholic societies ‘influences politicians of all parties through its role as an elite pressure group and as a...continued on page 2
force shaping the demands of the electorate at the mass level’ (Castles 1994: 24). He demonstrated the impact of Catholicism on educational expenditure, the extension of female suffrage, the development of the rights of children, and the labour market participation of mothers with children. The idea mentioned in this approach that Catholicism has a specific concept of familism has dominated research until today. Thus, a number of researchers argued that economic transfers favouring the support of a male breadwinner/female carer family model are very widespread in countries with a more or less dominant Catholic population (Staroff 1994; Lessenich and Ostner 1995; Daly 2000).

Most welfare state research is concentrated on Catholic ideology on the one hand and on political parties on the other, ignoring the role of churches as providers of social services and as lobby groups in policy-making. However, my own studies showed that the existence and political importance of other church-related actors, such as family, youth, and women associations as well as trade unions, were decisive factors in explaining different paths in welfare development (Fix 2001). Besides that lobby group function, churches have influenced welfare state development in their role as providers of social services (Fix 2000; Fix and Fix 2002). Thereby religious welfare associations can look back on the longest tradition in the provision of social welfare in Western Europe. Since the Middle Ages they have built up a broad social infrastructure in order to fight poverty and to provide health care and education by using the socio-economic resources of their monasteries and religious congregations. From that basis they were able to specialize in professional training for social work. This potential has never got lost, whatever waves of secularisation have been triggered off since the Reformation. The Reformation was an important juncture since it was the beginning of a territorial split of the Western European countries into a Catholic, Protestant, and religiously mixed world. This different system context offered religious welfare associations varying opportunities to act within the welfare state. Thus, religious welfare associations are to be found throughout Europe as universal actors. It can be argued that churches and their welfare associations did not only influence welfare development in countries with a more or less dominant Catholic population. Christianity as a whole—including catholic and protestant denominations—has also ideally contributed to the rise of the modern welfare state in Western Europe by promoting the idea of equality. From the very beginnings, Christianity has proclaimed the equal value of each human being, thus overcoming the traditional societal bonds of kin, estate, and race through the community of the baptized (Weber 1988). The religiousness of the community introduced the obligation to help ill and poor fellow-believers in order to secure one’s own salvation. Thus, charity developed as a dominant pillar for the social responsibility of the church, its members, and, consequently, for Christian societies. It is not by chance that the Christian occident has been the cradle of the modern welfare state, as the German sociologist Franz Xaver Kauffmann (1988) pointed out.

Although comparative research stressed the importance of religion for welfare state development, empirical information on the relevance of religious welfare associations in European welfare states is lacking. In order to continue research on the influence of religion on welfare state development, we need empirical data on the social work of religious welfare associations. The project ‘Intermediary Structures and the Welfare State: The Role of the Churches in Western Europe’, situated at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research and funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, fills this lacuna. Besides scientific reasons, the project is also of a general social and public interest. In a period of secularisation it is of interest to gain knowledge about the weight of religious welfare associations in Europe. In addition, in a period in which social policy is no longer a classic field of home policy, but of EU policy (Leibfried and Pierson 2001), it is not only necessary for religious welfare associations to know what is happening in their own country, but also to be aware of what is going on in the neighbouring countries (Schmid 2001). There are two reasons for this. First, most of the programmes of the European Union demand the participation of a broad range of organisations from different member states. This makes cross-national comparisons and the exchange of information and data on social work necessary. This knowledge might provide a solid basis for learning from the experience of others and for closer cooperation. Second, the legal status of voluntary organisations is not yet defined in the European Union. In such a situation it is of high importance to prove which share of social work is carried out by religious welfare associations.

2 Research Aim and Technical Implementation

In May 2001, the project funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft started collecting data on the social service provision of religious welfare associations. In order to assess the quantitative and qualitative profile of social work of religious welfare associations, the following research question has to be answered: who provides what for whom, in which way and on which basis? With respect to the ‘who’, we concentrate on religious welfare organisations of the catholic and protestant churches in Western Europe. For practical reasons, we restricted research on a selection of six countries, namely Austria, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, and Switzerland. Social work can be manifold, so that religious welfare associations may address quite different target groups. The range might cover children, youth, the family, the elderly, disabled persons, sick persons, and people threatened with social exclusion, such as the unemployed, homeless, ex-convicts, migrants, and refugees. With respect to the way, one can distinguish between
residential care, day care, and counselling. The structure of personnel employed by religious welfare associations also is of high importance. Survival and growth capacity of these organisations depend to a high extent on professional staff on the one hand and the support of volunteers on the other. Last, the economic situation of religious social service providers is of crucial interest. Here we were not interested in attaining absolute figures, but shares of the different financial sources, such as subsidies, collections, grants, and church taxes. In November 2001, a ten pages questionnaire was sent to all relevant religious welfare associations in the countries mentioned. The field phase ended in June 2002 with a return rate of 71.9 percent (Table 1).

In order to attain this high return rate we used several methods. First, the questionnaire was translated into the organisations’ mother tongues in order to limit communication problems. It was professionally printed with a coloured starting page. The message of this page was ‘Quo vadis social work of religious welfare associations’. Second, we informed the religious welfare associations in an accompanying letter about the societal value of our project for them. Here we argued that the ongoing process of Europeanization makes comparative knowledge necessary, since the relevance of religious welfare activities in Europe may not be clear to the public, and the legal status of voluntary organisations has not yet been defined in the European Union. To document the purpose of our project we published a German and an English article. Our project homepage (http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/iss/Homepage.html) informed about both publications. Third, we attempted to get into personal contact with the organisations at the beginning of the field phase in order to get the name of the person responsible for statistics as well as to check postal addresses for their correctness before sending the questionnaire. Fourth, we asked for letters of recommendation in cases where we had to question the members of umbrella organisations, such as Caritas Swiss, Caritas Belgium or the protestant welfare association in Switzerland. Fifth, we sent three reminder letters and used as often as possible the email to stay in contact with the organisations questioned. It can be summarised that in all cases where a contact person was known we got a response soon. Both, letters of recommendation and letters of reminder, helped to increase the return rate. But only a small number of organisations used the communication media ‘email’ although 58 percent of all organisations mentioned have access to Internet and email. This demonstrates that the modern method of electronic questioning should not be used in the field of religious welfare associations.

We expected great variations with regard to the organisational density of religious welfare associations, the target groups of their social work, the form of social service provision, their occupational structure, and their financial sources. In the following part, we can only present the main empirical results for four of five indicators mentioned above. No comparative data are available for the financial sources since that question was not answered at all or only incompletely in a number of cases. It is very sad that information on financing sources is lacking, since we have no knowledge to what extent religious welfare associations are dependent on state subsidies or social contributions form security systems. Thus, the relationship between religious welfare associations and the welfare state cannot be determined exactly.

### 3 Empirical Findings

#### 3.1 Organisational Density

In order to measure organisational density, two methods can be used in principle. First, the number of religious social services and, second, the number of staff members can be related to the number of inhabitants of a country. We decided to use the second method and calculated how many staff members were available to provide social services for the population in a country. This indicator provides better information than the first one mentioned, because our sample consists of religious social services with a different range reaching from small units as, for example, counselling offices and child care facilities, to big ones, such as hospitals and spa houses. The staff of religious welfare asso-

### Table 1: Return rate in countries and number of organisations interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Number of organisations surveyed</th>
<th>Return rate in absolute numbers</th>
<th>Return rate in percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>75.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>71.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2: Organisational density in comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Inhabitants in mill. (1999)</th>
<th>Organisational density measured by the ratio of total staff to inhabitants</th>
<th>Rank-</th>
<th>Organisational density measured by the ratio of employed staff to inhabitants</th>
<th>Rank-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>8,177</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>10,152</td>
<td>8.06</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.24</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>82,173</td>
<td>21.62</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.67</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>15,735</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>4,442</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>7,164</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Institutions for the elderly
Institutions for training
Institutions for ill and addicted people

Conflict (Fix 1991; Fix 2001). In terms of a heavy state-church elites in Belgian society in the aftermath of a heavy state-church conflict, namely in Austria. In this country, churches have had a low interest in building religious welfare associations (Fix 2001). Density is amazingly high in Norway. Since state-church-relations in the Lutheran countries are characterized by a unity between state and church, we expected only a small number of welfare institutions. Viewing the data more precisely, it becomes obvious that most of religious welfare organisations are Sunday schools. This means that religious welfare associations with explicit religious tasks dominate the field. Social work is done within this context.

