Katharina Fuduli

**The Greek Social Security (Insurance) System**

This contribution has the aim to give a descriptive overview of the structure of the social insurance system in Greece, without providing further explanatory information about its formation and its particularities, or information about theoretical aspects of the Greek welfare state. It will first refer to the emergence of the institution of the Greek social insurance, as well as to the structure of the system and its main characteristics. Furthermore, it will refer to the main constituents of the system, the primary insurance system, especially the IKA system, and the supplementary insurance system, to the financing of the social insurance system, as well as to the crisis of the system.

In general, the term social security refers to both social insurance and social assistance. In Greece the term social security is mainly used to describe the system of social insurance. A general social assistance scheme does not exist. Social assistance is restricted to specific groups of the population, the so-called traditional clients of assistance. There are public welfare schemes for unprotected children, uninsured elderly people, persons with special needs, repatriated persons of Greek origin, etc. However, a general guaranteed minimum income scheme providing benefits for everyone in case of financial need does not exist (Sissouras and Amitsis, 1994).

The system of social security consists of the pension insurance (old-age, disability, and survivors’ pensions), the sickness insurance (health care, maternity and delivery benefits), the unemployment insurance (unemployment benefit, conscription benefit, occupational accidents), the protection of families and children (family allowances, additional payments to families), housing benefits and social assistance (orphans, foster care, old people, disabled people).

### 1. Short history of the development of the Greek social security system

The institution of social insurance emerged almost in parallel with the foundation of the modern Greek state (1830). However, although a number of professional insurance funds were established - initially providing insurance only against sickness and accidents, and some of them also providing pensions - the number of insured persons remained limited until the end of the 1920s. The 25 insurance funds in operation during this time period covered only 20 thousand employed persons. A very important legislative measure in the history of the Greek social insurance was therefore the establishment of the Institution of Social Insurance (IKA) according to Law 6298/1934, aimed at covering all employees in the private sector.

...continued on page 2
The first insurance fund, the Seamen’s Veterans Fund (NAT), was set up. Insurance funds for public servants were set up, as well as supplementary insurance funds for Army officers, Navy officers and Civil Servants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>The first insurance fund, the Seamen’s Veterans Fund (NAT), was set up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Setting up of the Miner’s Insurance Fund.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Introduction of compulsory insurance for all workers with equal employee and employer contributions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>The first insurance funds for the self-employed were set up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Setting up of the Social Insurance Organisation (IKA), for all employees in the private sector. It was first active in specific country regions (Effective on 1 December 1937).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>since 1945</td>
<td>Various supplementary funds were established.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Extension of the activities of IKA to cover the whole country.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Introduction of family allowances; setting up of the fund for family allowances (DLOEM). It is incorporated into OAED.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Setting up of the Agricultural Insurance Organisation (OGA). OGA covers the rural population (about 51% of the entire population). Until 1997 it was a state-funded, not an autonomous organisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Extension of the institution of supplementary insurance with the creation of a Supplementary Insurance Fund for Employees (IKA-TEAM).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Extension of the IKA insurance to cover the whole country and all employees in the private sector who were not insured in other primary insurance organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Setting up of the National Health System.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Setting up of the first supplementary insurance fund for the rural sector as an insurance branch of the OGA</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Reform of the Social Insurance System.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Final law on reforming the Social Insurance System.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Reformation of OGA. Since 1 January 1998 the OGA has been operating autonomously as a primary insurance fund for the agricultural population.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the time period from the emergence of the social insurance system until the end of World War II the development of social insurance was marked by limited state intervention in social security matters, as well as by a series of efforts by workers’ and professionals’ unions to compensate for the state indifference and to meet the increasing needs. These unions and workers’ organizations had therefore created autonomous, self-governed, and self-financed insurance funds for each professional sector or enterprise. This kind of development shaped the social security system and gave it certain characteristics that still exist today.

First of all, there is a diversity of funds and relevant schemes. We cannot talk about a unified system of social insurance, because almost every one of these insurance funds has a different organization and administration. Second, there are strong social inequalities between professional groups or even between sections of the same professional group due to the splitting up of social insurance into various schemes. There are inequalities with respect to the contribution rates of the insured, as well as inequalities regarding the quality of the provisions. It is worth mentioning that until the 1980s a great gap existed between the quality level of insurance provisions - mainly in the health care sector - for the population in urban areas and the population in rural areas. Only in the 1980s and 1990s, through a series of regulations and especially through the creation of the National Health System, these differences started to disappear.

Third, although this is not only characteristic for Greece, the financing of the insurance system is based primarily on employees’ and employers’ contributions. The principle of tripartite financing, which is at present the most efficient form of financing, has not yet been realised. The level of financial support of the state is primarily defined on the basis of the access professional groups and their unions have to the state machinery, rather than on the basis of the needs of these groups. Financial support given to IKA, for instance, hardly amounts to 0.5% of the total receipts of the institute, while financial support given to the Fund of Engineers, Architects and Surveyors amounts to 55% (Petmesidou, 1991).

Fourth, the main provision within the Greek social insurance system refers to retirement benefits. These may be provided by primary insurance institutions (primary pension), by supplementary insurance institutions (supplementary pension), by provident funds (lump-sum benefit upon retirement), or by mutual aid societies (lump-sum benefit upon retirement).

2. Structure of the Greek social insurance system

According to the ministry of Labour and Social Insurance (Social Budget, 1996) one can distinguish between five main categories of social insurance institutions:

Primary insurance funds

Among the public insurance schemes these funds were the first ones to develop, several prior to World War II and most of them until 1950. They were set up to provide old-age pension and covered only specific and usually smaller groups of people either employed at an enterprise (e.g. the insurance company “ETHNIKI”) or belonging to an occupational group (e.g. the newspaper sellers of Athens). This led to a very fragmented and rudimentary system.

Supplementary insurance funds

They were created only after World War II in order to supplement the benefits provided by the primary funds, mainly in the field
of old-age pensions. The coverage of these supplementary funds, also organized along enterprise or occupational lines, was not identical with that of the primary funds, however. This led to a further increase in the complexity and fragmentation of the system.

Sickness insurance funds
Until 1955 the setting up of insurance funds was possible due to the conclusion of collective agreements. These insurance funds covered individuals who were not IKA-insured, usually against sickness. Some of them still exist. Since the enactment of a special law in 1955 it has been prohibited for enterprises through collective agreements to take decisions or undertake changes regarding social insurance matters. Sickness insurance funds were aimed at a higher quality of sickness benefits for their insured members in comparison to the statutory insurance system. Sickness funds often do not only have sickness insurance branches, but also providence insurance branches, and one of them also has a retirement insurance branch.

Provident funds
They were created according to collective agreements to provide their insured members with lump-sum benefits upon retirement. The largest and one of the oldest provident funds is the Provident Fund of Civil Servants, created in 1926. In general the lump-sum benefit is related to the salary and to the number of contribution years. The autonomous regulations of some provident funds constitute deviations from this rule; their lump-sum benefits range in average from 1,500,000 DR to 2,400,000 DR (KEPE, Social Insurance, 1990).

Mutual aid societies
These organisations are based on private law and were created by professional groups to provide additional benefits. There is only little information available about the development of these organizations. About 50 of them were in operation in 1996.

The primary and the supplementary insurance funds are the main constituents of the Greek social insurance system. All primary insurance funds and the majority of the supplementary insurance funds, sickness insurance funds and provident funds are institutions based on public law, whereas the mutual aid societies, set up by professional organizations, are based on private law, as well as some of the supplementary insurance funds, the sickness funds and provident funds, set up according to collective agreements.

Besides these categories of insurance funds there also are funds for other provisions, with the most important ones being OAED, the Organisation of Labour Force Employment, OEK, the Workers' Housing Organisation, and EE, the Workers' Social Welfare Fund. OAED, also known as the Manpower Employment Institute, was founded according to the Legislative Decree 212/1969 (1. Act: 2961/1954). This organization replaced and reorganized the governmental employment offices that existed previously. OAED is the main organ of governmental employment policy responsible for ensuring the precondition of balancing the supply of and the demand for labour. OAED has a broad range of responsibilities, with the most important one being the matching of the supply of and demand for labour, vocational guidance and the provision of unemployment benefits, family allowances and other social security allowances, such as maternity benefits. The OAED insurance is compulsory for all independent employees who are Greek residents. The economic sources of OAED are contributions from the employers and the workers for: a) the fund assisting those workers who do their military service, b) the Unemployment Fund, and c) the Fund of Family Assistance, DLOEM (founded in 1958). The OAED contributions for the unemployment insurance and the family allowances are being collected by IKA.

The Worker's Social Welfare Fund (EE) is aimed at promoting the welfare of employees/workers as well as pensioners and members of their families through recreation programmes, holiday camps for children, cultural programmes, etc.

The Worker's Housing Organisation's (OEK) primary object is to provide subsidised housing units for workers and employees. OEK also grants low-interest loans to workers and employees who meet the preconditions for buying a house or an apartment.

Distribution of the social insurance funds among the responsible ministries
According to the Official Social Budget of 1996, there are 236 social insurance funds which are supervised by different ministries. The main responsible ministry, however, is the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Social Insurance (renamed Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance), which supervises 215 funds:

- 26 funds for primary insurance
- 51 funds for supplementary insurance
- 19 funds for sickness insurance
- 66 provident funds
- 3 funds for other provisions (OAED, OEK, EE)
- 50 mutual aid societies.

The insurance funds under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance can be categorised by occupational groups into 9 categories (mutual aid societies and funds for other provisions are not included):

- 38 funds for employees in the private sector
- 19 funds for banking personnel
- 8 funds for the public agencies and public utilities staff
- 6 funds for the self-employed (TEBE, TAE etc.)
- 11 funds for the independent professions (Lawyers' fund, Mechanics' fund, etc.)
- 8 funds for press employees
- 1 fund for farmers
- 25 supplementary funds for civil servants
Categories of insured persons

As already mentioned, social insurance coverage in Greece depends on the employment classification. We can therefore distinguish between the following categories of insured persons:

Private sector employees
All private-sector urban employees, i.e. about 1.8 million insured persons, are covered by IKA.

Public sector employees
Employees of state banks, public enterprises, etc., are insured at enterprise-based funds, for which the employer bears directly or indirectly the largest part of the pension-financing costs (Psomiades). The primary insurance for these employees is directly taken over by the state. The eligibility criteria for the insurance provisions tend to be more lax than those of IKA.

Civil servants
They do not really have a fund of their own. They do not pay any contributions, and their pensions are entirely financed from the state budget. Retirement age and eligibility conditions resemble those of banks (Psomiades, 1993).

Rural population
The insurance coverage of the rural population was introduced with the foundation of the Agricultural Insurance Organization (OGA) in 1961. All farmers are insured at this organization, as well as all persons living in areas with less than 5,000 inhabitants. Until 1997, the OGA-insured persons essentially did not have to pay contributions. They received a uniform low pension (barely a sixth of the mean private sector pension) financed by the state budget (by direct and indirect taxation of the non-agricultural sector of the economy, as well as state subsidies). The OGA provides: a) medical care, b) old-age, disability or survivors’ pensions, c) crop insurance, mainly against frost and hail. The philosophy of this fund is fundamentally different from that of the rest of the system and rather resembles the so-called “demogrant” concept of a pension system (related to need and financed from general revenue) (Psomiades, 1993). From 1 January 1998 onwards, however, a restructuring of OGA has been aimed at improving its provision system.

Self-employed
Since 1934 all employees in trade and industry have a compulsory insurance with the “Professional and Handicraftsmen Fund of Greece” (TEBE). TEBE is funded from the contributions of the people insured. The contribution rate is calculated according to 5 insurance categories with respect to the annual income of the insured persons. Additionally, the insured persons pay social contributions. The insurance coverage of TEBE provides hospital, medical and medicinal care, old-age, disability and survivors’ pensions.

Liberal professions
The liberal professions (e.g. doctors, lawyers, etc.) are insured by various insurance funds. The funding of these funds, in principle, is provided by the insured persons. They pay, however, a low graduated contribution which is grossly unrelated to their income. Some of these funds appear to be financially sound due to large government grants or the allocation of earmarked taxes to them (e.g., any real estate transfer requires that a percentage of the sale price is contributed to the lawyers’ fund) (Psomiades, 1993). The insurance provisions depend on the regulations of each insurance fund.

3. Primary and supplementary insurance institutions: the main constituents of the Greek social insurance system

Primary insurance funds
As already mentioned, the creation of most of the primary insurance funds was aimed at compensating for the shortcomings of the system of social insurance during the time when the statutory insurance schemes, mainly IKA, were not yet able to provide universal and complete insurance coverage. Since the improvement of the IKA system in 1951 (Law 1846/1951), when IKA extended its activity to cover almost the whole country, these primary insurance funds have been permitted to continue their activities, but under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Insurance and in cooperation with IKA. The same law prohibited the creation of new primary insurance funds. These funds have operated since then as substitute/compensation funds, and their provisions must at least correspond to the IKA provisions. Since 1955, policy efforts to create a unified social insurance system and to abolish social inequalities have provided for the absorption of these funds by the IKA system. In spite of this, some professional groups with strong negotiation power have created independent primary insurance branches for their employees, thus offending against the law (e.g. the employees in DEI and in ETBA in 1965). The three largest insurance funds for primary insurance in respect of the number of insured persons in 1996 were:

- IKA with 1,840,000 insured
- TEBE with 545,100 insured
- OGA with 1,149,000 insured persons.

Given that in 1996 the total number of persons insured at primary insurance funds was 4.1 million, it is obvious that the number of persons insured at IKA, TEBE and OGA accounted for 85% of the total population insured in primary insurance funds.

