



EuReporting

Switzerland – A New Social Report

Christian Suter

EuReporting Working Paper No. 19

**Towards a European System
of Social Reporting and
Welfare Measurement**

A TSER-Project Financed by
the European Commission

Subproject
**European System of Social
Indicators**

Swiss Federal Institute of
Technology (ETH-Centre)

Department of Sociology

Zurich 2001

Introduction

Switzerland presently experiences a time of radical social change. This is one of the main conclusions of the recently published Swiss Social Report 2000 – the first Social Report of this country since the late 1970s. The Swiss Social Report is looking back on the past decades, in particular on the past thirty to fifty years. This period of time includes the long economic boom of the 1950s, 1960s and the early 1970s, the recessions of 1975-76 and of 1982-83, the short-term boom of the „golden eighties“ and the subsequent long phase of recession and stagnation of the 1990s. The indicators and analyses of the Social Report make clear that Switzerland has fundamentally changed in economic, cultural, social, political and ecological terms over this period of time.¹

Many readers may be surprised by this diagnosis since the image of Switzerland that has lately been promoted is one of an immobile and rigid country lacking the readiness to move forward and the willingness to change, a country which isolates itself and sticks to outdated models and concepts. This view corresponds to the traditional image of Switzerland as a special case: a country which is on the outside of the rest of the world and considers change unnecessary. Perhaps the impression of an immobile society stems from the fact that many important changes do not happen suddenly, and existing circumstances and familiar patterns of behaviour - the so-called social structure - do not change abruptly. People, institutions and organizations do not change their attitudes and behaviour overnight. The present volume focuses on the slow changes which are hardly noticeable in daily life, but only become visible after years or even decades.

Obviously, it would be biased and wrong to only see the changes. In many areas, there is stability and continuity besides the processes of structural change. When looking at a particular case, it is not always easy to decide whether „change“ or „continuity“ captures what is going on more appropriately. This is to a large extent a question of perspective an observer adopts or an author offers to his or her readers. The following example illustrates this. Increasing income inequalities and the growing social gap between rich and poor has recently often been discussed; the middle classes, too, are getting more and more threatened – an observation that also holds true for Switzerland as demonstrated by the indicator „income“. At the same time though it is also true that the distribution of income in Switzerland has always been very unequal (indicator „income inequalities“). The continuity of this structure of inequality over decades is certainly just as important as the actual increase of inequality in recent years.

¹ The Swiss Social Report has been published in German and in French as well. German edition: Christian Suter (ed.), Sozialbericht 2000, Zürich: Seismo, 2000. French edition: Christian Suter and Claude Pahud (eds.), Rapport social 2000, Zurich: Seismo, 2000.

Change and continuity of economic, social, cultural and political structures are crucially important in answering the key-question of how a society is held together. To ask what holds a society together is also to ask what divides it, what the characteristic ruptures and gaps are and how explosive these conflicts are. Next to the traditional inequalities relating to income, profession and education as well as between the language regions and areas of the country, the present Social Report focuses on forms of inequality which have only begun to be discussed in the past decades. These are gender and generation inequalities as well as inequalities between people of different national origin living in Switzerland (local as opposed to foreign population). Such a social gap may either widen or become more narrow over the course of time. Not only the actual extent of these social differences is decisive, but also whether or not and how strongly the population considers such differences as inequalities and as unjust.

In what follows, firstly, concept and contents of the Swiss Social Report are briefly summarized. Then, the most important social changes, continuities and contradictions which have characterized Swiss society in the past 30 to 50 years are described. Finally, it will be asked how the institutional structures has reacted to these structural changes.

Concept and Contents of the Social Report

The Swiss Social Report combines two perspectives: First, a descriptive and indicator based view, second, an analytical and explanatory perspective. In doing so, two important functions of social reporting are accomplished: On the one hand, to produce an „objective“ and continuously updated data handbook, and on the other hand, to provide a problem orientated interpretation of data, clarifying relationships and explaining social problems and processes of social change. Since the audience of the Social Report is the public at large, all indicators of social change and social structures are graphically presented as simple visualizations.

The Social Report of Switzerland describes, interprets and explains the current living conditions and living forms of the population and the most important changes over the past 30 to 50 years. The report treats basic societal questions, problems and developments in five thematic domains:

- 1) Production, distribution and inequality,
- 2) Cultural diversity,
- 3) Social integration,

- 4) Political (re)organization
- 5) Ecological integration.