### 3.2 Target Groups of Social Work

In order to show the main focus of social work of religious welfare associations, we aggregated the number of institutions by target groups and calculated the allocation in percent. As can be seen in Figure 1, family, children, and young people are the major areas of work of religious welfare associations, even if the results vary between 87.1 percent in Norway and 38.8 percent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Foundation years of religious welfare associations

Organisations can consist in principle of employees, members of religious orders or volunteers. In literature it is often argued that the pool of volunteers is not continuously available. Therefore we calculated organisational density in two ways. In a first calculation, we take the whole staff, in a second we excluded volunteers. The results presented in Table 2 show that there is no difference with respect to the ranking.

The organisational density is highest in Germany. This can be explained by the long tradition of the priority of voluntary welfare organisations to public social service provision. This social division of work originates from the principle of subsidiarity, which was institutionalized in Germany first by the Law on Youth Welfare in the Reich (Reichsjugendwohlfahrtsgesetz), enacted in 1924. After the breakdown of the Third Reich, the former law was reinstated and this time enlarged to cover the whole sector of social service production in West Germany. In both situations, the priority of voluntary welfare organisations could only be achieved since catholic and protestant religious welfare organisations became powerful in the 19th century and received support from Christian democracy that developed in a period of a strong state-church conflict. Likewise, organisational density is high in another country with a historically strong state-church conflict, namely in Belgium. Here, the right of religious welfare associations to provide social services was enacted during the interwar period, when catholic forces became dominant elites in Belgian society in the aftermath of a heavy state-church conflict (Fix 1991; Fix 2001). In that phase the most dominant actor in social service provision, Caritas Catholica Belgica, was born. In contrast to Germany, Belgium does not grant priority to religious associations in welfare production. There are equal rights for all private and public providers. This might explain the lower density rate of religious welfare associations in Belgium. Switzerland takes place three in the ranking. As in Belgium, the churches have a granted right to act in social work, but are not given any priority. This right dates back to the 19th century when a great number of associations had been founded (see Table 3). The state-church conflict in Switzerland was not nationwide, but restricted to a small number of cantons. This might explain the lower density rate of Swiss religious organisations as compared to Belgian and German ones. Organisational density in the Netherlands is amazingly small. The case of the Netherlands can be explained by the deep changes this country has undergone during the last thirty years. During the phase of depillarization in the mid 1960ies, most of the social services and health organizations abandoned their denominational ties. Only a small minority of religious organisations continued to operate in social work. As can be seen in Table 3, most of the existing organisations were established in 1960 and later, when Dutch society became more and more secularized. A very low density can also be found in a country with an almost nonexisting church-state conflict, namely in Austria. In this country, churches have had a low interest in building religious welfare associations (Fix 2001). Density is amazingly high in Norway. Since state-church-relations in the Lutheran countries are characterized by a unity between state and church, we expected only a small number of welfare institutions. Viewing the data more precisely, it becomes obvious that most of religious welfare organisations are Sunday schools. This means that religious welfare associations with explicit religious tasks dominate the field. Social work is done within this context.

Figure 1: Fields of work by country (in percent)

- Institutions for family, children and youth
- Institutions for the elderly
- Institutions for handicapped people
- Institutions for ill and addicted people
- Institutions for people with special needs
- Institutions for training

4
As in Norway, Dutch religious welfare organisations concentrate on social work in the field of education. Thus, in the Netherlands 27.9 percent of the work for family, children, and the youth is done in the field of youth clubs, and 67.8 percent in schools for handicapped children. In Norway, 91.2 percent of the work is done in clubs for the youth.

### 3.3 Forms of Welfare Provision

In order to get an insight into the form of welfare provision, we aggregated the number of institutions with residential care, day care, counselling, out-patient treatment, and self-help. Since a number of organisations could not specify the field of counselling, out-patient treatment, and self-help, we introduced the category ‘unspecified’ in Figure 2. As can be seen in Figure 2, the forms of welfare provision are broadly differentiated in Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany as compared to the Netherlands and Norway. Thus, it can be argued that social work in a broad mixture of forms of provision can be found in all countries with historically strong subcultures, with the exception of the Netherlands. In Norway and the Netherlands, religious welfare organisations render 87.6 percent of their services in the form of day care. Residential care follows with about 8 percent. Other forms of welfare provision can be neglected. The two religiously mixed countries Germany and Switzerland show affinities with respect to the distribution of day care, out-patient treatment and residential care. The share of day care institutions is in both countries higher than 30 percent. Out-patient treatment is comparably high and occupies position two in the ranking. Residential care is approximately equal with 11.6 percent in Switzerland and 15.5 percent in Germany. The situation in the two catholic countries Austria and Belgium is more complicated. In both countries, with a share of about 23 percent day care institutions are used comparably often. The residential sector in Belgium is much bigger than in Austria. Within our country sample, residential care is the form most often used in Belgium. Since counselling, out-patient treatment, and self-help are not specified very much, we cannot make any more detailed analyses in Belgium. In Austria, self-help is the most dominant form of welfare provision. Thus, 32.1 percent of religious welfare activities are provided in that form.

### 3.4 Staff of Religious Welfare Associations

It is of interest to know with what kind of staff religious welfare organisations provide social services. As can be seen in Table 4, there are huge differences between countries. In Germany and Switzerland volunteers account for half of the staff. With 42.7 percent, this figure is a bit lower in Austria and higher in Nor-

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**Table 4: Composition of staff**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staff</th>
<th>AU</th>
<th>BE</th>
<th>GE</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>CH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>39.22</td>
<td>89.78</td>
<td>48.65</td>
<td>10.69</td>
<td>34.76</td>
<td>28.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of religious order</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>4.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers</td>
<td>42.70</td>
<td>10.12</td>
<td>50.65</td>
<td>89.29</td>
<td>58.10</td>
<td>54.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified groups</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>7.11</td>
<td>11.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The social scientist Michael Hülscher explained this high rate, which can also be found historically, in the following way: people in the Netherlands believe that volunteers convey a special feeling of solidarity which is unique (Hülscher 1976). In contrast to that, the number of volunteers in Belgian religious welfare associations is very low. With 89.78 percent, professionals are the dominant welfare providers in this country as well.

References

Frankfurt am Main: Haag and Herchen.

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Table 5 Response rate to question on staff composition and female employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AU</th>
<th>BE</th>
<th>GE</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>CH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response rate to</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>question on the</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>composition of the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staff</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response rate to</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>question on gender of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staff members</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of female</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>70.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

way with 58.1 percent. The Netherlands have the highest share of volunteers in their staff. The very high share of 89.29 percent is an exceptional case in our country sample. This high rate can probably be explained by the clientelist structure of Belgian society. Members of religious orders are of relevance only in Switzerland and in parts of Germany. In all other countries of our sample their rate is lower than 0.1 percent. A problem for comparative interpretation is the high rate of unspecified groups in Austria, Switzerland, and Norway. Since we do not know to which group the high number of unspecified persons belong, cluster building in the case of staff composition is impossible.