IKA
The setting up of the Social Insurance Organisation (IKA), according to Law 6298/1934, was a major turning point in the history of the Greek social insurance. The aim of this law was the compulsory insurance coverage of all white- and blue-collar workers within Greece. Many authors consider this legislation to be the foundation stone of the welfare state in Greece. For the first time one third of the Greek population was covered by a uni-
fied insurance scheme. The IKA insurance covered sickness and retirement due to old age, death or disability. IKA first began its activities in Athens in 1937. The scheme was gradually extended to cover Piraeus and Thessaloniki in 1938, Patras, Volos and Kalamata in 1939. Other regions followed with a delay. Only in 1951, according to Law 1846/1951, began the extension process of IKA to cover all white- and blue-collar workers and their dependants in the whole country. The insurance risks covered by IKA, according to law 1846/1951, are: sickness, death of the head of the family, inability to work due to old age, mental illness or accident. Subsequently, three insurance branches were created within the IKA system:

- a branch for benefits in kind in case of sickness and maternity
- a branch for cash benefits in case of sickness and maternity
- a branch for pensions due to old age, disability or death.

There is no insurance branch for occupational accidents and occupational injuries in the IKA system. In case an accident or an occupational disease results in sickness, it is covered by the sickness branch of IKA. In case it results in disability or death, the insured/dependent persons are covered by the IKA pension branch. As already mentioned above, OAED is responsible for unemployment insurance. The provisions are granted at the end of a specific insurance period. There are the following types of provisions:

**Benefits in kind**
- Medical, medicinal and hospital care
- Medical supply abroad
- Sanatorium care
- Additional provisions

**Cash benefits**
- Sickness benefits
- Maternity benefits
- Funeral costs
- Costs for the transport to hospital
- Costs for hospital treatment

**Pensions**
- Basic retirement pension
- Diminished retirement pension
- Pension after 35 years of employment
- Disability pension
- Survivors’ pension

**Supplementary insurance funds**

They are a creation of the time after World War II, as the primary insurance system provided only limited insurance protection. The supplementary funds were created in a similar way as the primary funds; however, their aim was not to substitute social insurance provisions, but to supplement them. The group of persons insured at these insurance funds may cover all employees of an enterprise or all employees in a certain profession within an industrial sector (e.g. the supplementary insurance fund for the staff of EIDAP or the supplementary insurance fund for the employees of stores). Supplementary provisions can be provided either by a supplementary branch within a primary insurance fund (e.g. IKA-TEAM; IKA-ETEAM) or by different insurance branches within a supplementary insurance fund, such as providence/assistance branches, pension branches and sickness branches (e.g. the supplementary fund for the staff of cement companies with its pension branch and providence branch). Supplementary insurance funds may have different titles, depending on the type of the structure the fund has: there are relief funds (tameia arogis), provident funds (tameia pronoias), supplementary accounts (epikourika tameia), etc. The provision of supplementary insurance usually refers to retirement benefits and sometimes to lump-sum benefits due to retirement (provided by the providence/assistance branches). Supplementary pension plans are compulsory and they are subject to the regulatory framework of social security. This means that they are closely linked to primary statutory plans. A person must be insured at a primary insurance fund corresponding his or her job classification before he or she can join a supplementary plan (Petridou, 1996). In the 1980s the supplementary insurance coverage was extended to cover all dependent employees through the establishment of a Supplementary Insurance Fund for Employees, the IKA-TEAM/IKA-ETEAM fund (Law 997/79). IKA-TEAM is the general employees’ supplementary scheme, and IKA-ETEAM is the supplementary scheme for staff employed by public bodies. After this legislation, the creation of new supplementary insurance funds was prohibited. Due to this fact the development of the number of the supplementary insurance funds and branches was marked by a tendency to decrease, in contrast to the development of the number of insured persons. Today there is compulsory supplementary coverage for 80% of the country’s labour force (Petridou, 1996). On the other hand, the number of supplementary insurance funds and branches has decreased from 162 in 1990 (with roughly 2 million insured) to 45 funds and 14 branches in 1995 (with 3.5 million insured). This development still continues, as the law provides for the absorption of each supplementary insurance scheme that is unable to pay out the minimum benefits offered by IKA-TEAM or IKA-ETEAM.

**Supplementary social insurance covers five employment categories:**

- **Private sector employees.** There is a general scheme (IKA-TEAM), and there are special schemes (industry, commerce, services, the press, etc.).
- **Employees in the expanded public sector.** There is a general scheme (IKA-ETEAM), and there are special schemes for the personnel of banks, public enterprises and public entities.
- **Self-employed and liberal professions.** There are special schemes for certain professional groups (doctors, lawyers and engineers).
• **Rural population.** The Supplementary Insurance branch of OGA, created in 1987, is responsible for this part of the population.

• **Civil servants.** There are special schemes for civil servants that operate under the supervision of the following ministries: the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of the Merchant Navy.

### Financing of the Greek social insurance system

The social insurance system is mainly funded by employees’ and employers’ contributions. Regarding the private sector employees, the contributions are paid by the employees and the employers. Regarding the self-employed and the liberal professions, the contributions are paid by the employees themselves. Some insurance funds receive additional state subventions and social sources. In 1996 the contributions of the insured made up 33.1% and the employers’ contributions 31.0% of the total receipts of the insurance institutions under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance. The ratio between the contribution of employees and the contribution of the employers is between 1:1 and 1:6. This form of financing entails certain problems which are, among other things, responsible for the bad financial situation of the insurance system in Greece today.

The social insurance contributions of the employees in the private sector are calculated on the basis of their wages. The contribution rates for this category are shown in the table below. It should be noticed that in the industrial sector the employers pay an additional contribution to the Social Security Organization (IKA) for occupational accidents, which equals 1% of their gross earnings. If a person has an occupation that is considered to be unhealthy or dangerous, additional contributions making up 3.6% of their gross earnings are paid (1.4% by the employer and 2.2% by the employee), so that the insured can receive a pension five years earlier than usually. Regarding the self-employed, their contributions do not depend on their salary; they are constant and uniform, and they are divided into categories depending on the profession of the insured person.

The contribution rates for all insured persons (employees in the private sector, as well as self-employed and liberal professions) also depend on the type of risk in respect of which they are paid. The contribution rates for the employers in the private sector, for instance with respect to primary pension, is between 6.67% and 11%. The contribution rates for the self-employed and the liberal professions differ according to the insurance category of the insured. With respect to supplementary pensions, the contribution rates for the employees in the private sector range from 3% to 9%, with respect to sickness from 0.5% to 4%, and with respect to lump-sum benefits from 4% to 8%.

Apart from employees’ and employers’ contributions, there are also other funding sources, such as the state participation within the tripartite financing scheme, the social sources in the form of state subsidies or special contributions, the estate receipts of the insurance institutions, and various other receipts (e.g. through the payment of fines due to offences against the Law).

#### 5. The crisis of the Greek social insurance system and future perspectives

Since the 1970s the crisis of the institution of social insurance is a common fact in most European countries. In Greece, the general economic recession, the increase in the costs and the decrease in revenue, the rapid increase in expenditures in the health care services and the unfavourable demographic factors have contributed to this crisis. (Protopoulos, 1985). In 1982 this crisis was at its peak. It was the first time that a very large deficit had been created within the main

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme</th>
<th>Up to 30/9/1990</th>
<th>Based on Law 1902/90</th>
<th>From 1/1/1993 Law 2084/92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. IKA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Pension</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>9.50</td>
<td>14.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Sickness</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>6.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEAM</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10.00</td>
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<td>27.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. OAED</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>6.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. OEK</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. EE</td>
<td>0.25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>5.35</td>
<td>8.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>13.25</td>
<td>22.35</td>
<td>35.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A = Employees’ contribution rates.
B = Employers’ contribution rates.
C = Total contribution rates.

Note: From 1/1/1994 onwards employers’ contribution rates increased to 27.70%.

Source: Petraki-Kottis & Kottis, 1996C.
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insurance fund, the IKA. By the end of 1984 this deficit was about 100 billion DR. The general government revenues could not keep up with the growing expenditures. This fact led to a public sector borrowing requirement (PSBR) equalling 20% of GDP in 1990. The rapid increase in pension rates was not accompanied by a rise in social insurance receipts. Therefore many analysts see pensions expenditure as the main reason for the increase in both public expenditure and public sector deficit. There are, however, analysts who make the demographic factor, namely the worsening of the ratio between retired members and insured members, responsible for the crisis. However, in spite of the great importance the demographic factor may have for the insurance system, it would be inadequate to focus only on this factor. In his article about the Reform of the Social Insurance System in Greece, Robolis mentions that the main factors responsible for the crisis in the insurance system correlate with the factors which are responsible for the crisis in the Greek economy. Some of them are:

- the legal absorption of the financial reserves of social insurance institutions by state banks, which has led to a worsening of the financing of these funds and created budget deficits.
- the failure to implement tripartite financing. The level of financial support provided by the state is primarily defined on the basis of the access professional groups and their unions have to the state machinery, rather than on the basis of the needs of these groups. Financial support by the state given to IKA, for example, hardly reaches 0.5% of its total receipts, while financial support given to the Fund of Engineers, Architects and Surveyors amounts to 55% (Petmesidou, 1991).
- the tendency of insurance funds to borrow from banks at high interest rates in order to cover their deficits.

Apart from these factors there also are certain factors referring to legislation and regulations within the insurance system, such as the definition of minimum pension rates, entitlement criteria, etc. A representative example for this is the lack of homogeneity in age limits concerning the entitlement regulations for retirement pensions. Due to low entitlement age criteria, persons may retire at the peak of their productive age (e.g. before the reform women had the right to retire after 15 years of public service). The origins of this problem date back to the time of the establishment of the social insurance funds. Many groups of workers had managed at that time to establish lower entitlement age criteria than other employment groups, e.g. civil servants (57), some employment groups in the Olympic Airways (42-44), bank clerks and those who work in public utility services, such as the Telephone Company, Electricity Company and others. With the reform of the social insurance system (Law 1902/90) these variations in age limit are gradually disappearing (Kremalis and Yfantopoulos, 1992).

There are also factors referring to system abuse, such as the manipulation of the preconditions for entitlement to disability pension, contribution evasion, etc. Regarding the disability pensions, it should be mentioned that the entitlement conditions used to be very lax and therefore easy to manipulate. This way many insured persons have achieved to raise their regular pensions.

With the reform of the Social Insurance System (Law 1902/1990 and Law 2084/1992) the financing of the social insurance changed radically. The employees’ and employers’ contributions increased in the pension and sickness insurance sectors. As regards the primary pension and health insurance, the three-party financing has been introduced (employer 4/9, insured person 2/9, state 3/9), and the two-party financing (insured person 6/9, state 3/9) for the self-employed as well as for the supplementary insurance (employer and insured person). With respect to lump-sum benefits only the insured are obliged to contribute. Another concern of the reform was the rationalisation of the pension rights. The legal retirement age was fixed at 65 years for men and women if they were insured for at least 4,050 days. However, there are several possibilities to retire earlier (heavy and unhealthy occupations, mothers of children who are still minors and mothers of four or more children). At the same time restrictions to the accumulation of pensions were introduced. Objective criteria were introduced regarding the checking of the degree of invalidity as well as for defining jobs considered to be “heavy and unhealthy”. Another very important objective of the reform is the harmonisation of structures involving numerous insurance systems in order to create, in the long term, a National Social Security System.

With the reform of the insurance system and especially the rehabilitation of the pension insurance sector, the preconditions for a socially fairer insurance system with respect to the unprivileged population groups are provided. This is, of course, a long-term process that must be pursued irrespective of political ideologies. This process is especially difficult due to the recent economic restriction plans of the government with the aim to meet the preconditions for entering the European Monetary Union.

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- Volumes 35 and 35A: Social Welfare;

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**Towards a European System of Social Reporting and Welfare Measurement (EUREPORTING)**

The following contribution informs on the EU-funded project EUREPORTING which aims at the long-term establishment of a science-based system of socio-economic reporting on Europe. The basic goal of this project is to assess the data situation and to develop a problem-oriented system of European social indicators. One part of the outcome will be a new system of European social indicators and information systems, which will provide meta-information on science-generated and on official microdata in Europe that can be queried via the Internet.

The recent years have seen a growing interest in social indicators and in social reporting. After Maastricht, the statistical office of the European Union insisted that regular social reporting was one of her duties. The scientific community launched several initiatives aimed at the establishment of a politically independent, science-based system of social reporting. Initiated by W. Zapf and R. Habich (Social Science Centre Berlin) and H.-H. Noll (ZUMA, Mannheim), in 1996 a network of international scientific experts met twice in Berlin to develop some basic ideas of how to improve the theory, concepts and data infrastructure in order to meet the requirements of a more problem-oriented system of social reporting and welfare measurement. Within its EUREPORTING proposal, the initiative suggested the following steps:

- to advance existing and to develop new and innovative concepts, methodological approaches and empirical tools;
- to better utilize existing databases and to develop new ones where necessary;
- to apply those concepts, tools and databases to urgent problems of social exclusion and socio-economic inequality;
- to establish a network of co-operating research teams.

In the same year, on occasion of the Treaty of Amsterdam, an international group of scientists stressed the need for social reporting again. Then an international group of social scientists and economists, initiated by P. Flora (MZES) and G. Schaber (CEPS), submitted a memorandum “Towards a Science-based System of socio-economic Reporting on Europe” (cp. *Eurodata Newsletter*, No. 5, Spring 1997) to the European Commission, arguing for a strengthening of traditional social reporting and the development of new dimensions of social reporting.

Since March 1988, the European Commission, within its TSER programme, has been funding the EUREPORTING project. It consists of three subprojects which are primarily concerned with infrastructural issues (indicators, data). Although the project has been launched in the context of the Berlin initiative, it also covers some of the activities recommended by the Mannheim memorandum (concept formation, access to microdata, infrastructural support for their enhanced use).