As mentioned there are two complementary perspectives: First, the indicator based view: For each of the five domains, 15 selected indicators are treated on a double page (cf. appendix for a list of the indicators). On one page, there are charts and tables, on the other, there are explanations, short interpretations, and a critical examination of the indicators. This interpreting and explanatory perspective is deepened in the second part of the report: For each of the five domains the most important trends are dealt with by five different authors.

The domain *production, distribution and inequality* (chapter author: Yves Flückiger) deals with the developmental tendencies concerning education, work, income and economy. The indicators describe the difference between and the change of the level of education of the local and the foreign population living in Switzerland, the extent of further education, the change within the economic sectors and industries, different aspects of work and unemployment, the extent of wage differences and income inequalities.

The second domain (chapter author: Dieter Karrer) deals with *cultural diversity* and how the cultural landscape of Switzerland has changed in the past decades. It particularly focuses on the topic of immigration and the situation of foreigners in Switzerland (e.g. percentage of the different nationalities, evaluation of foreigners, equal prospects of the local and the foreign population, linguistic integration of foreigners). Furthermore, religious questions and different aspects of leisure time behaviour are discussed as well.

The indicators of the third domain, *social integration* (chapter author: Manuel Eisner), describe different forms of integration and disintegration concerning partnership and family (marriage, divorce, expectations in relationships, birth) as well as concerning the relationship between age groups (age quotient, youth quotient), problems of integration to do with criminality and poverty as well as measures to promote integration in the area of social security.

The fourth domain looks at the topic of *political (re)organization* (chapter author: Andreas Ladner). The chosen indicators capture political views and values, political activities and forms of participation of the population and of political actors (such as social movements and parties) as well as important lines of conflict (e.g. between the German and the French speaking parts of Switzerland or between Left and Right).

The fifth and last domain deals with the issue of *ecological integration* (chapter author: Peter Knoepfel). Besides different aspects of ecological damage and exploitation, the

indicators in this section shed light on mobility, attitudes towards environmental questions and dangers as well as eco-political measures.

In what follows, the most important results and conclusions concerning the five domains are synthesized.

Social Change of Swiss Society

Switzerland has dramatically changed in the past thirty years. Swiss society at the beginning of the 21st century is fundamentally different from Swiss society in the late 1960s. The author of the chapter on social integration, Manuel Eisner, thus speaks of a new basic form, a new model of society in his contribution on social integration. The post-war „industrial society“ with its peak in the 1960s has, according to Eisner, been superseded by a „multi-option-society“.

This new „individualizing“ and „pluralizing“ society offers its members more options, more autonomy and the opportunity to organize their lives individually; this becomes evident in forms of family life, in partnerships, in life styles and living arrangements, the way time and money is used, the different forms of work (e.g. indicator „expectations in relationships“). At the same time, this new society weakens traditional social relations, authorities and meaning. For some, the possibility to organize one's life individually is a benefit, others loose structures which provided their sense of identity. The expression „individualizing society“ does, however, not imply that the members of contemporary society act regardless of relations and rules. Social networks - and not only the ones based on family ties and kinship - continue to play an important role. The change towards an individualizing society is not only due to the post-war process of economic growth and transformation. Equally important is the creation and extension of the modern welfare state with its system of social security, in particular old age, surviving dependents' and invalidity pensions as well as health insurance and the temporary coverage in cases of unemployment and security of subsistence in cases of serious difficulties (social welfare). The security offered by the social welfare system has liberated people from the constraints of family and kinship based relations. Financial support by other private persons (support by relatives, maintenance) continues to play an important role despite the multifaceted social security system, and this is even more so in regard to non-financial support and help (indicator „income components“). This fact testifies to the unbroken importance of personal social networks. The basic processes of change during the past decades are not limited to the social bonds within society, but likewise become apparent in the cultural,

economic, political and ecological sphere. Comparable images and metaphors used in these different fields illustrate similar changes of contemporary society.