As can be seen in Table 5, the response rate with respect to staff composition was quite good in all countries. This is not true for the question of gender composition. Here, on average 30 percent gave an answer with the exception of Germany, where information is missing in general. Nevertheless, Table 5 shows that in four countries social work is mostly done by women. This is true for Belgium, Norway, Austria, and Switzerland. The only exception to that is the case of the Netherlands, where the female employment rate of 57.02 percent is comparatively low, but women still are the dominant welfare providers in this country as well.
The Centre for Social Policy (CSP) at the University of Antwerp, Belgium

The Centre for Social Policy (CSP)/Centrum voor Sociaal Beleid (CSB), founded in 1972, is part of the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Antwerp (UFSIA) and serves as a Resource Centre for Research on Income, Distribution, Poverty and Social Security. CSP has established networks with research institutes worldwide—it is, moreover, a member of the Flemish Society for Social Security, linked to the European Institute for Social Security, and has been involved in the organisation of colloquia and congresses.

Aims and Issues of CSP Research

The main aim of CSP is the measurement of the effectiveness and the evaluation of the adequacy of social policies. The centre collects and analyses data, especially survey and panel data, as CSP analysis is grounded on empirical research. Due to simulation techniques, the centre is able to predict outcomes and consequences of policy reform proposals.

In general, major topics of research deal with social policy, poverty and income distribution; e.g., whether social security succeeds in fulfilling real needs under changing demographic, economic and social conditions.

Although there exists a variety of different topics, the focus of CSP still remains on the adequacy of social policy. A book entitled ‘De sociale zekerheid tussen droom en daad’ presents, for example, theoretical and empirical insights into the workings of Belgian social security households and demonstrates the effectiveness of social security programmes.

Another publication deals with the incidence and causes of inequities in the distribution of public expenditure on education, housing, health care and other welfare services—the so-called ‘Mattheüs Effect’ (Matthew Effect). The book ‘Nieuwe behoeften naar zekerheid’ (New Needs for Security) demonstrates how demographic and social transitions, such as the ageing of the population, the rise in one-parent households, the increase in female labour market participation, create new needs for security.

Last but not least, the publication ‘Poverty and the Adequacy of Social Security in the E.C.’ presents results of a comparative research project that deals with poverty and the adequacy of social security in a number of countries and regions of the E.C.

Besides publications referring to such topics, there also exist vast numbers of research projects.

Research Instruments and Research Methods

Periodic large-scale surveys and panel data as well as the development of a subjective poverty standard and micro-simulation models are examples for research instruments and research methods of the Centre for Social Policy.

Due to periodic large scale surveys, CSP is able to collect comprehensive and reliable data on income, welfare, employment, education and housing. By means of panel data the centre gets insights into the dynamics of income distribution, subsistence security, poverty and welfare. Besides large scale surveys and panel data, the subjective poverty standard has been developed by the center in order to measure social poverty and insecurity and, among other things, for deriving social income thresholds for different households. Last but not least, the micro-simulation models serve for the prediction of outcomes and consequences of social security and fiscal reform proposals.

Research Projects Currently in Progress

Besides a variety of publications, there exist a lot of research projects also dealing with the central topics social policy, poverty and income distribution.

- One project deals with social indicators. The production of the time series of social indicators on the basis of survey data started in 1976. Due to the Panel Study of Belgian Households they could be updated. The Belgian Socio-Economic Panel is useful for extending longitudinal analysis to a period of several years.

- Apart from this, the theme poverty and social security in an international context is the center of attention of another project. The ‘92-study on poverty and the adequacy of social security in the EC’ shows the interest of the center in social policy research. On the basis of the Luxembourg Income Study research was continued. Knowing a variety of European social security systems is very helpful for simulation exercises—e.g., standard simulations as well as empirical micro-simulation of the center. In order to gain better insights into the mechanisms determining the effectiveness of social secu-
rity, unemployment schemes, family policy and social assistance programs, features of different social security systems are transported to a single and economic setting.

- Furthermore, the dynamics of poverty and subsistence insecurity is another project.

The first socio-economic panel survey of Belgium was initiated in 1985. Due to panel data, including information about the persistence and the severity of poverty and insecurity, mechanisms and events that contribute to changes in poverty and income status can be studied.

- Micro-simulations of social security reform proposals represent another topic of project research. Simulation techniques are used by the centre in order to assess and compare policy reform proposals. With the help of a special model, the so-called MISIM model, the centre is able to investigate which realignments in income policy are feasible with respect to families.

- The quantification of consequences of the introduction of new or alternative rules for the entitlement to social security is another point studied by CSP. Especially the analysis of the effects of adjusting benefits according to household position plays an important role here.

- Besides, effects of family and tax allowances are assessed, too.

- Beyond that, the measurement of poverty in comparative research forms another topic for research. In economic and social research a variety of methods have been developed and used in order to be able to measure poverty. These include legal, subjective, relative and deprivation standards. Poverty statistics depend on these standards for measuring poverty. So CSP shifted to a more rigorous analysis and method of comparison.

- The new social question represents a research issue which deals with the exploration of the problem of the structural exclusion of the low-skilled from the labour market as well as the effects of that on poverty. Due to LIS-data this new social problem is illustrated for Belgium and other countries. The analysis of the adequacy of different welfare state models (Anglo-Saxon, Continental, Scandinavian) with the topic of the deteriorating labour market position of the low-skilled is linked to this analysis.

- In addition, CSP project research deals with topics such as intergenerational solidarity. The allocation of pension expenditures between and within generations is the center of attention here. The adequacy of the Belgian pension scheme and policy alternatives are assessed, taking account of future evolutions of socio-demographic and economic determinants.

- As regards target groups of housing policy and social housing needs, the aim is to take an inventory of the bottlenecks concerning prices and basic comfort of dwellings. Research wants to give answers to questions such as: who experiences which problems on the housing market, who makes use of social housing policy arrangements, what is the feasibility of becoming the owner of a dwelling.

- The focus of the Atlas of Social Security in Belgium is on questions such as: how does the Belgian social security system operate, how much does it cost, how is it financed, and who are its beneficiaries.

Selected Publications

Tijdschriften—Journals


Bosch, van den (1998). ‘Perceptions of the Minimum Standard of Living in
Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES) at Harvard University, USA

The Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies is a research institute within the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. It was established in 1969 in order to enhance interdisciplinary scholarship and teaching on modern European affairs. Predominantly, the Center acts as a crossroads for those who want to learn more about Europe and provides a forum for the exchange of ideas. Due to a series of lectures, conferences, and publications, CES is engaged in exploring new developments in Europe and European studies.

What CES Does in General

European culture and self-awareness, politics and social structures represent the history of the 20th century and the millennium. So the Minda de Gunzburg Center serves as ‘a crossroads for the exchange of ideas among Europeans and Americans, between teachers and students, and across disciplines’ (Peter A. Hall, Director and Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies). The Center was established to promote the study of Europe. Over the past 25 years, Minda de Gunzburg has sought to encourage research on and teaching about history, politics, culture of the contemporary European societies. The Center’s approach is broadly comparative and interdisciplinary; scholars focus on individual countries as well as on overarching political, economic, social, and cultural processes. The heart of the centre’s activities has been the continuous training of graduate students with a commitment to European studies. The Center also has the mission of encouraging undergraduates to become educated about European affairs and perhaps pursue advanced studies in European-related subjects. So de Gunzburg supports Harvard and MIT graduate student dissertations and undergraduate thesis research, hosts visiting scholars, invites speakers to participate in study groups, organizes conferences, and sponsors several grant competitions. Participants in these activities include colleagues from the region’s universities and colleges as well as an interested public. The Center, finally, through its study groups and conferences, seeks to play an intellectual role for the region’s colleges, universities and interested individuals.

Issues, Aims and Activities of CES

As a Center devoted to the study of Europe at one of the preeminent universities of the U.S., CES fosters discussions on contemporary as well as historical European issues. Contemoporary transatlantic relations between the governments of Europe and the United States concerning trade policy, the international criminal court, the Kyoto accords, and conflicts in the Middle East, among others, make a dialogue between Europeans and Americans more important. Furthermore, a better understanding of the European past, the Center will hold workshops and conferences. Exploring new findings about the character and impact of settler colonialism, examining the new environmental history now being written about Europe, with a view to how European consciousness of the environment has shifted over time—these are examples for such CES activities.