EUREPORTING is funded for three years (March 1998 to February 2001) and is subdivided into three subprojects, which focus on the following topics: (1) developing a European system of social indicators, (2) stock-taking of comparative databases in social science-based survey research, and (3) stocktaking of official social surveys and conditions of access to data at the level of individual units. Research is carried out by the Centre for Survey Research, Methods and Analyses (ZUMA, Mannheim) and associates, by the Paul Lazersfeld Society for Social Research (PLG, Vienna) and associates, and by the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES, Mannheim) together with the Centre for Population, Poverty and Public Policy Studies (CEPS, Luxembourg). The responsibility for the overall project coordination rests with H.-H. Noll (Social Indicator Department of ZUMA), and the project’s home page is located at [http://www.zuma-mannheim.de/data/social-indicators/eurepwww.htm](http://www.zuma-mannheim.de/data/social-indicators/eurepwww.htm).

In this newsletter, only a short description is given for each of the subprojects. More detailed information will be provided in future editions of the EURODATA Newsletter and through the project’s common home-page at ZUMA.

1. **Developing a European System of Social Indicators (EUSI)**

The overall objective of this subproject is to develop a system of social indicators at the European level. As a result of research within this subproject, the scientific community, policy makers as well as other potential users will be provided with a theoretically as well as methodologically well-grounded selection of measurement dimensions and indicators, which can be used as an instrument to continuously observe and analyse the development of welfare and quality of life as well as changes in the social structure at the European level.

Important aspects this subproject will have to take into account will be:

- coverage of the ‘European dimension’ (identity, cohesion);
- incorporation of such new dimensions of welfare and social change as social exclusion and sustainability;
- searching for new and better indicators within life domains covered;
- exploiting the best available databases and ensuring comparability across national societies.

Research is carried out by H.-H. Noll (ZUMA) in close cooperation with W. Adamski (Polish Academy of Sciences), D. Charalambis/L. Alipranti (National Centre for Social Research, Greece), S. del Campo (Universidad Complutense, Madrid), B. Marin (European Centre, Vienna), A. Martinelli (University of Milano), Z. Spéder (University of
Budapest), C. Suter (ETH-Zentrum, Zürich), W. Zapf/R. Habich (Social Science Centre Berlin).

Deliverables will comprise working papers, a computer-based system of information on social indicators, a web-page and a comprehensive final report 'Towards a European System of Social Indicators'.

2. Stock-taking of Comparative Databases in Survey Research
This subproject has the objective to develop and establish a dynamic information centre, which provides the European Commission on the one hand and the scientific community on the other hand with a retrievable database with survey data and survey questions regarding social reporting and social welfare.

This work will comprise:
- stock-taking of existing survey databases outside official statistics (content, accessibility);
- research on cross-national comparability of major surveys;
- assessment of their adequacy for socio-economic reporting on Europe;
- assessment of comparability of surveys in the post-communist countries and their adequacy for the monitoring of socio-economic change;
- development of an interactive system for dynamic information retrieval via the Internet.

Research is carried out by W. Haerpfer (Paul Lazarsfeld-Society for Social Research, PLG in Vienna) in close cooperation with L. Chauvel (OFCE, Paris), W. Schulz (Vienna University), R. Rose (Strathclyde University), H. Müller (Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna), R. Veenhoven (Erasmus University) and J. Vecernik (Czech Academy of Sciences).

Deliverables will comprise working papers, the creation of a web-page, the creation of a 'Dynamic Information Centre on Social Reporting' and a comprehensive final report 'Towards a European System of Social Reporting in Surveys'.

3. Access to Official Microdata in Europe
This subproject aims at improving the knowledge about availability, content and comparability of major official surveys that are relevant for science-based social reports on Europe and at servicing interested users via the Internet in an efficient way.

This work will cover the following topics:
- describing the evolution of the current survey systems in the field of social statistics at the national and the EU level (directory of surveys);
- documenting the profiles of major surveys and censuses (including questionnaires) which are relevant for socio-economic reporting on Europe and the conditions of access to the microdata since the 1990s;
- providing references to related literature;
- assessing the suitability of major national and EU surveys for analytically-oriented systems of comparative social reporting;
- reviewing the legal situation and current practices regarding the access to and dissemination of official microdata at the national and the EU level, including the role of scientific infrastructural organisations as mediators between statistical offices and the academia.

Research is carried out jointly by P. Flora and F. Kraus (MZES/EURODATA) and G. Schmaus (CEPS/PACO). It is part of an ongoing cooperation between the two research centres to achieve the establishment of a European infrastructure for research on Europe and on European integration.

Deliverables comprise working papers (source assessment reports for each country covered), a conference on 'Official Microdata for European Comparisons', a related reader, and dynamic meta-databases on the Internet with information on major social surveys and data-producing agencies.

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**NEW at the MZES:**

The Archive for Information on Textual Sources - QUIA

Supplementing the research archive EURODATA (data files, statistics), QUIA will provide (meta-)information on textual sources for comparative research on Europe and the problems of European integration.

In June 1997 the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES) established a new division in its infrastructure: the Archive for Information on Textual Sources (Quellen- und Informationsarchiv: QUIA). Comprising a part of the library and supplementing the research archive EURODATA (data files, statistics), QUIA will provide (meta-)information on textual sources for comparative research on Europe and the problems of European integration. QUIA’s main task is to support the internal research done by the members of the MZES. Although it can neither offer special services to individuals from outside the Centre, nor can it take on assignments, still, some general information as to textual sources should be made available externally. For this reason, a short presentation of QUIA, its main goals and present activities follows.

The documents to be listed are either published or unpublished sources from such institutions and organizations as can be considered a part of the political process in the broadest sense, for example:

- organizations which take part in forming and developing a political opinion (parties, interest groups, etc.)
- institutions which take part in the political decision-making process (parliaments, cabinets, etc.)
- institutions which implement political decisions (ministries, administrations, etc.)
- institutions and organizations which fulfill paragovernmental functions (social insurance, Caritas and other associations).

The fact that the documents are archived or publicized must be proven, and their accessibility to researchers must be ascertained.

This information should be made available in an adequate on-line computer form, as well as be published in part. To this end QUIA will publish research manuals and establish the required on-line service in the Internet.

The list of sources dates primarily from post-1945. Only in special cases will sources since the 19th century be listed. The main geographical emphasis (as is the case with EURODATA) is on Western Europe and the Central European countries: Poland, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic and Hungary. In a few selected areas, as yet to be determined by the management, QUIA will also have the task of establishing its own collection of sources. A few examples of this are the expansion of the collection of party programmes as well as the collection of textual sources on comparative research on trade unions, parliaments and welfare states.

Within the framework of these general functions, one of QUIA’s main tasks is to establish and keep up to date a reference library providing information in regard to textual sources as well as organizations/institutions which produce, archive, publish and distribute appropriate texts (handbooks, archival guidebooks, inventories, bibliographies, research documentation, journals, magazines, newspapers, etc.). QUIA’s documentalist and librarian is presently establishing a reference library covering the archives, libraries and documentation centres in Western and Central Europe. In addition to general supranational directories, guides to certain important documentation centres (e.g. IISG <Amsterdam>, KADOC <Leuven>, AMSAB <Gent>), national archives (France, United Kingdom, Italy, etc.) as well as detailed inventories of individual organizations (ICFTU, ETUC, PSOE, UGT, DGB, etc.) have been acquired.

A further main task of QUIA includes the systematic documentation of meta-information on sources as a result of QUIA’s own research. This entails the analysis of the reference library as well as of on-line information and the acquisition of information through correspondence and personal contacts. The most important information will be made available as part of a user-friendly database. Within this framework QUIA will publish its own handbooks and offer on-line information for external users as well.

The first task of this kind to be tackled is the research manual/on-line service „Trade Unions in Europe. Organizations, Archives, Research Institutes. A Guidebook for the Social Sciences“.

The goals of this project are:

- Firstly, to provide basic information (address, organizational structure, membership, congress dates, affiliations, etc.) on the most important trade union organizations in Europe.
- Secondly, to list their archival and printed sources (statutes, activity reports, congress minutes, etc.) as well as their regular publications.

### Acquisitions of QUIA since June 1997 by Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supranational</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 225
Thirdly, to present archives, documentation centres, specialized libraries and research institutes dealing with the field of research „Trade Unions/Industrial Relations in Europe“, and

Fourthly, to list relevant literature (archive guidebooks, inventories, bibliographies and standard literature).

An effort will be made to provide a representative sample, which will include the ETUC and the European Industry Committees, and will focus on the National Union Confederations in Western and Central Europe, but also take into consideration certain influential national unions in important branches.

The basis for both forms of publication are two ProCite databases. One covers organizations (unions, archives, libraries, research institutes), the other one sources and literature. On-line, both databases are linked together, thus enabling a variety of search possibilities.

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Dr. Günter Braun is political scientist and works as a researcher at the MZES. Currently he is writing a guide to information on trade unions in Europe.

Hermann Schwenger is documentalist at the MZES and responsible for the reference library and the collections of QUIA. He is co-author of the guide to information on trade unions in Europe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference Books, Research Documentation, Conference Papers</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Archives</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archives of Parliaments</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archives of Parties</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions’ Archives</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Archives</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Archives</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries/Documentation Centres</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliographies</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documents (Laws, Constitutions, Congress Minutes, etc.)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>225</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Acquisitions of QUIA since June 1997 by Subject Areas
Towards a Data Infrastructure for Socio-economic Research on Europe: Improving Access to Official Microdata at the National and the European Level

This contribution focuses on access problems to official microdata, their adverse impact on the building up of a European data infrastructure for socio-economic research and the need for improved co-operation between the academic community and the statistical offices. It sketches the access and infrastructure situation in Western as well as in Central Eastern Europe. Finally, it deals at length with the recently adopted Statistical Law of the EU and its implications concerning access to Community microdata in general and to the data of the European Community Household Panel in particular.

Europe has entered an era of profound socio-economic change, caused by a number of global developments and region-specific problems, such as the ageing of the European population. Economic and social policies are facing a challenge: a wide range of institutional innovations and adaptations are required that will have an immediate impact on the life chances and living conditions of major segments of society. To monitor and understand the complex dynamics of change, we need, among other things, encompassing information that is comparable across time and space. Information on inputs, processes and outputs has to be supplemented by information on values, attitudes and perceptions. It is also evident that sustained collection of longitudinal information is of particular relevance. Nobody doubts that access to these data is necessary at the level of individual units (persons, households, establishments) to understand the complex dynamics of change and to guide policies in an appropriate way. Over the last decades, both academia and government information services (statistical offices, etc.) have intensified their efforts to keep pace with the need for adequate international data (Tannenbaum/Mochmann 1994; Eurostat 1994c, 1995b, 1995c, 1996; Flora/Kraus/Noll/Rothenbacher 1994). Yet, academia and government information services took different paths and progressed at different speeds.1

1. Access to microdata at the national level for research on Europe

Within the social sciences, academia has for a very long time been coined by its national orientation and disciplinary fragmentation. Over the years, various types of service institutions (data archives, documentation services, survey research centres) were established in many countries of Europe to facilitate access to information and sharing of data within and across borders (Tannenbaum/Mochmann 1994). Gradually, comparative databases were established as well; initially, by making third-party data available (Eurobarometer of the European Commission since the mid-70s), then increasingly through own collection programmes (the European and World Values Surveys in the early 80s and the early 90s, the International Social Survey Programme and the Socio-economic Household Panels since the late 80s). With the European Social Survey, a new, continuous, international survey programme has been launched recently (European Science Foundation 1998), and the first experimental survey might be carried out in 1999. With the exception of the Household Panels, all survey programmes are supplements to official statistics, focusing on attitudes, values and perceptions. Access to anonymised microdata has never been a problem in academia, and with the possibility of networking, high priority has been given to facilitating access to available resources. With the foundation of the European Consortium for Political Research, the establishment of a European Science Foundation and, more recently, the European Consortium for Sociological Research, major organisational efforts have been made to promote comparative research on a wider scale.

Yet, despite all these and other achievements not mentioned here, official statistics remains the major source for comparative research on Europe. Despite all administrative fragmentations and functional differentiations of statistics (Als 1993a, 1993b; Garonna/Sofia 1997), the post-war period shows rapidly increasing co-operation between national statistical offices and international standardizers of statistics, such as the United Nations’ Statistical Commission, the Conference of European Statisticians, OECD and, increasingly, the statistical office of the European Union (Eurostat). As a result, the last two decades have witnessed a hitherto unexperienced convergence of enumeration programmes, concepts and methods - although considerable differences still persist (Flora/Kraus/Noll/Rothenbacher 1994). With the expansion of membership and increased competences of the European Commission, Eurostat is more and more becoming a key actor also with respect to the collection of data. Earnings and labour cost surveys, the labour force survey, and, recently, the European Household Panel are important examples. Statistical programmes, have to be adapted to the new situation, and, at least in the field of socio-statistics, programmes will have to undergo major revisions (Eurostat/ISTAT 1997). Comprehensive social surveys, for example, will definitely be needed for socio-economic reporting in the near future (Tuinen 1995; Vogel 1994), even though the Member States have not given Eurostat (arguing her competence and obligation in this field) the go-ahead by now. Yet, because of the still limited subject coverage and the incomplete mem-
bership space of the European Union, national statistics remains an indispensable source for research on Europe.

Scope and quality of comparative research and of research on European integration depend on access to data at the level of individual statistical units to a large degree. In contrast to academia, with its established tradition of data sharing and the early reconciliation of the inherent conflict between data protection and data access, government agencies usually have greater difficulties in allowing third parties to access the collected microdata. During the 80s, in most West European countries the possible misuse of microdata has become a matter of heated debate in the public, and access to microdata became more and more restricted in most European countries. To a certain extent, this is understandable. Statistical offices depend heavily on sustained cooperation of their statistical universe. Confidence of the interviewees is a costly good and data protection a crucial tool to ensure this confidence. Yet, in principle, the same holds true for all data collecting organisations, and there are several examples in official statistics, both outside and inside Europe, which demonstrate that broad access for scientific purposes can be balanced quite well with data protection needs.