The cultural landscape of Switzerland has changed dramatically. Not only has the previous „working society“ been substituted by the „leisure time and event society“, but the „working society“ itself has become more open to individual organization. Increased individual freedom has resulted in a greater diversity of life styles and individual biographies. Moreover, the cultural diversity has increased as a result of the immigration of foreign workers of different cultural origin (indicator „profile of nationalities“). To have a „second“ or even a „third“ life - that is to move between different life forms and cultural and social spaces, to change one's identity - which has been described in regard to foreigners, is increasingly true for Swiss people's biographies and working experiences, too. Indeed, it has become typical of the individualizing society at the turn of the century.

Terms such as „service society“, „information society“, „knowledge society“ or „global economy“ express structural changes in the economic field. These terms refer to principal aspects of the changing economic system: In contrast to the „industrial society“ of the 1950s and 1960s, the most important and most dynamic economic sector of production and employment these days is the service sector (indicator „change of sectors and industries“). On the one hand, the conditions have changed - the global competition for capital, production sites and working forces for example has increased. On the other hand, the demands on workers and employees have changed: information and know-how are becoming the most important raw materials and so the demands concerning qualifications and the necessity for life-long, continuous further education have increased accordingly. And indeed, the formal level of education of the Swiss population has considerably improved due to the extension of the education system (indicator „level of education of Swiss population“).

The transformation towards a new form of society and economy often manifests itself in the course of crises. The lasting job crisis and the economic stagnation of the 1990s is qualitatively different to the previous, „normal“, economic crises. They are the focal point of different economic structural changes with a long-term effect - in particular the increasing integration of (Swiss) women into the job market, the orientation of immigration policy towards the influx of a working force with low qualification, the disconnection of the development of wages and the profits of enterprises and capital, as well as the growing inequality between different income groups, especially the relative decrease suffered by the lowest income group in comparison to the middle and the upper class. These developments are related to the processes of social and cultural change. The increased economic activity of Swiss women for example cannot be explained by

reference to economic factors only, but one also has to take into account that traditional roles and values are breaking up as a result of the process of individualization.

An epoch-making change is also discernable in relation to society and environment. The concept of „sustainable development“ to which Switzerland, too, has committed itself aims at moving from an exploitative to an environmentally sound use of natural resources. Environmental damages and risks were extensively discussed in public in particular in the 1980s and the general public was very much concerned with these issues (indicator „evaluation of environmental situation“). The perception of risks to the environment is not only due to an „objectively“ more threatening situation, but also related to a changing, „post-materialist“ evaluation increasingly critical of technical development. As shown by various indicators, environmental damage has in fact been reduced in different areas thanks to the political measures introduced - in particular concerning waste, precautions in case of defect, prevention of water pollution and partly air quality (indicators „waste“ and „air pollution“). This „ecologization“ was triggered and supported not least by the ecological movement which had succeeded in introducing their concerns into the political system.

The political sector experienced structural change relatively late in comparison to the economic, social, cultural and ecological changes that happened. The 1990s, however, can be considered as a phase of political change. The political institutions' proverbial hostility towards reform was broken up in many respects. On the one side, the different reform efforts were triggered by the tight financial situation on all political levels. On the other hand, the processes of social disintegration led to more and more responsibilities on all of these levels which favoured the creation of new instruments and structures. Although the welfare structures introduced and extended in the course of the 20th century were only partially changed, the welfare state has become more competitive.

The relationship between state and society has fundamentally changed in the course of the past few decades. The most striking evidence of this is the loss of trust in the government (indicator „political trust“). This has little to do with actual governmental politics - the voting successes of the government for example have not diminished (indicator „voting successes“). What has changed is people's basic attitude towards political authorities and institutions. Trust is not uncritically and indefinitely granted any longer, but the politicians have to continuously establish trust and to prove that they are worthy of it. The disintegration of traditional authority is not only evident in the political sphere - scientists, teachers, doctors and clergymen who once used to be completely unchallenged suffer likewise from this development. That authorities are being challenged is the counterpart to the increase of freedom and individualization. The more critical attitude towards politics

and authorities is also likely to be related to the visible disruption of the previously valid „contrat social“ and the loss of influence of national politics in comparison to the economy.

The main problem of the present phase of political change lies within the area of interest mediation: The established political actors and institutions - parties, associations, movements - have lost influence and power. They succeed less and less in adopting the concerns of the population and in securing the necessary popular support for the present process of change. The increasing receptability for populist messages is likely to be a direct expression of this problem.