One of the missions of the Center is to deepen the Harvard students’ understanding of Europe and the disciplines used to study it. As regards CES seminars, doctoral students communicate with Europeans about topics studied. The Center provides fellowships, among other things, that allow graduate students to undertake extensive field research in Europe and to reflect on the results when they return. In April 2001, for example, a graduate student workshop was organized by the Center, dealing with the challenges to political parties in Europe since 1870. This conference brought together papers from different disciplines which examined the changes and constants in the continental party system since the late nineteenth century and suggested original approaches for examining European parties and party politics. This way, graduate students had an opportunity to discuss their work with student and faculty participants. Travel and accommodation expenses for doctoral students who were participants had been provided by the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies. Besides, many of the Center’s activities explore new developments in Europe itself. In this field, too, the Center holds workshops and conferences. In 2003, for example, the Center will host a conference that will examine the dilemmas of democracy at both national and transnational levels in an era when party systems have changed, regulatory agencies have become more powerful, and European polities are embedded in multi-layered systems of governance. Due to such events, lots of scholars interested in Europe from the Boston area and the Europeans in residence at CES as well as students contribute to a stimulation of further inquiry.

Scholars studying at the Minda de Gunzburg Center assume teaching positions in colleges and universities. Students at CES are taught by graduates about European society, politics and history. Harvard doc-
toral students which were recipients of CES fellowships funded by the Krupp Foundation teach at leading universities in the United States and other countries.

Another important aim of the Center is to reach Harvard undergraduates. So the CES faculty contributes to the fact that the subject Europe is discussed at Harvard University. By means of programs, Minda de Gunzburg wants to support research on Europe by Harvard students. In addition, a student publication devoted to European issues, the so-called Harvard Focus Europe, is supported by the CES.

**CES Affiliation**

Affiliated members of CES, in general terms, include local academics, visiting scholars, and graduate students. In detail, there are six categories of available positions at the Center: visiting scholars, post-doctoral fellows, faculty associates and affiliates, graduate student associates as well as associates. This CES community contributes to activities and scholarships at Minda de Gunzburg.

Minda de Gunzburg highly welcomes applications from scientists, such as: visiting scholars who want to carry out their own independent research; post-doctoral fellows; faculty associates with experience in teaching in the fields of contemporary European societies and their history; and last, but not least, faculty affiliates with an interest in the Center’s research projects.

Finally, Harvard and MIT graduate students of the Social Sciences and History may apply to become affiliates of the Center after completing their exams. Graduate Student Affiliates who are writing dissertations in the departments of history or the social sciences and concentrate on aspects of contemporary European societies should be active participants in the intellectual life of the Center.

**Working Papers**

The Center houses a small library of 15,000 volumes and receives over 100 newspapers and journals. Minda de Gunzburg publishes three types of series of working papers:

- the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies Working Papers Series
- the Program for the Study of Germany and Europe Working Papers Series and
- the Program on Central and Eastern Europe Working Papers Series.

All of these reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the Center’s work; topics range from economics and political science to sociology and culture, and issues are looked at from both comparative and historical perspectives. Papers are either written by Center affiliates or presented at Center conferences and study groups.

Papers available presently are:

**CES Working Papers Series**


**The Program on Central & Eastern Europe Working Papers Series**


**The Program for the Study of Germany and Europe Working Papers Series**


Presentation

Franz Rothenbacher, The European Population, 1850–1945 (The Societies of Europe, Volume 3)

This historical data book describes the population development of 21 European countries from 1850–1945 and presents full documentation of demographic statistics, with additional material on the CD-ROM which supplements the book.

After the handbooks on elections and on trade unions, both published in 2000, this is the third volume in the series ‘The Societies of Europe’. It covers the development of the European population from the mid-nineteenth century to World War II. This was an extraordinary period in European history, also in demographic terms. There had been earlier waves of population increases in Europe, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and then in the ‘long sixteenth century’, but the third upswing, which started in the latter half of the eighteenth century, was exceptional. With the spread of the agricultural and the industrial revolution across Europe it accelerated even further in the nineteenth century. In the half-century prior to World War I, the European population grew faster than ever before or afterwards in its history, and at the same time it experienced a wave of overseas emigration of unprecedented dimensions. After the turn of the century, however, population growth began to slow down, and in the 1930s Europe had already completed its—first—demographic transition.

In a European perspective, the population growth rates prior to 1914 were very high, but by modern standards, in a worldwide perspective, they were relatively modest. This means that in a decisive period of its modernization, European society on the whole had to face fewer problems stemming from population pressures than most other societies which began to modernize later. These favourable conditions were the result of a combination of specific characteristics in all elements of population development: mortality, fertility, and migration.

In the course of industrialization, improvements in food, shelter, clothing and water supply as well as in sanitation gradually brought down death rates, but infant mortality and the ravages of infectious diseases long remained powerful forces in Europe. There probably was a gradual decline of mortality throughout the nineteenth century, but greater advances became visible only after 1870, accelerating around 1900 when modern medical science started to have a more direct and systematic impact on infant mortality and infectious diseases.

While the comparatively slow decline of mortality was a first characteristic of the European vital revolution, the relatively low level of fertility was a second one. In general, birth rates started to decrease later than death rates, but even before they began to decline, the level of fertility was significantly lower in Europe than elsewhere in the world. This was the result of a specific ‘European marriage pattern’ which combined a high age at marriage with lifelong celibacy of sizeable shares of the population. Given the social control of sexuality outside of marriage, this pattern reduced the average level of fertility. It was closely associated with a tradition of neo-local household formation, and it was used by the Europeans as a mechanism of self-regulation in times of crisis. Although from the late nineteenth century until the 1950s the age at marriage slowly declined and the extent of lifelong celibacy was gradually reduced, the impact of the ‘European marriage pattern’ remained important throughout the period covered here.

In a worldwide perspective, the slower decline of mortality and the lower average levels of fertility were the main reasons why the European population, even during its period of fastest growth, grew less than the population of most other regions would do later. To this slower increase a third factor contributed, too: overseas emigration. From the mid-nineteenth century to World War I overseas emigration moved in waves of ever increasing heights reaching its climax in the early nineteen-hundreds. Until the 1930s, around fifty million people had moved out of Europe to the Western hemisphere and Australasia.

All these migration movements as well as the changes in mortality and fertility, however, were not distributed evenly across Europe. Instead, and not surprisingly, they were closely linked to the enormous differences in the timing of the industrial take-off and to the variations in the paths of modernization. In most advanced countries of north and west Europe there were important declines in mortality since the second half of the eighteenth century already. Then, from 1870, a trend toward marked declines was set in motion simultaneously not only in the north-west, but also in central Europe, and soon also in Italy and some parts of the east, reaching the south-western and south-eastern ends of Europe only twenty years later. The decline of fertility, which usually started later, followed similar lines of territorial differentiation, spreading from north to south and from west to east, but it took more time to spread across Europe. Except for the very early beginnings in France, fertility started to decline in north-west as well as central Europe almost simultaneously around 1875–80. In contrast to mortality, however, the decline of fertility diffused only later to eastern and southern Europe, and at the south-western and south-eastern ends of Europe it only arrived around 1920.

The variations in the timing and volume of overseas emigration also present a similar picture. Almost all countries participated in the movement across the oceans. Only France was never a country of mass emigration, probably due to its much slower population growth. The United Kingdom was the first and largest of all emigration countries, supplying one third of all overseas emigration from Europe. Germany
followed, and then Scandinavia. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, mass emigration took place almost entirely in north-west Europe. In the 1860s mass emigration started in Italy, which then became the second largest emigration country in Europe after the British Isles. In Spain and Portugal emigration increased as late as the 1880s, and most of the eastern and south-eastern Europe followed even later. Thus, the development of migration prior to World War I was clearly linked both geographically and chronologically to stages of the vital revolution.