In the meanwhile, the situation has somewhat improved. The idea of 'de-facto anonymity' of data - i.e. that anonymised data are to be considered as safe if disclosure would require an unreasonable high input of resources - has been passed by the European Council and ratified by its Member States. Efficient procedures for anonymisation have been developed and extensively discussed in several international conferences (cf. Eurostat 1994a, 1995a and a recent conference in Luxembourg). As a result, de-facto anonymity as a basic criterion for data protection is now more or less universally accepted. This is certainly one of the major reasons why access gradually becomes less restrictive in most countries, recently also in Germany (ZUMA 1997). Yet, considering Europe today, access still is too restrictive and too diverse to render official statistics what it has the potential for: a major tool for research on Europe. Conditions vary from country to country with respect to extent, form and organisaton of access. Table 1 gives a rough overview of the current situation. It also includes information on the role of national social science services (data archives or special microdata services) as potential mediators between statistical offices and the scientific community (Eurostat 1993, 1994b and updates).

**Extent of access**

Access to official microdata for comparative purposes, though subject to certain constraints regarding privacy, has been made mandatory in two European countries: Italy and the United Kingdom. Only in the United Kingdom, access in practice is almost universal, though. For comparative work, however, the most striking feature is that virtually no source is accessible across all countries, and that access to key sources, such as population censuses and establishment surveys are most restricted. The situation is further complicated by differences in anonymisation procedures (removal of information, aggregation of details, etc.), additionally impairing suitability and comparability of national sources for comparative research.

**Form of access**

Concerning the form of access, there is an extreme variety. Other differences relate to available variables. Some countries provide pre-fabricated files with a certain subset of variables only (public use or scientific use files), others give full access to all variables, and some allow resp. require a selection by the user. In several countries, access conditions are so restrictive that cumulation of knowledge and experience becomes rather difficult. Frequently, the use of data is limited in time, and the data must be destroyed afterwards. In one country, access to microdata is possible only within the secure area of the statistical office, as it is, for example, the case with access to the ECHP-data at Eurostat. What usually remains in such cases is the programme setup to input and label the raw data. A special situation can be observed in Scandinavia and partly also in the Netherlands, where register-based data are increasingly used to diminish interviewees’ burden caused by surveying. However, in some of these countries, such as Finland, researchers can, in principle, receive synthetic microdata where survey records have been linked with register data.

**Organisation of access: the current role of national science organisations**

Concerning the organisation of access, practice differs not only with regard to procedural detail and complexity, sometimes leading to considerable delays in research schedules. It differs even more with respect to the leeway regulations leave for the accumulation of knowledge and experience. Negative consequences on efficacy and effectiveness of research can be quite considerable in the case of large-scale surveys and panel studies where one usually has to invest a considerable amount of time to make data ready-to-use. Here, the major obstacle derives from restrictions to the duration of use and to controlled dissemination of ready-to-use data to other researchers. These certainly are essential precautions against potential misuse of data. Their adverse impact, however, on the productivity of research can hardly be overrated. Placing national science organisations in between government agencies and individual users as an interface would allow to stick to these data protection measures without having to buy the negative impact on research. Knowledge and experience in data documentation and analysis could accumulate without having to sacrifice data protection measures at the level of the individual user.
Table 1: Access to official microdata: some basic characteristics of current regulations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Provision of access</th>
<th>Application procedure and access restrictions</th>
<th>Data dissemination practice and support by social science infrastructure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Application to statistical office</td>
<td>- National soc. science service available (WISDOM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Specification of research purpose</td>
<td>- Supports use of official microdata (disseminates ready-to-use files after approval by statistical office)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- No access to samples of population censuses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>- No standard procedure</td>
<td>- No national science service in operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Access difficult</td>
<td>- Mediation through Belgium Ministry for Scientific Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republ.</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Order to statistical office; user-tailed files</td>
<td>- No national science service in operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Application to statistical office</td>
<td>- National social science service available (DDA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Specification of research purpose and data needs</td>
<td>- Supports users in their applications (no dissemination of data allowed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Use limited to security area of the statistical office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Accepted users are to be sworn in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Special situation because of the extensive use of register data instead of survey data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Application to statistical office (research proposal and data needs)</td>
<td>- National social science data archive in phase of foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Linkage of information from registers possible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Non-members of CNRS: Order to INSEE Members of CNRS: LASMAS</td>
<td>- National social science service available, but brokerage established outside the service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- No access to samples of population census</td>
<td>- CNRS/LASMAS provides centralized support for members of CNRS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Optional; but limited to applicants resident in Germany</td>
<td>Application to statistical office</td>
<td>- National soc. science service available (GESIS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Specification of research purpose, duration and of required variables</td>
<td>- Only general support, but no brokerage allowed Provision to disseminate anonymised microdata to (non-German) researchers abroad is derived from the general principle that German law is not valid outside of Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Special protection measures mandatory (admission lists, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Request to statistical office; decision taken by a specialist committee of the office.</td>
<td>- No national social science data archive available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>Mandatory</td>
<td>Application to ESRC Social Science Data Archive;</td>
<td>- National economic and social science services available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Specification of variables</td>
<td>- Provision of ready-to-use files by ESRC data archive;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Access to microdata of population census limited to members of ESRC organizations</td>
<td>- Wide variety of services for enhanced use of official microdata (MIDAS etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Order to statistical office</td>
<td>- National social science service available (TARKI), but no brokerage established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Public use files and user-tailed files</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Access to samples of population censuses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Order to statistical office</td>
<td>- No national social science service available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Standard files</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No access to samples of the population census</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Mandatory</td>
<td>Application to statistical office;</td>
<td>- No national social science service available (initiative running)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Specification of research purpose and duration Standard files</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>- Evaluation of request by a special committee based on published criteria No access to samples of population censuses</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Nether-</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Application to statistical office</td>
<td>- National social science service available, but brokerage established outside this service</td>
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<tr>
<td>lands</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Specification of research purpose and duration Standard files (WSA) resp. user-tailed files (CBS)</td>
<td>- Special agreements between statistical office (CBS) and Dutch Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Evaluation of application by special committee Special situation: increased use of administrative sources (population census discontinued)</td>
<td>- Dissemination of standard files by an infrastructural unit of the national research council (WSA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Application to national social science services (NSD)</td>
<td>- Dissemination of ready-to-use standard files by NSD</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>- Specification of research purpose and duration Standard files</td>
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<td>- Evaluation of request by NSDI</td>
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<td>- Access to small samples of the population census possible</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>No access</td>
<td>Law on official statistics, issued 29 June 1995, Art. 38</td>
<td>- No national social science service established</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Application to statistical office</td>
<td>- No national social science service available</td>
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<td>- Specification of research purpose</td>
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<td>- User-tailed files</td>
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<td>- Access, in principle, to all surveys</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Order to statistical office</td>
<td>- No national social science service available</td>
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<td>- Provision of public use files</td>
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<td>- Access to small sample of population censuses possible</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Application to statistical office</td>
<td>- Direct dissemination (National social science service available, but no brokerage established)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Specification of research purpose, duration and data needs User-tailed files</td>
<td>- In special cases work in secure area of the office</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Special situation: extensive use of administrative data instead of surveys</td>
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<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>Application to statistical office</td>
<td>- Direct dissemination (National social science service available, but no brokerage established)</td>
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<td>- Specification of purpose and variables</td>
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<td>Access to small sample of population survey possible</td>
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EURODATA Newsletter No.7 Data Infrastructure
**In pro of access mediation through social science services**

Comparative research on Europe needs a network of infrastructural support nodes to make efficient use of the vast amount and variety of survey data that is continuously collected by government agencies in Europe. In a period of constrained budgetary resources, discourse and co-operation between the academic community and the statistical offices must be intensified to avoid duplication of efforts and to improve access. Comprehensive access to microdata is a major prerequisite for high-quality research. Some of the quarrels that came up recently within the context of the European Community Household Panel, in fact, might have to do with access conditions. In case of conflict, academia tends to give priority to its own surveys, one of the main reasons being access to data at the level of individual units.

Facilitated access to more microdata could be arranged if scientific organisations with national responsibilities were allowed to act as mediator between academic users and statistical offices. Subject to a set of basic principles and rigorous codes of behaviour, these organisations could become a forum for the accumulation of knowledge and experience with large-scale microdata - without sacrificing data protection measures such as limiting time of use and prohibiting uncontrolled dissemination to others.

In many European countries, social science data archives with national obligations have been established during the last three decades. In some countries, local archives are obliged to serve the sciences at a voluntary level (Spain: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas; Italy: Archivio Dati e Programmi per le Scienze Sociali), and in some countries, national archives are short of establishment (Finland, Republic of Ireland). Despite all the differences in size and function, this network of archives and resource centres, organised in the Council of European Social Science Data Archives (CESSDA), might provide the nucleus for such a European data infrastructure.

The map below shows the current situation with respect to the availability of country-wide services and their possible use as an interface towards an enhanced use of official microdata.

Considering the services available in Austria (WISDOM), France (LASMAS, cf. CNRS/Lasmas 1993), the Netherlands (NWO/WSA), Norway (NSD) and the United Kingdom (ESRC Data Archive) and their impact upon high-quality research, the payoff of a close co-operation between statistical offices and social science-based service institutions becomes obvious.

In Great Britain, for example, the ESRC Data Archive and the Office for National Statistics (ONS) have finally arrived at a very flexible agreement facilitating scientific access to virtually all government surveys to a hitherto unprecedented extent (Sylvester 1996). ONS provides data free of charge to the Data Archive which acts on behalf of ONS, serving the academic community not only with the microdata but with a wide variety of additional services as well. Extensive and high-quality documentation, ready-to-use data, training in the analysis of large-scale government surveys, source-specific user-groups, and regular introduction into major survey programmes (together with the Royal Statistical Society) promote

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**Legend**

- **Not included**
- **Universal brokerage by scientific service**
- **Limited brokerage by scientific service**
- **No brokerage**
  - **(scientific data service established)**
  - **(no scientific data service established)**
- **No access at all**
the use of official microdata and the continuous exchange of information between individuals and statistical sectors. Other resource centres of ESRC provide additional services, ranging from meta-information on surveys (CASS12) to user-friendly online-access to strategic large-scale surveys (MIDAS13), including small-area microdata of the population census and, finally, to integrated macrodata on Europe (R.CADE14). Publications, both in number and substance, clearly demonstrate how universal scientific access to anonymous official microdata pays off for all parties: the statistical office, the academic community, the government and the public at large. The success story of the transnational microdata and research centre CEPES (Luxembourg) gives further evidence to the considerable payoff of an improved co-operation between research services and statistical offices. Through the provision of (indirect) access to harmonized microdata of national family budget surveys and labour force surveys, and direct access to academic household panel surveys, high-quality comparative research on socio-economic key issues has developed, which had not been possible without such an access.

It is obvious that there is still much space left for improving the situation. Proper storage, extensive documentation, and easy access to meta-information and to data of a wide variety of surveys are essential prerequisites of a European data infrastructure for comparative research. Social science data archives are experienced in documenting data and providing controlled, but user-friendly access to them. In many countries (Denmark, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, and soon also Finland and eventually Ireland), proper infrastructural services are available but not used for supporting research with official microdata. In those countries where no infrastructural services are available at all, research-oriented data centres might be developed to take over similar functions. With some imagination and political will, cooperation models could be developed to the benefit of everybody.

In many countries, such a solution would require changes in statistical legislation, as for example in Germany, where brokerage by third-party organisations is prohibited by law. The advantages of such a solution are, however, obvious and could be shared both by the academic community and the government statistics sector. The adding of value (through increased use of data, both at the level of data quality, documentation and analysis), the adding of legitimacy (through evidencing the need of data not only for the purpose of efficient governing, but also for scientific analyses), the adding of knowledge diffusion between the two sectors (through increasing needs of co-operation), the promotion of democratic discourse (through the counterbalance of politically independent science), and, last but not least, a more economic use of resources are obvious examples.

2. Access to European community surveys: the new statistical law of the European Union

The statistical office of the European Communities, Eurostat, has over the years gained statistical competences in many fields that are relevant for socio-economic research. Considerable efforts have been invested in harmonising relevant microdata of the Member States. These microdata-bases could become a major tool for socio-economic research on Europe - provided that the academic community could gain access to them.

Previous legislation concerning access to Community microdata

However, access to European Community microdata (i.e., microdata transmitted to Eurostat for the purpose of Community statistics) was virtually impossible until recently, due to the 'Council Regulation No. 1588/90 of 11 June 1990 on the transmission of data subject to statistical confidentiality to the Statistical Office of the European Communities' (Celex Document No. 390R1588). In this law, 'confidential data' was defined as 'data declared confidential by the Member States in line with national legislation or practices governing statistical confidentiality' (dto., article 1,1). Access to data declared confidential was restricted to officials of Eurostat: 'Confidential statistical data transmitted to the SOEC [i.e., Eurostat, the author] shall be accessible only to officials of the SOEC and may be used by them exclusively for statistical purposes' (article 4,2). Persons outside of Eurostat could be granted access only if they were 'working on the premises of the SOEC under contract, in special cases and exclusively for statistical purposes' (article 5,3). Access to confidential Community microdata outside the Commission was basically limited to counsellors of Eurostat and to researchers carrying out research under the premise of Eurostat (i.e. Eurostat counsellors and some TSER-projects). The regulation was limited to the treatment of confidential data, giving, in principle, some leeway for granting access to non-confidential microdata. When starting the European Community Household Panel project (ECHP), Eurostat from the very beginning opted for granting access to microdata for scientific purposes. And in fact, several of the Member States participating in the project, did allow dissemination of their data for scientific use.