Continuities

The indicators and analyses of the Swiss Social Report focus on change. But despite the drastic changes described, there is surprising stability in certain areas - not everything changes in this changing world. It is precisely in the areas where the changes are particularly striking that one also finds continuities. As the example of income inequalities illustrates, the evaluation of the development concerning change and continuity is not always clear, but is also a question of one's particular perspective. Moreover, the different areas and indicators show contrasting developments pointing to continuity and change at the same time. Such apparently paradoxical developments show that social change does not happen one-dimensionally, but that it is multiform, multifaceted and contradictory at times. The fact that the social order of behaviour and attitudes is preserved in the individualizing and pluralizing society testifies to great continuity despite fundamental change. Thus is it not accidental, but partly defined by particular social circumstances how one uses one's time and income, what sort of leisure time activities and sports one undertakes, what one reads and which TV-programs one watches (indicators „leisure time activities“, „reading behaviour“, „film consumption“, „sport“). Besides traditional class characteristics (such as formal education), gender and age also play a crucial role. As explained in the chapter on social integration, traditional gender roles have become weakened in the course of individualization. Marriage and (nuclear) family, however, remain unchallenged as *institutions* despite increasing divorce rate, marriage age and integration of women into the job market and decreasing number of children - what has changed are the forms of living together and of social relations between the family members. Religion and church have proven surprisingly stable institutions, too. Thus only few people resign from church despite the individualization wave. The fact that religious affiliation continues to be an important criterion when choosing a partner (indicator

„religious homogeneity“) - as is also the case with social status - contradicts the ideal of a pluralizing society free of traditional ties.

We arrive at a similar, apparently paradoxical picture if we compare the fundamental change from the industrial towards the individualizing and pluralizing society with the development of working values. In general, the industrial society is characterised as a working society where identity is based on work and the fulfilment of duties. This is contrasted to the present „leisure time and event society“ where work supposedly loses significance. If, however, one looks at the results of surveys, such an erosion of working values has in fact not taken place in the past twenty years (cf. indicator working values). The majority of Swiss people continue to speak of themselves as „someone who likes to work and works a lot“. It is particularly surprising that this percentage has risen with people with high formal education in recent years. A possible explanation for this may be that the definition of „work“ and „working person“ has moved towards individualization. Thus people with high formal education consider the possibility to develop one's own individual abilities at work particularly important. In other words: it is not that the working society has not been substituted by the leisure time society, but the working society itself has become more individualized.

There are similar continuities and contradictions in the political sphere. Despite social and institutional changes, the Left-Right opposition has remained the most important element of political orientation and positioning (indicators „Left-right positions“ and „party support“). This applies both to parties and politicians and to the citizens' political positions. The media thus greatly exaggerate when they claim, as is often the case, that the political Left-Right dimension has lost its significance; such statements are not based on an appropriate description of the observed changes. Stability of form, however, is not necessarily the same as stability of content. Indeed, there are indications that the content of what is understood by Right and Left has changed. First of all it is noticeable that the positions have changed in regard to trust in the government: up to the end of the 1980s, politically Left people had much less trust in the government than people who were Right-wing. In the 1990s, this relation has turned upside down. The Left has now become more state-supporting than it used to be the case - the opposite is true for the Right. Two other aspects are of importance. First: The main contemporary political conflict between Left and Right concerns Switzerland's opening towards the outside - mainly the question of a unified Europe, but also issues concerning foreigners and refugees (indicator „most important problems“). The traditional concerns of the Left, i.e. the issues of distribution and social security, are not so controversial at the moment. Second: Today, Left means Left-Green. That the Left has adopted many ecological postulates is evident in the fact that people who belong to the Left and those who belong to the Right have assessed ecological

issues increasingly differently in recent years (indicators „evaluation of environmental situation“, „evaluation of road building“, „evaluation of nuclear power stations“).