The First World War with its military losses, excess civilian deaths and birth deficits distorted the age structure of the European population and reduced its growth, but it did not fundamentally alter the long-term vital trends. Compared to the prewar situation, mortality further declined, but more slowly, and fertility also declined further, but more rapidly, after a brief postwar upswing. However, given the fact that the European population was still rather young, it continued to grow, producing an excess of births over deaths, while in terms of net reproduction rates a sizeable section of Europe was not replacing itself any more at the middle of the interwar period. In this sense, Europe had completed its demographic transition in the 1930s. With respect to migration the impact of the First World War was more significant. The interwar period witnessed the virtual disappearance of mass emigration from Europe. This was not only the result of restrictive legislation, especially in the United States, but also of changing opportunities in the overseas countries and the progress of industrialization and social policies in Europe.

An analysis of migration flows would require the collection of scattered and often unreliable empirical information. It therefore has not been included in the volume by Franz Rothenbacher which is limited to census and vital statistics. Within these limits it provides a very valuable instrument for the study of the long-term development of the European population. Or rather for the comparative analysis of ‘national populations’ within Europe, because in using this collection one should be aware that the distribution of the population across the European space has almost no relation to political boundaries and that the internal heterogeneity of the political territories with respect to levels of modernization and associated demographic phenomena is usually great.

*From the Editorial introduction by Peter Flora, Mannheim*
Switzerland is a landlocked and mountainous country in the centre of the European continent. About two thirds of the area of Switzerland are covered by forests, lakes and mountains. Its neighbours are France in the west, Italy in the south, Austria and Liechtenstein in the east, and Germany in the north. Switzerland consists of 26 cantons which differ in terms of quantity of inhabitants and square kilometres (sq. km). The total surface covered is 41,293 sq. km. with a population of 7,261,210 million inhabitants in 2001. Switzerland is therefore a very small European country, but has a strong economic power. Switzerland is one of the most affluent countries in the world. Until today, the geographical and geopolitical position of the country have influenced its political and economic orientation. Its strategic position between the north and the south of the continent, the crossway of Europe, linked with political stability and neutrality, benefited Switzerland’s development into an international financial centre.

State Formation and History

Since the year 1848, Switzerland has been a federal state with three levels of government (federal, cantonal and municipal level). Since the creation of Canton Jura in 1978, Switzerland has consisted of 23 cantons, three of which (Unterwalden, Appenzell, and Basel) are divided into two half cantons for historical reasons. All cantons are divided into municipalities or communes, of which there are at present 2,903 with four different language and culture communities: French, Italian, Rhaeto-Romanic, and German. The present governmental system has been developed ‘from the bottom up’. The cantons were originally sovereign states, and were the first ones to set up the federalization at the peak of a revolutionary wave. The decisive step of the Confederacy towards a Federal State followed in 1848 directly after the Special Federal War (Sonderbund War) of 1847 when the liberal cantons have triumphed over the seven conservative Catholic Cantons. The new Federal Constitution was accepted by vote in 1848. Simultaneously, Berne was determined as the capital. The nucleus of Switzerland is made up of the so-called prime cantons (Urkantone) Uri, Schwyz and...
Unterwalden. Together they formed the Everlasting League (Ewiger Bund) in 1291, which was founded as a protection against the Habsburgs. In the period between 1315 and 1388, they inflicted a series of crushing defeats on the armies of the Dukes of Austria, resulting in several other cantons joining the original three in the Swiss Confederation. The towns Lucerne (1332), Zurich (1351), Zug and Glarus (1352) as well as Berne (1353) formed together with the prime cantons ‘The Federation of the Eight’. They were able to protect themselves against and even win over Habsburg once more. In 1474, the Eidgenossenschaft reached a settlement with Habsburg, and with ‘the peace of Basel’ they even obtained the actual recognition of their independence through the Holy Roman Empire. But there were conflicts within the nation. The spread of the reformation lead to a conflict between protestant and catholic cantons and to the War of Kappel (Kappler Kriege) (1529–1531). This occurrence resulted in the confessional division of the nation. In 1648, the independence of the cantons from the German Empire (Reich) was accepted with the Peace of Westphalia (Westfälischer Frieden). In 1798, Switzerland was occupied by Napoleon. He implemented a constitution which gave formal independence to the country, but without federalism. The congress of Vienna in 1814/5 guaranteed everlasting independence which has lasted until now. In the mid-19th century, liberal political forces came up, a development that led to the amalgamation of the catholic cantons. They were mostly dominated by conservative political forces which were against an endeavour to achieve more centralism and democracy, an idea that was forced by the Liberals. The Special Federal War (Sonderbund War) (1847) ended with the victory of the liberal cantons. The present federal constitution dates back to the year 1874 (adopted in 1848). It stipulated the autonomy of the cantons and the institutions ‘Federal Council’ (Bundesrat), ‘Federal Assembly’ (Bundesversammlung) and ‘Federal Supreme Court’ (Bundesgericht). The Swiss have carefully guarded their neutrality in the 20th century. Their only World War I involvement lay in the organising of Red Cross units. In World War II, however, Switzerland played a more ambivalent role as an amenable money launderer for Nazi Germany. Switzerland’s quiet anti-Semitism included shutting its borders to Jewish refugees and forcibly repatriating many of those who escaped Nazi-occupied Europe, in full knowledge of the fate which awaited them. Since 1998, the political climate in Switzerland has been substantially affected by a series of inquiries into the actions of Swiss banks during the Nazi era. The issue is a complex one, involving the minutiae of international law, but the image of Switzerland abroad has suffered as a result.

The Political System

Switzerland is a federative, democratic republic which is composed of 20 full and 6 half cantons. The Federal Constitution from 1874 is the legal foundation of the Confederation. It contains the most important rules for the smooth functioning of the state. It guarantees the basic rights of the people and the participation of the public. It distributes the tasks between the confederation and the cantons and defines the responsibilities of the authorities. Political decision-making is more frequently based on direct democratic procedures than in any other country. The supreme authority of the confederation lies with the Federal Assembly (Bundesversammlung) as the legislative organ, which is composed of two chambers: the National Council (Nationalrat), which is elected for four years, and the Council of States (Ständerat), whose 46 members are appointed through the cantons. The Federal Council (Bundesrat) is the head of state. It is elected by the Federal Assembly (Bundesversammlung) for a quadrennial period of office and contains seven members from different cantons. Annually one member of the council is elected as the Federal President (Bundespräsident). The supreme directive and executive power of the confederation lies with the Federal Council. Swiss people have many different political rights. Not only can they elect the members of the Federal Assembly, but also the members of the cantonal executive and the cantonal parliament, as well as the local executive body. In addition, on the federal level all changes of the Constitution and the membership to some international organizations must be accepted by the majority of the people and the cantons. With the signatures of 100,000 people a so-called popular initiative can be launched and a change of the Federal Constitution be proposed. The people also have the right to referendum. If 50,000 signatures are collected within 100 days, a new law enacted or certain international treaties accepted by the Federal Assembly are subjected to a popular vote. Similar instruments of direct democracy exist for most cantons and local matters but differ in their content. The 2,903 Swiss municipalities fulfill a double administrative function. They are the bodies of politically autonomous communities and are also the local executive organs of cantonal government. The organisation of the municipalities as well as their degree of autonomy vary from canton to canton. One interesting and important note: the suffrage for women was established in 1971 (in the half canton Appenzell in 1989).

Population and Demography

The Swiss population, which accounts for about 79.9% (absolute 5,803,408) of the resident population, is composed of four ethnic groups: German speaking (about 63.9%), French speaking (about 19.5%), Italian speaking (about 6.6%), Rhaeto-Romance speaking (about 0.5%), and others (9.5%). All four ethnic groups are basically equal. Which one of these is the first language of instruction depends on the respective canton; apart from it, other national languages are taught. Rhaeto-Romane is spoken in the canton of Graubünden only. Rhaeto-Romance is a mixture of French and Italian, which is also labelled ‘Ladin’ with local dialects. It was
recognized as the fourth official language in 1938. However, the number of Rhaeto-Romanic speaking people is receding. The language borders are not in line with the religious denomination borders. Nearly half of the Swiss population (48%) belongs to the catholic and around 44% to the protestant church.