The new regulation

In the meantime, the legal framework regulating access to Community microdata has been modified substantially, opening up new prospects for a general access to Community microdata. With the 'Council Regulation No. 322/97 of 17 February 1997 on Community Statistics' (Celex document 397R0322), the so-called Statistics Law, the definition of statistical confidentiality was replaced and access to Community microdata for scientific purposes introduced for the first time. The regulation no longer leaves it to the Member States to determine whether transmitted data are to be
considered confidential: instead, it obliges all Member States to establish a uniform set of minimum standards for protecting individual level data against unlawful disclosure (preamble, items 3 and 4; chapter III, article 10; chapter V, article 13). Then, article 13 defines statistical confidentiality in relative terms (i.e., in implicit association with the notion of 'de-facto anonymity, as laid down by the European Council in her recommendation on scientific research and statistics):

'I. Data used by national authorities and the Community authority for the production of Community statistics shall be considered confidential when they allow statistical units to be identified, either directly or indirectly, thereby disclosing individual information.

To determine whether a statistical unit is identifiable, account shall be taken of all the means that might reasonably be used by a third party to identify the said statistical unit' (Council Regulation No. 322/97, chapter V).

As all Member States are obliged to introduce appropriate measures against unlawful disclosure of microdata, Community microdata, prima facie, are to be considered as non-confidential. In principle, access can be denied only in those cases where the transmission of confidential data (in the sense introduced by the Statistics Law) is necessary for the production of specific Community statistics (article 14). In those cases, it is up to the national authorities whether to provide access to these data for scientific purposes.

Concerning the confidentiality of sources required for Community Statistics, European law is now going to replace national law or practice. In case of conflict, however, the new 'Statistics Law' can be applied only to those enumeration programmes that are implemented on the basis of EU law. Data transmitted on a voluntary basis (such as the microdata of the family budget survey) are, strictly speaking, not covered. Furthermore, the new regulation, which has the character of framework law, has now to be transformed into source-specific legislation. Yet, Eurostat’s statistical competences have been growing in the past, and they will continue to do so in the future. In the recent past, the competences of the Commission have been considerably expanded to cover the social field (Treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam, as well as corresponding legislation on the Community Statistical Programme, and, last but not least, the Commission Decision of 21 April 1997 on the role of Eurostat as regards the production of Community statistics, cf. 97/281/EC, Celex document 397D0281). As a consequence, the competences of Eurostat will gradually expand as well: in order to fulfill her obligations, the EU’s statistical office will increasingly need data in the form of microdata, and existing sources will have to be supplemented by new ones.

For the short-term, however, the ‘Statistics Law’ has quite adverse implications for those (few) out-side users that already had access to Community microdata under the previous legislation. Because the Regulation did not fix the standards for anonymization, the criteria have to be operationalized before access to microdata can be granted. Obviously, concrete operationalizations are partially source-dependent. It is therefore very likely that consensus with the data providers must be reached for each single type of survey.

Prospects for accessing ECHP data via Eurostat

Due to this situation, access to ECHP data is currently limited to the data providers, Eurostat, and their councillors. Research projects under the promise of Eurostat currently have no access to the microdata - irrespective of their contractual obligations. It is evident that nobody can be satisfied with this situation. In autumn 1997, Eurostat, herself interested in in- and extensive scientific use of the data from the very beginning, suggested a set of minimum standards to the ECHP-project members to ensure de-facto anonymity of the ECHP microdata. Consensus building is still going on and finally also has to be adopted by the Committee on Statistical Confidentiality. By now one hopes that the original timescale can be maintained and access to the ECHP data in form of an integrated longitudinal database be granted by fall 1998 (Eurostat/ECHP 1998, 1; 1996). Due to legal problems, however, German ECHP data will very likely not be accessible outside of Germany.

Whether these news on the forthcoming accessibility of ECHP microdata will, in the end, turn out to be good news depends, however, on the restrictiveness of the anonymization procedures (aggregation of codes, removal of information) finally adopted. There is some concern among scientists that procedures might go beyond what is acceptable from a scientific point of view, depriving this first multi-dimensional EU-wide survey of its analytical potential it was so highly welcomed for15. Many scientists and scientific institutes are further concerned about the low transparency of the procedure and the apparent lack of institutionalized channels for adequate interest articulation during the process of consensus-building.

3. On the way towards an infrastructure for socio-economic research on Europe?

For a variety of reasons (available resources, degree of institutionalized international co-operation, programme continuity, etc.) official microdata must be the cornerstone of a European data infrastructure for comparative research. Academic microdata are an essential complement, but they cannot substitute official surveys. Both sectors of statistics move in a direction that strengthens research on Europe and European integration.

The academic sector contributes to it through the initiation and continuous expansion of repetitively conducted international survey programmes and panel studies, the effi-
cient use of new technologies to provide easy access to their information (creation of a virtual European Data Archive and project on Networked Social Science Tools and Resources), through developing data archives further into European resource centres facilitating and supporting comparative research and, last but not least, through increased international networking of transdisciplinary socio-economic research. National research funds devote increasing parts of their resources to promoting the comparative orientation of infrastructural services and research activities. Additional support comes from the European Community, particularly through the provision of funds to enhance the use of already existing large-scale facilities in the socio-economic sciences (TMR programme), and, though to a more limited degree, the building-up of new research infrastructures within TSER’s programme for horizontal activities. Though in slightly different form, support will be continued also in the 5th framework programme (cf. CORDIS, COM 98(305)) and apparently extended to now also foster the international pooling of small network resources (Ziegler 1998).

The government information sector contributes to it through increasing standardization of national enumeration programmes, concepts and methods, through the gradual move to longitudinal enumerations, data integration and innovative social statistics, and the consequence use of modern networking technologies to provide information in a user-friendly way within and across national borders. The European Union contributes to these efforts through funding of a variety of Information Technology and Informatics research projects under the umbrella of DOSIS (Eurostat 1997). Easy access to comprehensive meta-information, both of national statistical institutes and of Eurostat, promoted by the European Union, seems to be not far away (Eurostat 1997, 1993), and will certainly promote comparative research.

The major problem, however, will remain: how to manage providing access to the extremely rich information collected by statistical agencies at the level of individual units (persons, households, firms) without violating the individual’s right to privacy. In the medium-term at least, this problem will hardly be solvable by technical means (cf. for example, Dosis-Project ADDSIA, Eurostat 1997). What is necessary is a new consensus that brings two basic rights into a more balanced relation: the right of privacy and the right of information. It is time to think about current regulations of access to microdata not only in terms of potential misuse - but also in terms of the cost of non-access.

References/Literature (other than statistical acts and www-documents):


CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique)/Lasmas (1993): L’Analyse Secondaire au LASMAS.


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Data Infrastructure
Notes
1. For a summary of the developments cf. F. Kraus (1995) or visit http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/eurodata/newsletter/no1/no1.html.
3. In Germany, for example, the Federal Statistical Office, with the support of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology has recently made major efforts to provide the scientific community with easier access to the microdata of various surveys. However, law still prohibits the dissemination of data via third parties, such as the national social science services (GESIS), as well as the dissemination of microdata among interested researchers abroad. For more information on the access to German microdata visit http://www.zum-a mannheim.de/data/microdata/ for information on the German Statistics Law visit http://www.statistik-bund.de/alle/eis_abseweb.htm. The prohibition to disseminate anonymised microdata to (non-German) researchers abroad does not derive from the statistics law per se: lawyers argue that any German law is applicable only within German territory and to people abroad only if they have German citizenship. German researchers working abroad could therefore, in principle, get access to German data.
4. In addition to Eurostat (1993), other sources, such as publication catalogues and www pages, were also used to update or expand the information. In a few cases, additional information has been obtained through personal communications with offices. A more up-to-date, more systematic and more detailed report will be compiled as part of an EU-funded project on ‘Access to Official Microdata in Europe’, described in this edition of the EURODATA-Newsletter.
5. For more information visit http://cis.sociol.es/.
6. For more information visit http://www-nsd.uib.no/cessda/.
7. For more information visit the home page of CEPS/ECASS at http://www.cessda/.
11. For a quick overview of infrastructural services in the UK in the field of social sciences cf. the links provided at http://dawww.essex.ac.uk/links/.
14. For more information visit http://www-rcade.dur.ac.uk.
15. For more information visit the CEPS homepage http://ceps-nt1.ceps.lu/.
16. Based mainly on personal communication with Statistics Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden).
17. In the meantime, the original proposal of highly restrictive anonymisation procedures has been replaced by a more research-friendly set of measures. Industrial and occupational details, for example, might be provided at a level between digits 1 and 2 of the respective classifications NACE and ISCO. Regional details for some countries might be limited, however, to NUTS-1 and NUTS-2 for the others.
18. Cf. the www server of the Council of European Social Science Data Archives (CESSDA) at http://www.nsd.uib.no/cessda/ and the EU-funded NESSSTAR project for the development of networked tools for identifying, browsing and acquiring relevant social science data across boundaries (for more information, visit http://dawww.essex.ac.uk/projects/nessstar.html).
19. Currently the following large-scale facilities are supported (grants for visiting fellows, etc.):
- IRISS-C/IR (Integrated Research Infrastructure in the Socio-Economic Sciences) at Luxembourg for comparative research based on the microdata collections of CEPS (LIS/LES/PACO). For more information visit http://ceps-nt1.ceps.lu/iriss/iriss.htm.
- ECASS (European Centre for Analysis in the Social Sciences) at Essex University with access, among other facilities, to the files of the ESRC Data Archive (including microdata of ONS) and to the research centre on micro-social change in Britain. For more information visit http://dawww.essex.ac.uk/introduction/ecass.html. Visit also CORDIS at http://www.cordis.lu/trm/src/b/950041.htm.
- ZA-Eurolab (Central Archive for Empirical Social Research in Cologne) for comparative research based on Eurobarometer, ISSP, the ICORE election studies and other comparative files. For more information visit http://www.za.uni-koeln.de/research/en/eurolabor/.
Family Policy in Germany: Towards a Macro-sociological Frame for Analysis

The paper is part of preparatory work on a German country study in the international research project “Family changes and family policies in the West”, co-ordinated by the MZES.

The aim of this paper is to develop a macro-sociological framework for analysing family policy in Germany. Family policy as used throughout the paper includes all individual policies (measures) explicitly or implicitly directed at the family. As an inter-sectional field it can be structured by various dimensions, including the division between central and state and local government, public and private agencies, policy instruments (cash benefits, tax regulations, services), and different aspects of family relations as policy targets (marriage, parenthood, generations). The paper aims to analyse German family policy along these dimensions, but does not study policy indicators in detail except social expenditure data. I focus on independent (macro-social and institutional) rather than dependent (family policy indicators) variables. In the long run, family policy has been shaped by historical processes and social institutions of German society. I focus on these specific institutional conditions, but do not neglect the predominance of Christian democracy as one major factor in the development of German family policy. First, core institutions of German society are specified which have had a strong hypothetical impact on family policy. Then, major characteristics of family policy are summarized. The paper concludes with a general overview of German family policy.

German family policy shows a great discrepancy between idea and practice: while highly institutionalized with elaborate explicit concepts, practical policies are modest by international comparison. The Ministry of the Family was established in 1954, and from 1968 in every legislature one family report has been produced by a committee of independent experts appointed by government. These reports are extensively commented on by government, discussed in the Bundestag, and published. The Family Ministry and the family reports have contributed to the institutionalization of debate on the family. Wide-ranging concepts have been developed: family policy in a cross-sectional view, as horizontal equalization of family burdens and all-encompassing ‘societal’ policy.

Moreover, political conditions have been favourable for explicit family policy. The Federal Republic has been continuously governed by the Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU) with the only interruption from 1969 to 1982 when a Social Democratic–Liberal government held office. Christian Democrats dominated German politics after the war, even if they had to form government coalitions, mainly with the Liberals. Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Belgium belong to the ‘Christian democratic family of nations’ (Castes 1993). If there is a Christian democratic welfare state, it should be here and have an explicit policy providing much support to the family (Van Kersbergen 1995). However, this is not the case in any of these countries except Belgium. The family belongs to the core of Christian democratic ideology, but there seems to be a gap between idea and practice. In Germany family benefits are modest by comparison: public spending on family policy as percent of total social expenditure is medium (ESSPROS data); Germany holds a middle position also in comparisons of child support packages across various model families (Bradshaw 1993).

It makes sense to study the present structure of family policy historically, because individual measures have developed within different institutional contexts at various times and were not always regarded as part of family policy. Often, their aims and functions changed considerably over time. For instance, maternity benefits and survivors’ pensions were introduced in the nineteenth-century German Empire as part of social insurance for the working class. Kindergartens were also first established in the previous century by early-childhood pedagogues in order to socialize and educate young children, whereas today they are viewed as being closely related to improving compatibility between employment and family. The Weimar Republic established the basic structure for social services, social assistance, and industrial relations, but family wages and family allowances were not introduced except for a short period after World War I. They were not successful, because trade unions and employers strongly opposed them. On the whole, family policy was underdeveloped compared to other Continental European countries at that time. Despite their rhetoric, the Nazis did not change this practice fundamentally, but superimposed bizarre populationist ambitions on family policy. There was no major effort to support families; only a few new measures were introduced on a limited scale; for example, family allowances were initially only for large families.

German history has been characterized by political fragmentation and discontinuity, but also by strong institutional traditions (Lepsius 1983). I concentrate on the Federal Republic in which new institutions were set up in view of historical experiences, the failure of the Weimar Republic and the trauma of the Nazi dictatorship. Partly, however, traditions from before the Nazi regime were restored, too. I distinguish between a number of elements which have had a long-lasting impact on family policy in Germany: federalism, subsidiarity, industrial relations, the Constitutional Court, the welfare state, the role of law, the public sector, and major changes in German social structure after World War II. In addition, the predominance of Christian democracy has been of major importance. Of
course, these institutional conditions have been significant for any policy area, but I focus on their consequences for family policy in particular.