Parliamentary minorities and majorities, too, have changed rather little in the post-war era (indicator „strength of political parties“). The traditional factions and alliances remain determining (a bourgeois Middle-Right-faction as opposed to a Left/Left-Green faction); there has never existed a „Politik der Neuen Mitte" (roughly equivalent to New Labour) and nothing of that sort is in sight either. Neither has the extent of voting successes and failures of the Federal Council and the parties which are represented in it significantly changed in the course of time (indicator „voting successes“) - despite the drastic loss of trust in the government and the strengthening of the Right-wing opposition led by the „Swiss People's Party“ (SVP – „Schweizerische Volkspartei“). Apart from the success of the SVP in the most recent parliamentary elections in the cantons and on the national level, the strength of the different parties has remained surprisingly consistent. On the level of the cantons though, a pluralization of parties has taken place - the time of one-party-rule and party monopolies seems to be definitely over.

In the course of the dramatic ecologization as described above, one can also observe stabilization. The 1990s have not seen a „de-ecologization“. The technique-critical attitudes have retained their importance despite the long-term economic stagnation. This stabilization of ecological integration occurred despite limited financial leeway and despite the fact that issues to do with the environment and with energy policy have lost their importance in the public debate and are no longer - as was the case in the 1980s - one of the major concerns of the population at large.

Social Contradictions and Conflicts

Social conflicts can break out for several reasons. Different values („cultural struggle“, ecology) or political orientations (Left/Right positions) may play a role as well as unequal distribution of and unequal access to opportunities in life, material and cultural resources. Thus income and wealth, professional status and education are the most obvious sources of social inequality. We tolerate great inequalities of income distribution and professional status partly because they are the visible result of diverse investment in education and because - according to the principal of equal opportunities - everyone ought to have equal access to education. And indeed, the expansion of education has created new prospects of promotion for the (Swiss) population.

Other potential markers of inequality have, however, become more important in the course of the social and economic changes, in particular gender, age, (linguistic-)regional

affiliation and nationality. Mind you, it is not the inequalities as such which are new but the critical attentiveness directed at them. These inequalities are particularly unacceptable in the modern achievement-orientated society, because they are on the whole tied to affiliations - such as gender, age or nationality - which are beyond the control of the people concerned. Precisely because people have learnt and are willing to organize their lives themselves in the modern society (trend towards individualization and pluralization), such socially fixed inequalities which the individual can hardly influence gain importance in the public discourse and become less and less tolerable. In order to estimate these inequalities and possible changes over time, the different indicators used in the Social Report referred to are broken down into these features. Such conflicts become particularly explosive when several social cleavages coincide - for example income inequalities plus regional differences.

Gender inequalities have increasingly been discussed in the public in the course of the past thirty years. The indicators and analyses used in the five topical fields presented suggest that gender inequalities have on the whole become weaker: examples are the opening of the political system by finally giving women eligibility and the right to vote, the alignment of men's and women's pensions, the improved integration of (Swiss) women into the job market and their changing behaviour in the event of unemployment, better educational qualification - indeed there is a higher percentage of young Swiss women holding a grammar-school diploma than men (who for their part are better represented in professional training and especially in higher professional training). The postulate of equality between men and women is as such undisputed, but - as shown by several indicators - not necessarily its concrete realization. The percentage of women on the electoral lists of particular political parties for example - especially those of the Right - is very low (indicator „percentage of women on electoral lists“). Moreover, several measures have been introduced in recent years which aim at a „downward“ gender equality (such as the rise of the retirement age of women or the immigration regulations for nationally mixed couples). On the professional level, too, there continue to exist vast gender inequalities. It is apparently not easy to turn educational into professional successes - this is especially true for management positions (indicator „level of inequalities of wages“). The roots of gender inequality on the job market are to be found in the formal education system, too, in particular in professional training which continues to be organized along gender lines so that young men and women end up in largely separate professions. Finally, one has to mention gender inequality due to women's activities both at work and at home. Even though the gender gap today appears to be less marked than thirty years ago, one mustn't forget that the general public is more sensitive towards this form of inequality these days than this used to be the case.

The gap between *the young and the old* has only recently become a matter of political debate. Part of the background of the „generation conflict“ is the changing age structure which leads to additional demands on the working population in regard to the financing of pensions. On average, the older age groups are materially better secured and better protected by social security than the young. Also, higher life expectancy has led to a situation where people receive inheritance less and less often at the time of their professional and personal consolidation, but mostly at later stages in their lives. Life styles and values of the old and the young differ, too. Young people's openness towards the idea of a unified Europe and the World Society, their stronger emphasis of ecological values and their different forms of political activity illustrate this. To a large part, these differences can be explained with the considerable gap between the education of different generations: as a result of the expansion of education, the young have considerably better educational and professional qualifications. Despite the general widening of the age gap, there is no open conflict up-to-now, the main reason probably being that there are close social ties between the generations thanks to family and kinship relations which at the same time channel social support and help. It is not irrelevant either that the generation gap does not extend to all areas. On the contrary, there are important problematic issues such as unemployment where the lines of conflict are not based on age differences.