With around 20%, Switzerland shows the highest share of foreigners in Europe. The biggest group of foreigners are people from the former Yugoslavia and Italy. The age structure of the Swiss and foreign population differs widely.

The median age of the foreigners (33 years) is eight years lower than that of the Swiss. Almost one quarter of the foreigners were born in Switzerland, and two thirds of them hold a temporarily unlimited residency permit. Within Switzerland the share of foreigners differs a lot. Depending from the level of urbanisation, the economic structure, and the distance to the country borders, the shares of foreigners varied between cantons from 8% in Uri to 38% in Geneva.

Since the beginning of the 20th century the Swiss population has more than doubled: from 3.3 million in 1900 to 7.2 million in 2000. The increase reached its peak between 1950 and 1970 with annual growth rates of more than 1.4% on average. The lowest rate was between 1970 and 1980 with 0.15%—a consequence of the curb on immigration for foreign workers and the economic contractions of the years 1975 and 1976. Like most European countries Switzerland is going through a process of demographic ageing caused by a falling birth rate and growing life expectancy. The share of young people (under 15 years) declined from 31% in 1900 to 17.3% in 2000, that of the older people (above 64 years) rose from 5.8% to 15.4%. According to Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) birth scenarios, this trend will continue over the next few decades and is likely to cause serious problems as regards social security (Bundesamt für Statistik 2002). To finance costs generated by demographic evolution, the VAT rate earmarked for old age and disability insurance was raised by one percent as of 1 January 1999 (the so-called ‘demographic percent’).

**Economy**

For a number of years, unemployment, at under 1%, was hardly an issue in Switzerland. During the economic recession of the 1990s, however, the number of jobless rose...
dramatically, reaching the record level of 5.7% in February 1997 as corporate restructuring led to staff cuts. A gradual upturn in the economy at the end of the 90s, and a change in the way the figures were calculated, caused the level of registered unemployed to fall to less than 2% by mid-2000. However, the rate subsequently crept up again slightly. One in four of the wage earners in Switzerland is foreign. Mainly manual workers and helpers are needed, for example in the building trade and the hotel business. Switzerland’s mature, industrialised economy has enjoyed long-term stability and prosperity, evidenced by high standards of living and per capita income levels. Switzerland is one of the major export nations for services (fifth place worldwide) and goods (ninth place). Switzerland is an important commercial partner within Europe; it is the third-largest supplier for the European Union (EU), behind the United States (U.S.) and Japan, and the EU’s number two customer, after the U.S., but far in front of Japan. Despite a lack of raw materials, Switzerland is a key player in world trade and is one of the world’s wealthiest industrial nations. The nation’s gross national product (24,984 US$ per capita at current PPPs in 1995), which is higher than that of any other European state, reflects its highly developed economy and its important role within the European and international commerce. Possessing meagre natural resources, the Swiss service sector, particularly banking and financial services, is the economy’s most important engine. Banking disclosure standards are, and are likely to remain, a sensitive issue between Switzerland and the European Union. In a referendum held in March 2001 on opening an EU accession dialogue, the issue was defeated by a negative vote of 77%, reinforcing the perception that Switzerland would not be prepared for EU-membership within the next decade. Despite this, in March 2002, 54.6% of the 4.5 million voting Swiss decided to join the United Nations. At the UN plenary meeting in autumn 2002, Switzerland was affiliated as the 190th member country of the UN. After this, the paradox situation that Switzerland was not a member of the UN, but hosted many UN authorities and sub-organisations, found an end.

**Swiss Public Sector**

The year 2002 saw many changes. Apart from the decision to join the United Nations Organisation, another important change took place. Since the beginning of the year 2002, a new law for federal employees has been in force. The most important innovation is that the status ‘civil servant’ no longer exists. Before, all civil servants were formally elected for a quadrennial period of office. Instead of this, all federal employees are now ‘ordinary’ employees. As a rule, the new public law employment contract is unlimited in terms of time and can be terminated mutually. Another important change concerns the salary of the public employees. According to the new law, the salary is composed of a component of function, experience and achievement. The idea behind this performance-linked payment is to increase the motivation and effectiveness of the employees. However, it was not the federal state that was leading with regard to changing the status of federal civil servants. In 1990, Graubünden was the first canton to abolish the quadrennial period of office. Zug (1995), Berne, Neuenburg and St. Gallen (1996) followed this example (Eidgenössisches Personalam). In principle, all 26 cantons and the 2,903 municipalities have the right to establish their own legislation concerning their public employees. For this reason the Swiss public sector shows a huge fragmentation of the civil service law. As in other European countries, attempts were made to put the brakes on the increase in state expenditure by slowing down the growth in the number of public sector employees (Rothenbacher 1998). This was done by privatising such public enterprises as the Swiss railway (SBB) or the Swiss Telecom (Swisscom, former PTT), and by shifting the personnel from the public to the private sector. The consequence of this strategy is an absolute as well as relative reduction in public employment. Compared to other OECD countries, the Swiss public sector belongs to the smallest. In 1998, the total amount of public employees (government employees plus employees in state-owned enterprises) was 596,273, which was around 15.5% of the whole working population. Of these, 23.7% were employed by the federal state, 43.1% by the cantons, and 33.2% by the municipalities. Since the beginning of the 20th century the significance of the federal state employment is decreasing whereas the importance of the cantonal public employees is growing constantly. In 1910, nearly half (47%) of all public servants were employed by the federal state, only 22% by the cantons, and 31% by the communes. In 1970, this share was nearly equal at the three governmental levels (Germann 1998: 12). Since then, most public servants have been employed at the cantonal level. One reason for this, apart from the privatisation of (federal) state-owned enterprises, is the growing importance of educational and social service activities in the public sector, which do not belong to the responsibilities of the federal state. In 1998, more than one quarter of all public employees were on the payroll of the educational and research sector, 23% were working in public administration, and 22% in the public health and social care sector (Bundesamt für Statistik, unpublished). This trend is not unique. In nearly all industrialised countries we can find the same patterns, because educational and social services are becoming more and more important in order to maintain the economy. One side effect of this development is that rationalisation measures in these sectors are much more complicated than in former traditional public sector branches, such as railway and post. To satisfy growing demand, more highly qualified staff is needed. Inevitably, the costs for public employees increase. When we compare the per capita expenditure on personnel within eight years, the per capita cost rose from around 54,690 CHF in 1991 to 68,180 CHF in 1998, but with
44,560 fewer employees in 1998 than in 1991. But even with rising staff expenditures, Switzerland is still one of the European countries with the lowest staff expenses. Correspondingly, the total outlay of the Swiss public sector in 1998 accounted for 8.5% of the GDP (Kramer 2000). One reason for the relatively small ratio of government outlays and public employees is that many of the public activities have not been documented. Since 1997, the Federal Statistical Office has analysed voluntary work. According to their data, nearly one in four persons (1.5 millions) carried out unpaid work for 3.5 hours per month in the public sector in 2000.

This figure shows the enormous relevance of persons who are not covered by statistics and who are engaged in public sector activities in Switzerland. The so-called ‘Militia system’ (Milizsystem) is the Swiss label for this voluntary, avocational and honorary adoption of public tasks and offices (Linder 1999: 73). Especially small regional authorities with fewer full-time agents have these militia structures. Furthermore, there is a big grey area between the state administration in a narrower sense and the private sphere—the so-called ‘para-state (governmental) sector’, quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations or freelance administration units with public tasks. In Switzerland, there exist numerous para-state organisations on every government level, but they are quite unknown and less noticeable (Linder 1999: 117).