**Federalism.** Legislation and organization of family policy is divided between three levels of government: federal state, states (Länder), and local communities. Three aspects have been important for family policy. First, the states have a voice in federal decision-making through the **Bundesrat**, including tax policies that are important for family-related tax benefits and financing of family policy. Second, the states have major competencies in certain policy areas, for example education is the states’ (Länder) prerogative. The federal state has only limited competencies in higher education. Though related to the family, education has never been integrated into family policy. There is almost no family dimension in the education system, particularly with respect to school hours and organization. Third, local communities are self-governed and have limited autonomy in certain policy areas, e.g. in providing social services and child and youth welfare. Within federal framework legislation and state policies, local communities are responsible for social service provision, especially in childcare. Recently the **Bundestag** enacted legislation entitling every child aged 3–6 to a kindergarten place, to be implemented by local communities from 1996–1999.

**Subsidiarity.** Subsidiarity is a general principle of social organization demanding that social tasks be carried out at the lowest possible level. In Germany, it is the outcome of conflicts between state and church in the Empire. In a specific sense subsidiarity means that non-profit welfare organizations have an institutionalized and privileged role in society, mainly in providing social services, especially in childcare, services for the handicapped and people in need of long-term care. In the Child and Youth Welfare Act 1990 the privileged position of these organizations is explicitly stated: they are given preference over public and market-based provision. Federalism and subsidiarity are based on historically strong intermediary structures in German society. A major consequence is that there are no universal policies in this area. The aims, structures and organization of services vary widely between Länder, local communities and welfare organizations. In this subsidiary framework it is not possible to organize services around one central aim, such as compatibility between employment and family.

**Industrial relations.** A similar logic prevails in industrial relations. Trade unions and employers’ associations are largely autonomous in deciding wages, working conditions and working times in collective agreements (**Tarifautonomie**). Strong trade unions and employers’ associations operating on an industry-wide basis have contributed to a firmly rooted institutionalization of class conflict in Germany. The state sets the framework, but does not

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**Figure 1: Expenditure on child benefit, family supplements in the public sector, child and youth welfare, child-rearing benefit and tax reliefs as % of total social expenditure**

![Figure 1](image-url)
intervene directly. From a family viewpoint, Tarifautonomie is a structural barrier to compatibility between employment and family. Furthermore, industry-wide collective agreements are modified by enterprise-level bargaining where German trade unions are strong partners in co-determination (Mitbestimmung). As a consequence, working conditions vary between branches and enterprises.

Welfare state. In Germany, social security was introduced comparatively early as part of Bismarck’s political strategy to integrate the industrial working class in the German Reich and at the same time destroy their industrial movement and political organization. In the long run, this policy failed, but its impact on social security was long-lasting: the German welfare state became strongly employment-centred and dominated by social insurance. A family dimension was added later, beginning at the turn of the century, mainly through derived rights rather than citizenship or means-tested provisions. Employment and family status became the parameters of German social insurance which strongly emphasized security of social status. As a consequence, the family dimension became significant, but was never fully integrated in family policy. Family-related benefits and regulations in social security were placed in an ambiguous position between social insurance and family policy. Moreover, blue-collar workers, white-collar employees and civil servants were covered by separate schemes with varying benefits, especially with respect to the family, e.g. in survivors’ pensions. Though today differences between blue- and white-collar employees have almost disappeared, civil servants are still privileged. Family allowances were introduced first by the Nazis for large families on a universal basis, then, in 1954 again as an employment-related scheme. Only in 1964 (Bundeskindergeldgesetz) was there a shift towards a universal basis, fully implemented in 1975. Family benefits were either integrated early in social insurance as derived rights (survivors’ pensions, health care insurance, maternity benefits starting in the nineteenth century) or introduced relatively late on a universal basis (family allowances, child-rearing benefit in 1986) when the core of the welfare state was already firmly established. This is one reason for the relatively weak institutional position of family policy in the German welfare state.

Federal Constitutional Court. The Federal Constitutional Court plays a significant role in German politics in general. The first major function of the Court is related to federalism and separation of powers: it has to decide in conflicts between the three levels of government and various institutions within the federal state. The second major function rests on the fact that the German Basic Law guarantees basic individual rights to every citizen and resident of Germany. These rights stand above legislation, governments, and courts, and are directly enforceable: they cannot be abolished, but qualified only by law. The Constitutional Court has become a powerful symbol and advocate of these rights, and watches to ensure they are respected. Anyone who feels deprived of these rights is entitled to submit a petition to the Court. Since marriage and the family are also protected by the Basic Law, the Constitutional Court has often intervened in legislation and strongly influenced family policy. Three examples may suffice: privileges accorded to marriage in the tax system since the 1950s were preceded by Court decision; exemption of subsistence income from taxation (granted by family size) followed Court decisions in the 1990s; most prominently, the Court declared a number of laws on abortion passed by the Bundestag as unconstitutional, because they violated the unborn child’s right to life. The present law is also based on a Court decision which rules that abortion without specific indication is illegal, but will not be punished if performed within the first twelve weeks of pregnancy following formal counselling.

Rule of law. The rule of law and courts have been major characteristics of German society since the Empire, except during the Nazi regime. Though not democratic, Prussia and the German Empire were governed by law. The legal profession played a significant role in state bureaucracy, courts and civil society. The civil society law culminated in the Civil Code of 1900 (Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch BGB) in which family and marriage were firmly established as institutions endowed with strong rights and duties. Today, marriage and parenthood are still strong legal institutions. Family maintenance obligations may even be regarded as the second stronghold of subsidiarity, together with the institutionalized associative sector. Civil law enforces ‘private’ obligations, e.g. in case of divorce when the financial obligations of ex-spouses are emphasized in alimony and pension-splitting (Versorgungsausgleich), and in child maintenance when parents are obliged to support children at least until they have completed their education, and possibly for the rest of their lives.

Public sector. The privileged position of the public sector also has its roots in the history of Prussia and other German states as absolutist regimes with strong bureaucracies. The status of civil servants (Beamter) was endowed with numerous privileges, among them life-long tenure, seniority, family-related salaries (Alimentation) and social security (Versorgung) including family members. Some of these privileges were gradually extended via collective agreements to workers and employees in the public sector, whose salaries strongly vary by family status and size and who enjoy flexible working time and time rights related to family obligations. But life-long tenure and civil service pensions remain the exclusive privilege of civil servants.

Social structure. After World War II German social structure underwent fundamental changes which paved the way for the success of the universal idea of family policy. The old
Table 1: Expenditure on family-related policies, Germany (unified), 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure on ...</th>
<th>Million DM</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Family cash benefits</strong></td>
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<td>and child-related wage supplements</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maternity benefits in kind</td>
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<td><strong>Total family-related expenditure</strong></td>
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<td>Family function as in Social Budget</td>
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1 All schemes included.
2 Includes housing allowance for non-family households.
3 Total expenditure for social assistance: 48,020 incl. benefits in kind.
4 Public expenditure and subsidies to voluntary organizations.

Sources: Own calculations based on German Social Budget (various years) and Annual reports by the Family Ministry (various years).
class society with separate social worlds had almost vanished when the working class became fully integrated and millions of refugees had to find their place in German society. Social changes further contributed to a more integrated society. These changes laid the foundation for a universal concept of family policy as general ‘societal’ policy (Gesellschaftspolitik) covering the whole population rather than directed at specific social groups. Family policy was not directed at the working class, and it was not regarded as social policy in the sense of social security or vertical redistribution. The prevailing concept has been horizontal redistribution in favour of families within the same social (income) groups, also closely related to Christian democratic ideas.

Christian democracy. Against the background of these general institutional structures and developments it is difficult to disentangle the role of Christian democracy in German family policy. Of course, their political predominance has been deeply intertwined with German society and the institutions of the Federal Republic. Here I would like to mention four central elements which are usually regarded as ‘pure’ Christian democratic, but only one of them holds without further qualification. For good reasons, tax policy in favour of families is regarded as typically Christian democratic. It is based on the idea of horizontal rather than vertical redistribution of income, and on the idea of subsidiarity which means leaving to families what they need to support themselves. Its major components have been child tax allowances and married couples’ tax splitting. It should be noted that the original intention of tax splitting was to support mothers at home (families with one income) rather than marriage as such. It changed its character as the proportion of couples without children increased and is therefore disputed today, because it largely benefits couples without children. One should not forget, however, that the predominance of tax policies is also historically based: tax benefits were introduced in the Weimar Republic, whereas child allowances were first introduced by the Nazis and – on a different basis – in the Federal Republic in 1954. Tax benefits therefore were never as closely related to Nazi population policy as child allowances, which delegitimized the latter to a great extent. Moreover, the Constitutional Court and the states were important actors in implementing tax reliefs (see above). Housing policy also shows a strong family dimension in the promotion of home ownership which seems to be typically Christian democratic. One should not forget, however, that home ownership never dominated German housing policies, because promoting private investment in the rent sector and provision of public social housing were equally important, although with changing priorities over time. After the war, social housing was very important, whereas home ownership came latest. The ‘purest’ Christian democratic elements can perhaps be found in the existence of the Family Ministry and the parental leave and child-rearing benefit introduced in 1986. Since the Family Ministry is weak and mainly serves a symbolic function, parental leave and the child-rearing benefit may be called the only legitimate children of Christian democratic family policy. Their leading principle is that one parent should stay at home and care for young children. The cash benefit is universal, covering employed women, housewives, and the self-employed, too. It is not policy for working women, but a mother’s wage granted on a universal basis. Increasingly, however, the benefit has become income-tested and today it cannot be called universal any more, because almost half of entitled parents do not receive the full amount for the whole period.

To summarize, then, the initial evidence indicates that basic characteristics of German family policy can be attributed to broader historical developments and institutional structures of German society. In particular, the fact that family policy in Germany developed later than in most Continental European countries can be related to the early breakthrough of the welfare state and the troubles and discontinuities in the German polity in the 1920s and 1930s which was the formative period of family policy in Europe. In the Federal Republic, family policy soon became ambitious in conceptual terms, but remained rather limited in practice. This is partly explained by the reluctance of Christian Democrats to intervene in family matters, because of their leading principle of subsidiarity, and partly it is the result of the fragmented character of family policy. Though German family policy is highly institutionalized, it is fragmented within the federal structure and between public and private actors: federal state, Länder, local communities, welfare organizations, trade unions and employers’ associations, courts, the Constitutional Court and other institutions are involved in family-related policies. Family policy therefore is built on compromises under the political predominance of Christian democracy.

A number of specific characteristics can also be related to this institutional regime: the significance of the family dimension in social security, the predominance of tax reliefs for families rather than cash benefits, the slow development of social services, the emphasis put on marriage rather than children, and the predominance of non-profit welfare organizations in providing social services. Most striking perhaps is the particularist approach to family policy which reflects the lack of practical integration of policies. For example, problems that cut across various policy areas, such as compatibility of employment and family, are not approached in an integrated way. Effective policies to solve this basic problem should integrate among others tax policies, cash benefits, the provision of childcare services and flexible working arrangements, implying that the federal state, Länder, local communities, welfare organizations and social partners should work closely.
together. Yet this is very difficult to achieve. Therefore the German institutional regime strongly underpins a primarily horizontal, universal though limited approach to family policy in favour of status-oriented redistribution rather than problem-oriented interventions intersecting various policy areas. Furthermore, rapid and fundamental changes are impossible, because major reforms are not as easily implemented as in Sweden or the United Kingdom. On the other hand, firmly established institutions with strong vested interests such as social insurance predominate. Compared to these institutions family policy is weak and not fully integrated.

The profile of German family policy cannot be shown in detail here and must be limited to some aggregate expenditure data (West-Germany) (Figure 1). Looking first at expenditures across time, we see that the married couples’ tax splitting, though declining, has always been the outstanding individual measure. Second in terms of expenditure come child tax allowances and child benefit. This dual system of family income redistribution lasted until 1975 when the Social Democratic–Liberal government abolished tax allowances, but was re-introduced by the Christian Democratic–Liberal coalition in the 1980s. A new integrated system eventually replaced the dual one in 1996. Child and youth welfare expenditures are only modest, but increased continuously, mainly due to the growth in childcare services. Family-related benefits in the public sector still represent a large though declining share. In last place is the child-rearing benefit.

Looking at 1993 cross-sectional expenditure data (Table 1), we see that the family dimension in social insurance is the most important category, especially health care for family members and survivors’ pensions. But these provisions are not an integral part of family policy and hold an ambiguous position between family policy and social insurance. Often they are regarded as benefits outside the insurance principle, because they are non-contributory in the technical sense. Family-related tax benefits occupy second place. The married couples’ tax splitting is followed by child tax allowances and tax benefits for specific family types. Family cash benefits represent only one-fifth of total family-related expenditure, the general child benefit being most important, followed by family-related supplements in the public sector and the child-rearing benefit. Child and youth welfare services amount to 12.6% of total family-related expenditure, while childcare services make up only 4% including public subsidies to voluntary welfare organizations.

Family policy in Germany is not declining, but there is also no sign of major improvements. Nonetheless, one might be inclined to expect certain changes, because the welfare state needs to be reformed, and when the state withdraws from providing services and social security for individuals, the family is expected to shoulder part of the burden. How should this be possible without public support for the family?

References and Sources


ESSPROS: European System of Integrated Social Protection Statistics, various years.

Federal Ministry for Social Affairs: Social Budget, Bonn, data from various years.