Differences based on *linguistic affiliation* are bound to be particularly important in Switzerland. Next to the traditional differences and the so-called „Röstigraben“ (this refers to a dish which epitomizes Swiss German cultural identity), new mutually reinforcing lines of conflict have appeared in the 1980s and 1990s: in the 1980s, this was foremost the ecological issue and questions to do with technology and public transport connected to it. In the 1990s, the issue of European unity was added to this and the fact that the linguistic regions were not equally hit by the economic stagnation (indicator „voting differences between German and French speaking Switzerland“). A corresponding increase of diverging voting behaviour can thus be observed. This is particularly problematic insofar as the German-speaking part of Switzerland can easily outvote the other regions thanks to its population size - the opposite is hardly possible. However, there are diverging tendencies. Thus, several dimensions indicate a trend towards the alignment between the language regions, for example concerning the question of trust in the government (indicator „political trust“).

Significant inequalities exist between *the Swiss and the foreign population* of Switzerland. This is especially evident in the education sector: The majority of the (adult) foreigners living in Switzerland still only have minimal education (indicator „level of education of foreign population“). The main reason for this state of affairs is Switzerland's „immigration policy“ which favours the immigration of cheap and badly qualified

workers. Their low level of qualification is responsible for the fact that foreigners are significantly stronger hit by unemployment, low wages and poverty than the Swiss population. Neither education and training in their country of origin, nor professional experience in their country of origin or in Switzerland have any influence on the level of wages they receive. The Swiss education system is only partially able to level out this integration deficiency of the foreign population. Thus only with the Italians, but not with immigrants from other countries of origin (Spain, Portugal, Turkey, ex-Yugoslavia), one can observe the beginning of a successful integration of the second generation via the education system. It is unfortunately likely that the situation is even worse in respect to further education, because it is the already well educated who get involved in further education activities.

There is also a lack of political integration of foreigners. Even though there are many foreigners, and their number is increasing, who have been living in Switzerland for a rather long time, the immigration rate remains low. Opinion polls show that three quarters of the persons questioned agree that young foreigners who have grown up in Switzerland ought to be able to become naturalized Swiss without any difficulty, but the contemporary votes on immigration convey a different picture: very often a person's nationality is decisive for whether their application to become naturalized Swiss is successful or not: Italian or Spanish citizens are naturalized, Bosnian or Serbian are not. The arbitrariness of such popular decisions is shameful and contradicts the principle of equal treatment. Moreover, the attitude of the population towards questions of equal opportunity shows that the majority of the Swiss citizens are not willing to better integrate the foreigners and to offer them equal opportunities. What is particularly worrying is the fact that the willingness to accept *inequalities* of opportunities of Swiss and foreign persons has risen compared to a few years ago (indicator „(Un)equal opportunities of Swiss people/foreigners“).

Lacking Adaptation of Institutions to Social Change

Swiss society is on the move. The described long-term processes of change and the social discontinuities and lines of conflict related to them challenge and necessitate political, economic and social action. In what ways have the respective institutions reacted to the processes of change - are they capable of assimilation and problem resolving and which institutional changes are imperative?

The environmental institutions exhibit a high degree of problem resolving capability. It is remarkable that the institutional securing of ecological changes happened at a time when public pressure on ecological policy decreased. But even though there are unmistakable

successes, there continues to be a great need for action in certain areas. This applies to environmental damages caused by motorized traffic for example (such as concentrations of ozone, global warming caused by a rise of CO₂ discharge, noise level) or to the protection of the soil, of nature and landscape. Only continuous ecological reforms can secure the basic living conditions for future generations in the long run.