**Social Data Production**

The main and central supplier for statistical data is the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO). In autumn 1998, it moved from Berne to Neuchâtel. Now it is united under one roof after having been spread over ten locations in Berne. According to the 1992 Federal Statistics Act and four related Ordinances dating from 30 June 1993, the SFSO is responsible for: multi-year statistical planning; coordination at the federal level; cooperation with cantons and communes; promoting international relations (Bundesamt für Statistik). Besides the Federal Statistical Office, there are many cantonal and municipal statistical offices, too. Another provider for social data is the Federal Social Insurance Office. It offers facts and figures on those branches of social security the Federal Social Insurance Office is in charge of.

**References**


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**WWW-Sources**

Books on European Comparative Research


This reader “is intended to bring together two discussion strings—the world systems debate and the pension reform debate that rarely met each other before. The basic message of the reader is that—however we evaluate the funded pension reform alternatives—they will qualitatively and quantitatively become a major force in the capitalist world economy and that they will transform the nature of the capitalist system substantially over the coming years.” (Excerpt from the publishers’ announcement)

Research Centres

Since 1982 EURISPES has carried out research and other scientific activities in the political, legal, economic, social, cultural and communications areas, such as:

a) The Italian Report: an annual publication that portrays the Italian System through multidisciplinary analysis from a macro-sociological point of view; the document constitutes a valuable tool for political theoreticians, economic and social policy makers, and in the field of information

b) Permanent scientific studies: criminality, infancy and adolescence, schools

c) Analysis and interpretation of political and social dynamics

d) Planning and implementing theories, and instrumentation for communication

e) Analysis and evaluation of politics

f) Analysis of and studies on production systems.

Methods, Techniques and Instruments of Research

The Institute conducts both qualitative and quantitative research, deductive as well as inductive, for an in-depth analysis of the subjects studied, in order to define accurate descriptions and relevant proposals. The collecting of data requires the distribution of questionnaires and a representative sampling of subjects. The programmes for data input and statistical analysis fully satisfy the requirements in terms of speed and correctness regarding the classification and study of the information. For most of the research subjects dealt with, all publications are at disposition of EURISPES.

EURISPES has a publishing division that, in addition to publishing reports and research of the institute, publishes DIKE, a bimonthly periodical of law and society.

EURISPES has a vast press archive, one of the most important ones in Italy, with more than 1,500,000 articles and a website visited monthly by approximately 140,000 users.

Structure

General scientific committee and scientific committees divided by sectors

Researchers specialized by sector

Experts in surveys and the collection of data

Network of external collaborators at national and local levels in above mentioned areas

Connections with the Italian universities

Contact: EURISPES–Institute of Political, Economic and Social Studies, Largo Arenula 34, 00186 Roma (Italy), Tel.: 0039/6–68210205; Fax: 0039/6–6892898; E-mail: istituto@eurispes.com; Website: www.eurispes.com.

Observatory for Development of Social Services in Europe / Observatorium für die Entwicklung der sozialen Dienste in Europa, Beobachtungsstelle. Institut für Sozialarbeit und Sozialpädagogik e.V., Am Stockborn 5–7, 60439 Frankfurt a.M., Tel.: 069/95789–173–175; Fax: 069/95789–190; E-mail: mathias.maucher@iss-ffm.de; Internet: http://www.soziale-dienste-in-europa.de.

The foundation of a European Economic and Monetary Union with the Maastricht and Amsterdam treaties and the related introduction of a European currency bring the EU member states closer and closer together. Even with the Treaty of Amsterdam in force, social politics and social legislation are still subject to the regulations of the individual member states. However, there are signs of a beginning Europeanization in these areas, too. The EU legal framework will therefore have an impact on the provision of social services. Questions regarding freedom of competition and settlement as well as the economizing of social services will gain importance in the near future.

One thing is certain: different national systems of social protection will compete with one another in the future. And with Europe growing together the relationship between public and private welfare carriers and the market will have to be defined anew.

In order to be able to assess trends in this development and to represent German interests better, the Federal Ministry of Family, Senior Citizens, Women and the Youth (BMFSFJ) established the *Observatory for the Development of Social Services in Europe in June 2000*

Social Services—The Necessity for a Definition

In order to create a basis for the tasks and activities of the Observatory, a critical analysis and classification of the term ‘social services’ is indispensable. Social services provided by public, charitable or private organizations are defined as:

- Personal social services provided by family members or social service institutions
- Social services in the sense of professional or honorary work
- Personal social services provided by social institutions or organizations
- The social services system of the welfare state, including legislative and monetary controlling instruments

Observatoire Français des Conjunctures Économiques, 69 quai d’Orsay, F-75340 Paris Cedex 07. Tel.: 01 44 18 54 00; Fax: 01 45 56 15; E-mail: ofce@ofce.sciences-po.fr; Web: http://www.ofce.sciences-po.fr.

OFCE was created by decree on 11 February 1981, within the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. From 1981 to 1989 Jean-Marcel Jammenny, minister, emeritus professor of the university Panthéon-Sorbonne, was the president, since 1990 it has been headed by Jean-Paul Fitoussi, university professor at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris.
Mission
The special character of OFCE is to be an institute for research and one for forecasting at the same time. Its main tasks are:
- the study of the French and European economy related to the international context,
- the realisation of short-, medium- and long-term economic forecasts.

Organisation
The OFCE employs more than thirty researchers and is divided into three departments:

• The Department for Analysis and Forecasting studies the short- and medium-term evolution of the French and European economies within their international environment as well as their sensibility to economic shocks. Econometric models have been worked out by this department, notably the model MOSAIQUE for the analysis of the French economy, and the model MIMOSA, constructed in collaboration with the CEPII (Centre d‘Études Prospectives et d‘Informations Internationales) for the analysis of the world economy. The national and international forecasts are presented two times a year.

• The Department for the Economics of Globalization develops and mobilises the reflection and the capacity of intervention of the OFCE on a central subject of contemporary economic development, the process of globalization, as well productive as financial. Its functions are to observe the developments, to analyse the different aspects, to follow and participate in the debates it stimulates as well as in scientific and public debates.

• The Department of Studies contributes to a better understanding of the economic and social evolutions identified in France and in Europe, by taking them back into their international contexts. A calculation model of general equilibrium has been elaborated for the study of structural problems (fiscality, social regimes, etc.). Within this department, sociologists study the major tendencies of the transformation of the French society and conduct, in collaboration with foreign research groups, a comparative analysis of social change.

Independence
The independence of OFCE is an essential condition for the credibility of its research work. Independence is guaranteed by the founding document. Furthermore, a convention for several years (six years) concluded between the Prime Minister and the president of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques gives OFCE the necessary stability to accomplish its missions.


Recent Social Reports in Europe

This is the third annual report on the social situation (after 2000 and 2001). It contributes to the monitoring of developments in the social field across EU Member States. It provides a holistic view of the population and social conditions as a background to social policy developments and establishes links to annual Commission publications.


The most recent issue of Samfunnspeilet (Mirror of Society) by Statistics Norway presents the updated social indicator table for Norway for the years 1980 to 2002. This table consists of annual time series of social indicators for the domains population (26), health (25), social care (13), education (20), labour (17), income and consumption (31), social security (17), housing (16), social participation (14), leisure time and culture (19), criminality (10), altogether 208 indicators.

New Statistical Compendia by International Organizations

Besides the Yearbook of Labour Statistics and the Bulletin on Labour Statistics, a new important data collection on labour markets has been published by the ILO. Data are available in print and on CD-ROM.


This important publication presents life tables for 191 countries for the year 2000. Data are provided for age groups of five years for different indices and are distinguished by sex. The appendix figures present the historical development of mortality from 1960–2000 for different mortality indicators.


This annual report has been published since 1995, the most recent edition refers to 2002. Each volume concentrates on a special topic. The statistical annex contains comparative health statistics by social indicators.