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Gretchen Wiesehan

Sheila B. Kamerman and Alfred J. Kahn: Family Change and Family Policies in Great Britain, Canada, New Zealand and the United States

This volume is the first in a series on family change and family policies in the West, written by expert country teams, edited by Sheila Kamerman, Alfred Kahn, and Peter Flora, and produced at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research. The series intends to look at modern welfare states in a comparative and historical perspective by focusing on policies that explicitly or implicitly target families with children. This project is the first to attempt such a multi-country comparison of family policy as a whole in a historical context; previous efforts have been restricted to only a few countries or to specific programs, such as child care or child allowances, or have not included the historical dimension. Future volumes in the series will include reports on the consociational democracies, Belgium, Switzerland, and The Netherlands; France and Southern Europe; capitalist and socialist Central Europe; and the Scandinavian welfare states.

In their introduction to this volume, Kamerman and Kahn specify what is meant by family change and family policy: family changes since World War II include the rise of the nuclear family, later age at marriage, declining fertility and family size, and increases in out-of-wedlock birth, non-marital cohabitation, and lone-parent families. Family policy encompasses laws, benefits and programs for families with children; explicit policy "may include population policies (pro- or anti-natalist), income security policies designed to assure families with children a certain standard of living, employment-related benefits for working parents, maternal and child health policies, child-care policies, and so forth" (p. 6), while implicit policy refers to measures not created specifically with families in mind, but which none the less have a significant impact on them. Family policy is most often intended as a response to family change, but may also lead to further change, as in the case of divorce law reform: in most Western countries by the late 1960s or early 1970s, increased demand for divorce led to changes in the laws making it easier to get a divorce, and it can be argued that the simpler procedures have helped keep the number of divorces significantly higher than before the reforms. Kahn and Kamerman also note that within the larger context of social policy, family policy may be used to achieve other social goals, such as making it easier for women to enter the labour market by providing child care or maternity or parental leave, or encouraging families to have more children by providing cash and other incentives, in order to fulfill national population goals. Thus "the family may be both object and vehicle of social policy" (p. 7).

Family policy has come a long way since its beginnings in France and Sweden in the form of wage supplements to male breadwinners in the nineteenth century. During the period of low fertility in the 1930s, cash benefits to families were seen as a way of encouraging parents to have more children, but it was not until after World War II that family allowances became a significant element of the expanding welfare state throughout Europe. Economic growth in the 1960s allowed for further expansion of family policy, including measures in health care, education, housing, and measures specifically for low-income families. Since the 1970s, economic recession and political and fiscal conservatism, particularly in the four countries in this volume, have led to major program cutbacks and new attitudes about how best to help families even as they take new forms, such as unmarried cohabitation and lone parenting.

As a result of their heritage as former British colonies, Canada, New Zealand and the United States share certain features with Great Britain, among them a tradition of economic liberalism and the Protestant work ethic, which have led to different policy choices than in the continental European countries, and indeed, to these countries’ implicit, rather than explicit, family policies. Other commonalities noted by Kahn and Kamerman include “a shared history of poor law as the point of departure for social policy ... heavy reliance on means-tested rather than universal benefits ... [and] a strong commitment to the primacy of the family in child care and childrearing and the importance of family privacy” (p. 10). Further, these four countries show greater ethnic diversity, encompassing the native populations in the colonized countries, immigrants, those originally brought as slaves, and immigrants to Britain from the Commonwealth countries, with various consequences for social policy.

Demographically, the four countries have followed the same general trends as the other OECD countries since World War II, though age at marriage remains lower and divorce rates higher than in continental Europe. However, minority groups in the four countries differ from the dominant population: for example, in Britain, fertility among certain immigrant groups is significantly higher than among British natives, though for other groups it has gradually fallen to the native level (p. 39). In Canada, the birth rate in the province of Quebec went from being the highest in the country in the 1950s to the lowest in the 1990s, despite the introduction of measures specifically intended to promote fertility. Fertility and family size among the Native population in the Northwest Territories are significantly above the national average, though declining. And “contrary to popular myth, immigrants have traditionally had lower birth rates than Canadian-born women” (p. 111). In New Zealand, Maori fertility rates dropped dramatically over the past two decades, but now fertility...
among Maori teenagers is much higher than for the Pakeha, the population of European descent. The proportion of lone-parent families is also much higher among the Maori, while these families are more likely to live within a multi-family household than on their own (p. 226). In the US, black women now tend to marry later and at lower rates than white women, and remarry after divorce at even lower rates, thus showing a much greater chance of being lone mothers. Black women also have dramatically higher rates of out-of-wedlock childbearing: in 1992, two-thirds of all births to black women were out of wedlock (p. 319).

Women’s labor force participation, both full- and part-time, grew significantly after World War II. In Britain, Canada and the US, about two-thirds of mothers with children are in the labor force, despite the relative lack of public child-care provision and limited maternity and parental leaves. Canada has the most extensive ‘package’ of leave and benefits of the four countries, with the provinces providing about 17 weeks of unpaid maternity leave and an additional 10 weeks of parental leave, and the federal government providing maternity and parental benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Program. Britain’s leave policies were fairly restrictive, until the government was forced to adopt the EU directive guaranteeing a 14-week leave to all working women, with benefits at the level of sick pay. In the US as well, it took a major struggle before a national parental leave policy was recently enacted; extremely modest by European standards, the policy provides 12 weeks of unpaid leave. New Zealand provides 14 weeks of unpaid maternity leave and one year of unpaid parental leave. In all four countries, employers may offer more generous terms and benefits to their employees, but government has shown real unwillingness to enact national standards on a level with much of continental Europe.

Other policy responses to family change have also been limited. After the ‘rediscovery’ of poverty and a period of program expansion in the 1960s, since the 1980s the four countries in this volume have increasingly narrowed the focus of provision, moving from universal measures (Britain, Canada, New Zealand) to more means-testing. Only Britain, most like its continental European neighbors, still has a universal child benefit, though “it provides far less through universal benefits than do the other northern European countries” (p. 20). Tax benefits are also a common feature, though they are typically worth more to families with higher incomes. In the near absence of universal measures specifically for families, social assistance is the only recourse for families in need, particularly lone-mother families. Indeed, in the US social assistance is only available for those with dependants, under the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program which replaced the much-maligned Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in 1996. In both the US and Canada, federalism has led to differences in provision between provinces and states and hindered the development of nation-wide measures. In New Zealand, until the 1980s family policy took the form of supporting full employment and a family wage sufficient to enable a male breadwinner to support his wife and two children, as well as a universal family benefit from 1946 to 1991. With economic restructuring and high unemployment in the mid-1980s, this formula was replaced by a succession of tax benefits targeted at low-income families. In general, family policy in these four countries remains fragmentary and need-driven rather than universal, which points to their shared tradition of laissez-faire and non-intervention in the family. On the other hand, a popular movement of moral conservatism which arose in the US in the 1980s, though similar phenomena have also made an appearance in Canada and Britain, has called on government to support traditional family values, including the male-breadwinner, female-homemaker family model, and limit abortion and out-of-wedlock childbirth.

Each country report, written by a local team of experts, contains detailed information on demographic developments, family law, family income and the division of labor, social services, and the politics and institutionalization of family policy from World War II to the present. The volume provides a closer look at the particularities of each country as well as an overview of their similarities, which reveals interesting contrasts with the other Western industrialized countries to be included in this series. This volume is intended to be useful for the scholar, with an extensive index and bibliography, but it is also accessible to less specialized readers, who may find themselves revising some of their preconceived notions about ‘typical’ family behavior and the interaction between families and the state.


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France belongs to the group of the highly developed countries in Europe. It has the largest territory in the European Union (with 543,965 km²), and it ranks third as regards population size. It is one of the economically and technologically leading countries of Europe and the world, although the old industrial zone of the north-east is on the decline. France is a country characterized by high “stateness”, i.e. a highly centralized state structure with only few regional centres apart from the capital (mainly Lyon, Marseille, Lille). It is a unitary state without federal elements. The administrative system which still is in existence was introduced by Napoléon I and is characterized by strong hierarchical elements.

France was a founding member of the EEC in 1957 and is one of the leading countries regarding European unification. After 1945 France also became a centre of intergovernmental organizations, with the UNESCO, the OECD and others becoming located in Paris.

**Geography and history**

In the terminology of Stein Rokkan the territory of France is characterized by a monarchical structure: a central region and several seaward western peripheries. Using this expression he refers to the position of such regions as Brittany, or the Atlantic coastal regions.

A second important characteristic is that over the centuries, since the Middle Ages, the King has been able to unify the country for the crown by taking different measures aimed at territorial growth (war, inheritance, purchase). This laid the basis for the monarchical territorial structure of France, with the Île-de-France having gained predominance over the other French territories. In contrast to other European continental countries, France developed towards a unitary state with little ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity. Nevertheless, linguistic minorities survived on the peripheries of France in Brittany, in the Alsace and in the Basque region. Moreover, the linguistic cleavage between the langue d’oc and the langue d’oil still exists in the population. Some authors therefore speak of the “two nations of France”. Norbert Elias’ theory on the process of civilization is empirically based on the French historical development, the creation of a rather homogeneous and unitarian political system due to mili-

**Table: Statistical comparisons**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Île de France</th>
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Sources: EUROSTAT and national statistical publications. Notes: A 1993; 1 Les Départements d’outre-mer have been left out due to missing data and their very different structures which make the interpretation of an average more or less useless; 2 April.
tary campaigns and the successful outcome of critical periods (e.g. the Hundred Years’ War).

Another characteristic of France is homogeneity in terms of religion; catholicism was preserved by military power, although after the French revolution a laic system separating church and state was introduced.

The late medieval success regarding the unification of the country for the king, the successful outcome of the war against England and the successful religious unification (crusade against the Cathars in the Langedoc-Roussillon) laid the foundation for the development of absolutism in the 17th century. The French king was able to break the centrifugal power of the landed aristocracy by drawing the nobility to Paris and Versailles and using them as army officers and civil servants.

Politics

The unitary and absolutist historical tradition also made possible the introduction of a centralized and hierarchical administrative system by Napoléon Bonaparte, which is more or less still characteristic for state administration in France.

As late as the 1980s attempts were made to decentralize the administrative system. The main aim was to give local and regional governments competences in several fields.

The republican tradition of France was established during the French Revolution. After World War II, in 1946, the Fourth Republic was constituted, and in 1958 the Fifth Republic was declared through the constitution of 1958. The political system of the Fifth Republic is a presidential system. The president of the republic is elected directly, and therefore the president has great political power. That is the reason why the relationship between the president on the one hand and the prime minister and the cabinet of ministers on the other hand is in a permanent state of conflict over a sensible division of labour.

The party system during the Fifth Republic is more or less polarized into a “bourgeois” and a “leftist” camp. However, in contrast to other party systems, it became possible for political leaders to install parties on the extreme right and left of the party spectrum.

The election outcomes during the Fifth Republic showed the predominance of bourgeois parties for a long time, but in 1981 it was possible for François Mitterrand to bring the socialists to power. In the 1993 elections to the National Assembly, the Socialist Party (PS) suffered a defeat. In 1995 the presidential elections brought Jacques Chirac to power, whose seven-year term of office will last until 2002. He held new elections in 1997, 10 months earlier than required, hoping to strengthen the position of the centre-right RPR. Unexpectedly, the socialists came to power again.

While parliamentary democracy is often said to have a weak status, the role of the bureaucracy is considered to be rather important. Especially the bureaucratic elite has considerable power in the country. Position holders are recruited from the highly esteemed “Grandes Ecoles” and the ENA (Ecole Nationale d’Administration), and the interchange between bureaucratic positions and positions in the economy and in the government is easy.

Economy

The French economy is one of the strongest in Europe, with the GDP per capita being higher than the EU average (106 per cent). France has developed towards a post-industrial society, with agricultural employment being low, lower than the EU average. Industrial employment is also below the EU average. Employment in the services is strongly developed, with over two thirds of the labour force being employed in the third sector.

The public sector is rather strongly developed in France and provides work to approximately 20 per cent of the total workforce. There have been attempts to privatize, especially in the telecommunication sector (France Telecom), but the reduction in public sector employ-

ment was rather low compared to other countries (e.g. Britain, Sweden). France remains a country where state enterprises play a predominant role.

The economic activity rate of the population corresponds with the EU average, but unemployment is higher than the EU average for all groups, especially for women and young adults below the age of 25.

One reason for high unemployment is the deindustrialization in the mining and metal industry of the north-west (Nord - Pas-de-Calais). Unemployment has reached extraordinary levels in this region. The second reason is the ongoing migration from rural areas (and employment in agriculture) (Western France) to other regions and industries.

The sectors profiting from this situation are obviously the services, with the tourist industry maintaining a very prominent position. This is evidenced by high migratory gains of the Mediterranean coastal regions. Another region with migration gains is the East of France with Lorraine and Alsace, having below-average unemployment rates and the highest proportion of industrial employment of all French regions.

Under the government of Georges Pompidou investments in high technology were started: the Airbus, Ariane, nuclear industry, the TGV; furthermore, the motorway system was constantly improved.

Demography and family

France’s population history of the last two centuries is exceptional compared to other Western European countries. During the demographic transition of the 19th century population growth was very low due to a rather low birth rate. At a time when other European countries experienced a population explosion with all its social and economic consequences, France’s population growth fell behind. The population question around 1900 led to the introduction of the first family and population policy measures.
It was possible to give family policy a strong position in the institutional structure of the French state, and it now represents one central element of French social policy. Public policies are highly influenced by the family dimension in France, and the family dimension is an issue in nearly all political discussions and policy measures.

The successful implementation of the family dimension obviously had effects on the demographic behaviour of the population. Fertility in France is now above the EU average, while net migration is lower. High fertility results in a population growth which is higher than the EU average. Nevertheless, the family has developed towards a “post-modern” family type. Nearly 40 per cent of all children are not born within a legal marriage; instead, most of them are born within consensual unions. The labour force participation of women is rather high and above the EU average. The marriage rate is below the European average (since the 1880s), but the difference to the European average has increased because the marriage rate has declined considerably since the 1970s. Divorces have increased strongly, and the divorce rate is now above the European average. It is interesting that in France in the decades before and after World War I, the divorce rate was higher than in the rest of Europe. Thus, the deinstitutionalization of marriage is characteristic for France as well as for other European countries; it is even stronger than the European average but is obviously compatible with a comparatively high fertility rate.