‘Governments and policy-makers are increasingly aware that access to knowledge enables better policy-making practice. The policy-makers of the various Member States are also more and more aware that they face common challenges and can learn useful lessons from across national boundaries that shed light on their own specific national situation. The challenge for the Regional Office is to build on the existing data and experience, to facilitate the sharing of this experience and, ultimately, to make those data and indicators practically comparable across the countries. The European health report responds to the
statutory requirement to provide the Member States with essential public health information. It provides a broad but concise picture of the health status and health determinants in the Region, and identifies areas for public health action for the Member States and the European public health community. The report focuses on concrete evidence useful for decision-makers in public health. Its role is to summarize and feed back to Member States the information created, deposited and “accredited” during the Regional Office’s work with Member States on key topics and issues in public health in Europe, in the context of the values and principles of WHO as “one Organization”.

(From the publishers’ announcement)


This annual report series deals with topics related to public policies and social conditions concerning children and young people, women, and the family. Each edition is devoted to one specific topic from one of the fields mentioned above, with the most recent one focusing on ‘Young people in changing societies’. Articles with extensive empirical documentation tackle the questions. Each volume also includes a statistical annex with social indicators related to children, women and the family.

Address: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Economic and Social Policies Research Programme, Piazza Santissima Annunziata, 12, I-50122 Florence, Italy. Tel.: +39 055 20330, Fax: +39 055 244 817. Website: www.unicef-icdc.org.

Journals and Newsletters


This journal includes a chronicle of economic developments and business cycles, forecasts, studies on political economy, theoretical, historical and sociological analyses. In the realm of social reporting each issue includes the valuable section ‘Chronique des tenances de la société française’ by Louis Dim.


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Analyses at least once a month recent topics or subjects related to the business cycle.

New MZES Publications Working Papers

Since the beginning of 1999 all working papers of the MZES have been published in one single working paper series (ISSN 1437–8574). The following working papers have been released and can be obtained from the MZES, University of Mannheim, D-68131 Mannheim. Tel. +49–621–292–1885, Fax +49–621–292–1735. Working papers published since 1997 are also available over the Internet and can be downloaded. Internet address: http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/publi2_D.html.


Christian H.C.A. Henning: Political Foundation of Economically Inefficient Public Policies: The Case of the Common European Agricultural

New MZES Books
The contributions in this volume take a summary of research on the increasing meaning of the regions in the European Union and, on the other hand, the turning of the regions towards Europe. They provide a comprehensive picture of regional governing in the European Union as well as of the relationship between the European and the regional level and give a view of future developments.

Diehl, Claudia: Die Partizipation von Migranten in Deutschland.
This paper deals with the question why immigrants participate in so-called ‘foreigners’ associations’ in their host countries. An approach to explaining the participation in ethnic associations is developed which equally considers the reasons and the opportunities for participating. This approach makes it possible to formulate prognoses and conclusions on the participation patterns of different groups of immigrants in different social contexts. This approach is examined afterwards by using the example of Turkish immigrants in Germany: it shows that participation in ethnic associations constitutes an important collective strategy for this group in order to gain status and recognition for the human and cultural capital specific to their country of origin. Therefore their participation is predominantly influenced by the politics and the culture of their country of origin. This orientation is fostered in Germany by the restrictive political framework regarding participation. It is these conditions, too, that hinder at present a host-country-oriented political commitment of this group. The data used stem from a quantitative survey of 750 Turks and 80 Turkish and German associations.

The transition from school to work is among the key topics of current social research and policy interests as it touches upon the core issue of youth labour market integration in different European countries, exhibiting a wide range of institutional structures and macroeconomic context conditions. It has also been one of the most challenging areas of study because of the data constraints and particularly the effective lack of adequate, accessible and comparative longitudinal data. This situation has improved with the introduction of the European Union Labour Force Survey (EULFS) 2000 ad hoc module on transitions from school-to-work, which combines the virtues of large-scale Labour Force Surveys with special topical information on school-to-work transitions. That is, by providing an add-on to the regular LFS surveys, the ad hoc module allows to generate a certain amount of more particular and in part even longitudinal information on transition processes in about 20 European countries, otherwise unavailable at the European level. A particular value of the ad hoc module is that it adds significant detail with respect to educational attainment and careers by providing measures of level and type of education at leaving the educational system for the first time. Second, the module adds a longitudinal perspective on individual employment careers by providing measures of the incidence of job search periods, job search duration, duration of first job, and occupation of first job, which allow assessing some features of labour market dynamics at the early career stages. Finally, the module has some information on social background, so that, for the first time, the effects of this variable can also be analysed from the LFS data.

The focus of this work is on the direct communication between parties and voters in professionalized election campaigns. As new types of direct communication, the worldwide web, tele-marketing and direct mailing offer political parties the possibility to approach citizens on a huge scale and yet do that on a personal basis, i.e. directly. Do parties, in their fight for votes, try to say what people want to hear, to lure them with tailor-made promises? Does the marketing character get the upper hand? Or do parties concentrate on their central election statements in their target-group-specific addresses? This is the question ana-
lyzed in a comparative way by this book. After a historical analysis of changes in election campaign communication, empirical analysis focuses on direct-mailing actions in American presidential election campaigns as well as on German parliamentary election campaigns. Apart from mailings and election programmes, interviews with election campaign managers, political advisors and the responsible party officials form the basis of this paper. The fact that almost all parties concentrate on the central topics of their election programmes in their direct election communication is a central result of the paper. The paper furthermore disproves empirically the widespread belief that letters coming from political parties are thrown away immediately; the contents of personalized serial letters are taken note of and stimulate political discussion. The book makes an important contribution to the understanding of professionalized election campaigns.


Ten years after the end of the East-West conflict, new structures of the international system and new constellations for war and peace have developed. In Europe, limited wars have become possible again. The ‘just war’ as a war that is limited in terms of locality and weapon technology has once more entered political and public thinking, for example in the form of ‘humanitarian intervention’. What does that mean for the future of war and peace? In this volume, members of the founding generation of peace and conflict research look back on the past four decades of research on war and peace and give a view of the next four decades, not to practice prophecy, but to work out development tendencies concerning the nature of war, conflict, and efforts towards peace.

Wüst, Andreas M.: Wie wählen Neubürger? Politische Einstellung...
EURODATA Research Archive

The EURODATA Research Archive is an infrastructural unit of the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES) at the University of Mannheim (Germany). The archive has two basic objectives which are closely related to each other:

• to provide an adequate data infrastructure for the Centre’s comparative research on European societies and European integration;
• to contribute to the establishment of a European infrastructure for comparative social research.

EURODATA’s work is structured by own medium-term development and three-annual work plans, relating to three areas of activity:

• the systematic and continuous provision of metainformation on official statistics and social science data from the private sector (information archive);
• the development and maintenance of a library with statistical publications from statistical institutes, ministries, para-official institutions and certain intermediary organisations from the private sector (statistics library);
• the provision of computerised information, with a particular focus on the development of an integrated file system with historical time series and institutional information (file archive).

EURODATA Newsletter

This newsletter is intended to contribute to facilitate data-based comparative research on European societies and polities. It is a product of the EURODATA Research Archive and has three major objectives:

• to disseminate information on the research activities of the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research, with particular emphasis on data-generating cross-national research the archive is involved in;
• to provide information on European data infrastructures and important developments;
• to provide a forum for the exchange of information on ongoing comparative social research on European societies and on European integration.

The newsletter is intended to be an open forum: contributions from other research institutes and individual researchers are always welcome. The EURODATA Newsletter will, as a rule, be divided into eight sections: Feature reports substantive findings from on-going cross-national research. Data Infrastructure reports on data institutions such as data archives, governmental and non-governmental organisations, and covers historical developments and current modes of access to data. Research Institutes presents profiles of research institutions with a cross-national orientation. Research Groups and Projects informs on cooperations and networks in comparative social research on Europe. Computer deals with specific aspects of electronic information processing and the use of electronic networks in comparative research. Country Profile provides background information on individual countries. Noticeboard provides general news including information about new statistics, recent books and studies, conference reports and announcements.

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