Other factors indicate that the family structure participates in the general family trends; however, there are elements of strong “traditionalism”. Thus, the proportion of the population living in a nuclear family is still very much higher than it is in Scandinavia (59 per cent in 1990/91); the proportion of childless women (at the end of the reproduction period) is rather low (11 per cent for the birth cohorts 1950/55).
and the share of single parents is also rather low in comparison.

Thus, contrary to her historical heritage, during the last century France developed towards a country that combines new and old elements of family traits: integrating women into the labour market, and at the same time guaranteeing family formation and the birth of children. One main factor shaping the French family system is the structure of the educational system, which supplies sufficient child care in pre-schools. The school system, consisting mostly of full-day schools, furthers women’s work as well.

Social morphology

After World War II France developed into a strong welfare state where expenditures for social security made up for over 30 per cent of the GDP, thus being slightly above the EU average. It is characteristic for the French social security system that it is centred around the family and that family support is considered to be very important.

Reforms in the field of social security became necessary in the last decade due to strongly rising expenditures, the demographic pressure (ageing of the population), high unemployment and therefore decreasing tax and social contributions.

In France, minorities do not exist, with the exception of immigrants and “guest workers”, the former coming mainly from the former colonies (Algeria), the latter mainly from the Mediterranean regions (e.g. Portugal).

Regional diversity

Since the middle ages France has developed into a *monocephalic system*, with Paris becoming the all-dominating centre of the country. With 11 mill. inhabitants, the Île-de-France accounts for more than one sixth of the French population in a rather small area. Besides this region, the north-western, eastern and the Mediterranean coastal region are also densely populated, while the west (Brittany) and especially the south-west (Aquitaine, Midi-Pyrénées, Limousin) are peripheral regions with a rather low population density.

These regional disparities have reached this extent since the last century and have mainly been caused by internal migration to the North and to the tourist centres of the Mediterranean.

With the exception of the Île-de-France, regional variations are not as extreme as one might think. One could exaggerate and say that there is homogeneity outside the Île-de-France: thus, the GDP per capita does not vary strongly from region to region. The same is true with respect to sectoral employment, the age structure and several demographic indicators.

Only one region faces severe economic problems: Nord – Pas-de-Calais. The west and south-west of France still suffer strong emigration to the urban centres and other regions due to a still strong rural orientation of the region.

Social data production

The institutional structure of the French system of information production on socio-economic topics differs form those of other European countries. In some respect the construction is unique. In the centre of the system there is the INSEE (with the ENSAE), which is surrounded by the statistical departments of the

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**Social Science Research Institutions:**

- Centre d’Etude de la Vie Politique Française (CEVIPOF), 10, rue de la Chaise, F-75007 Paris.
- Centre de Recherche pour l’Etude et l’Observation des Conditions de Vie (CREDOC), 142, rue du Chevaleret, F-75013 Paris, (+33) 01 40 77 85 01, Fax: (+33) 01 40 77 85 33.
- Centre d’Études des Revenus et des Coûts (CERC), 3, Bd de La-tour-Maubourg, F-75007 Paris.
- Institut de Recherches Économiques et Sociales (IRES), 16, Bd du Mont d’Est, F-93192 Noisy-LE-GRAND CEDEX, (+33) 0148151890, Fax: (+33) 0148151918, E-mail: ires@enpc.fr.
- LASMAS, c/o Iresco, 59-61 rue Pouchet, F-75849 Paris Cedex 17, (+33/1) 40251003, Fax: (+33/1) 40251247, Internet: [http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/lasmas/page1.html](http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/lasmas/page1.html).
- Caisse Nationale des Allocations Familiales (CNAF), 23 rue Daveli, F-75634 Paris cedex 13, (+33) 01 45 65 52 52.

**Social Science and Political Journals:**

- Revue Française des Affaires Sociales (quarterly ISSN 0035-2985); Population. Revue Bimestrielle de l’INED (bimonthly ISSN 0032-4663); La Revue de l’IRES (4monthly ISSN 1145-1378); Annales. Histoires, Sciences Sociales (bimonthly ISSN 0395-2649); FORS – Recherche Sociale (quarterly FR ISSN 0034-124 X); Espace, Populations, Sociétés (4monthly ISSN 0755-7809); Travail et Emploi (quarterly ISSN 0224-4365); Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales (quarterly ISSN 0335-5322); Modern & Contemporary France. The Review of the Association for the Study of Modern & Contemporary France (quarterly ISSN 0963-9489).
ministries: the SESI, DARES, DEP, etc. Decision-making bodies are the Planning Agency, the ministries, social organisms, trade unions and employers’ organizations. Several research organizations are located between the INSEE and the field of decision-making (the CRÉDOC, CREDES, IRES). Social research is organized in different thematically specialized research institutes: the INED (demography), INSERM (health), INRP (education). Several social security (and insurance) agencies, such as the CNAF (family allowances), the CNAMTS (health insurance), the CNAVTS (old age insurance), the ANPE (employment insurance) and the UNEDIC (employment) produce statistics and social data. Research done at universities is mainly qualitative, while quantitative research is carried out within the statistical system and the social research centres mentioned above.

In France, an explicit tradition of social reporting does not exist in the same way as, e.g., in the Nordic countries. Social indicators research or social reporting have not been introduced as fields of research or statistical activities. The production of social data is considered to be a normal task of official statistics. Thus, the triannual social report “Données Sociales” is produced in co-operation between statisticians and social scientists. And INSEE has started to publish a series of specialized social reports on population groups. CRÉDOC has specialized in research on living conditions. Neither can the French “Enquête sur les Conditions des Ménages” be considered to be a comprehensive survey on social well-being. Thus, in France social reporting has not been institutionalized as a demarcated field of knowledge, and social data are produced by various actors, with the national statistical institute playing the central role.

Further Reading

Notes to figures 1 to 3
Figure 1: Crude birth rate=Live births per 1,000 mean population; Crude death rate=Deaths per 1,000 mean population; Figure 2: Illegitimate Children Ratio=Live births out-of-wedlock per 1,000 unmarried women aged 15-44; Figure 3: Divorce Ratio=number of persons divorcing per 10,000 married population aged 15 and over. The European rates are calculated in the same way as the national rates, i.e. the European divorce rate=all divorces in Europe related to the married population 15+ in Europe. Europe is defined as all European countries without the states of the former Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and former Yugoslavia. - The time series have been smoothed by moving averages of 3 years.
New Books on European Comparative Research


This publication presents a summary of the book's content, which includes topics such as population, health, education, employment, and social welfare.

European social research: selected new articles


Recent social reports in Europe

In the last few years several European countries have followed the example of other countries to produce social reports or social statistics compendia. In Portugal, the Institute for Social Research (ICS) has produced a report on the social situation in Portugal for the period 1960-1990. The time series data included in this report are also available on disk and over the Internet (Barreto, António (organizer) 1996: A Situação Social em Portugal 1960-1995. Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais (ICS), Universidade de Lisboa). The report presents indicators of the social evolution in several living domains; other chapters include demographic developments, the Portuguese economy, and a presentation of Portuguese social policies and the national system of social security.


In Greece, the National Centre for Social Research (EKKE) participates in the “Comparative Charting of Social Change Project” and has produced a report on recent social trends as it already exists for France, Germany, the US and other countries (EKKE forthcoming: Recent Social Trends in Greece, 1960-1993. Frankfurt/New York: Campus; McGill-Queen’s University Press).

In Spain, the second “Panoramica Social” was published in 1994, the first one having appeared as early as 1975. In 1991 the first edition of “Indicadores Sociales” was issued. Both titles are published by the INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Madrid). In Spain, private foundations, as the Fundación FOESSA, or research centres have published sociological reports since 1966. Since 1967, FOESSA has produced four sociological reports on Spain (Informes sociológicos, in 1967, 1970, 1975, 1980-83). The fifth report was published in 1994. These reports give a comprehensive picture of Spanish society and can be considered the “main” social reports on Spain. Special reference should also be made to the Centro de Investigaciones sobre la Realidad Social (CIRES) (founded in 1990). Each year a voluminous report on the social reality in Spain (La Realidad Social en España) is published. CIRES introduced its own social indicators system. The decentralisation of Spain as a result of the introduction of the autonomous communities („Comunidades Autónomas”) recently led to the production of social reports for various of these autonomous communities. Social reporting has meanwhile spread to the big cities as well, as, e.g., municipal social reports for Madrid and Barcelona prove.

Historical statistics

In the last few years the production of national “historical statistics” has made considerable progress. This can be regarded as one essential task of official statistics and academic researchers. This kind of publication systematically collects and presents long-term historical time series and cross-sectional aggregate data. More and more data are presented on low disaggregated, that is regional, levels. Another improvement is that the data are presented in book form as well as in machine-readable form on CD-ROM. Very often the CD-ROM includes far more detailed data than the printed version.

Outstanding examples of national historical statistics are those coming from Switzerland and Iceland.


Newsletters

• Since 1997 EUROSTAT has published “The EC Household Panel Newsletter” (at irregular intervals). The fourth edition of this newsletter has just arrived. The newsletter informs about changes and developments concerning the
most important study undertaken in the field of comparative European social research thus far. The ECHP is a longitudinal survey harmonized ex-ante and carried out in all member states of the European Union. It concentrates on such socio-economic questions as family structure and dynamics, income and poverty, housing conditions, self-reported health, etc. First results are published in the “Statistics in Focus” series.


Information: Eric Marlier: Jean Monnet Building – C3/100, L-2920 Luxembourg. Tel.: +352 4301-34521; E-mail: eric.marlier@eurostat.cec.be.

New MZES Publications

Working Papers

The following working papers have just 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/ubli2_D.html.

Research Department I (AB I):

Hildegard Brauns, Susanne Steinmann: Educational Reform in France, West Germany, the United Kingdom and Hungary: Updating the CSMIN Educational Classification. (AB I, No. 21) DM 5.--

Hildegard Brauns, Dietmar Haun and Susanne Steinmann: Die Konstruktion eines international vergleichbaren Klassenschemas (EGP). (AB I, No. 22) DM 5.--

Hildegard Brauns, Walter Müller and Susanne Steinmann: Educational Expansion and Returns to Education. (AB I, No. 23) DM 5.--

Birgit Fix: The Institutionalization of Family Welfare: The Social Division of Labour in the Field of Child Care in Austria and Germany. (AB I, No. 24) DM 5.--


Research Department II (AB II):


Michael Stoiber: Die Chance für ein europäisches Parteiensystem aus der Sicht von Wählerwahrnehmungen und Policy-Dimensionen. (AB II, No. 19) DM 5.--


Paul W. Thurner and F.U. Pappi: Measuring and Explaining Strategic Voting in the German Electoral System. (AB II, No. 21) DM 5.--

Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck: Alle reden davon – doch ist was dran? Medieneinflüsse auf Wahlscheiderungen (AB II, No. 22) DM 5.--

Research Department III (AB III):

Stefan Ganter: Determinanten ethnischer Grenzziehung. (AB III, No. 21) DM 5.--

Stefan Ganter: Stereotype and Vorurteile: Konzeptionalisierung, Operationalisierung und Messung. (AB III, No. 22) DM 5.--

Jürgen R. Grote: Regionale Vernetzung: Interorganisatorische Struktur differenzen regionaler Politikgestaltung. (AB III, No. 23) DM 5.--

New Books


Forthcoming Events:

XIVth World Congress of Sociology of the International Sociological Association (ISA), 26th July-1st Aug 1998, Université de Montréal, P.O. Box 6128, Station Downtown, Montréal (Québec), Canada H3C 3J7. Phone: 1-(514)343-6492. Fax: 1-(514)343-6544. E-Mail: congress@bcco.umontreal.ca. Internet: http://www.bcoc.umontreal.ca/.


27th European Consortium for Political Research - ECPR Joint Session of Workshops, 26th March-31st March 1999, University of Mannheim, Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES), Germany. Address: L7, 1, D-68161 Mannheim, Germany. Further information is available from the local administrative officer: Birgit Blum, MZES, Phone: +49 621 261 292 1884; Fax: +49 621 292 1784; Home-page: http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/ECPR; E-mail: ECPR@mzes.uni-mannheim.de. - ECPR Central Services: University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, CO4 3SQ, Essex, England. Tel. +44 1206 87 2501/2497; Fax +44 1206 87 2500; E-mail: ecpr@essex.ac.uk; WWW address: http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR; E-mail: ECPR@mzes.uni-mannheim.de.

European Sociological Association (ESA) 4th European Conference of Sociology “Will Europe Work?”, 18th-21st August 1999, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Organized by SISWO, Netherlands Universities Institute for Coordination of Research in Social Sciences, Conference secretariat: SISWO, Plantage Muidergracht 4, NL-1018 TV Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Phone: +31 20 5270600; Fax: +31 20 6229430, Email: esa@siswo.uva.nl.

Abstracts of papers to be submitted should be sent to the organizers until 15 January 1999.

11th World Congress of the International Industrial Relations Association (IIRA) “Developing competitiveness and social justice: the interplay between institutions and social partners”, 22nd-26th September 1999, Bologna, Italy. Info: Congress secretariat, IIRA Congress, Sinnea International, Via Ronco, 3 I-40013 Castelmaggiore (BO), Italy. Phone: +39-51632 9511, Fax: +39-51-632-5050. E-mail: info@iiracongress.com.
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. European Social Indicators gives a picture of the social structure of European societies. Noticeboard provides general news including information about new statistics, recent books and studies, conference reports and announcements.

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