The process of individualization has led to people today having more freedom and more opportunities to give their lives their individual shape. At the same time, life has become more risky because of that and less secure. The danger to fall through a gap in the social network is not limited to a small minority at the margins of society any longer, but increasingly concerns larger middle social classes, too. It is these new risks - and not primarily the much discussed effect of the increasing number of old people - which force us to reform the institution of the welfare state. This applies in particular to social insurances which are based on the model of the (male) full-time employed „breadwinner“. People who work part-time, but also many self-employed persons are insufficiently integrated into the net of social security today; they must obtain access to full insurance cover. This for example concerns professional provisions - the minimum annual wage for the compulsory recruitment of an employee into the pension fund is 24'120 Swiss Francs. The access to accident insurance is limited, too, for people working part-time and people with low wages because of the necessary minimum employment of 8 hours a week at the same workplace. Unemployment insurance and the confusing system of child benefit - no uniform national regulations, only possible for one parent and dependent on employment situation are also in need of reform. In the area of maternity insurance and child care, there is particularly strong and growing need for action. Waiting lists for crèches - where available at all - are long, especially in larger cities. New family forms (to do with divorce, single parenthood) and the growing professional activity of women make it imperative that new ways of child care (or its financing) - such as organized lunches, adjustment of school time tables, support of groups of neighbours and parents - are pursued. From a socio-political perspective, the old age-pension scheme (AHV), whose restructuring is presently the focus of reform discussions due to its foreseeable financial gaps, is - together with the supplementary services - the most efficient branch of social security. Their existence is thus justified beyond doubt.

It is, however, not only the institutions which have to adjust to greater flexibility. Everyone of us is challenged. More freedom goes hand in hand with more responsibility. The possibility to shape one's life according to one's personal ideas implies greater responsibility to deal with the effects of one's own decisions. Not only successes in life, but also failures are going to be more strongly individualized in the future. It is to be

feared that social solidarity between people and between social groups will continue to lessen under these circumstances.

People also take on more responsibility within the social bonds of which they are part. Life-long partnership is becoming rare, dependency on family ties and kinship have largely disappeared. This gives every individual the chance to freely choose family forms and relationships which are based on equality and reciprocity. And the institutional base is already there - for example in the form of the new marriage and divorce law. In non-family based contexts, too, individually chosen forms of community and relationship are becoming ever more important. New and old, newly discovered forms of social commitment - such as self-help groups, voluntary work, neighbourhood networks - are an important supplement to the welfare state's institutions of social security.

The increase of insecurity and of loosened bonds are particularly obvious in the job world of the new service and know-how society. Secured full-time, life-long jobs are replaced by the repeated change of one's job and profession, and this is increasingly the case in the form of part-time jobs. This demands greater flexibility of the employees and of the institutions of the job market likewise. The most urgent reforms in this respect are: the gradual elimination of the discrimination of part-time employees as well as what concerns pay policy and the promotion practice of enterprises; access to and the possibilities of continuous, professional further qualification, especially for less well educated employees.

In such a flexible job world, the access to education and up-to-date know-how become increasingly important. This means that someone's „school bag“ nowadays decides over successes in their future job life even more than this used to be the case. Of course, the quick multiplication of know-how requires continuous, life-long learning. We know though that the course for later access to and the realization of further education activities is already set on completion of one's primary education, in particular because in Switzerland, the possibilities for adults to improve their qualification are seriously limited. Thus the formal education system becomes the key to the contemporary knowledge society. This is not only true for the elementary school education, but also for professional training. The education system becomes especially important also because it creates the very bases and conditions which enable people to act with the required responsibility. The extent of equal opportunities in regard to access to education and know-how - regardless of gender, nationality, religion and social background - will decide on whether or not it can be prevented that the „integrated“ and the „excluded“ will drift apart as separate social groups.

The reform and the extension of the education system is urgent in order to achieve integration. This is particularly obvious with the contemporary most important gulf within

Swiss society, namely the gap between local and foreign population groups. It is more than uncertain that the integration of foreigners who settled down in Switzerland in the 1980s and the 1990s will be equally successful as the integration of Italians one can observe today. Not only the bigger cultural distance of the respective regions of origin account for this, but just as much the changed conditions of the job market which make higher demands on successful integration. The legal-institutional preconditions for the realization of the integration of foreigners are theoretically provided by the paragraph on integration which has been in force since October 1999. The fact that the Federal Council is unwilling to make the financial means available without delay and without reducing them, is not an encouraging decision.

A New Social Contract

As other countries, too, Switzerland has experienced a time of radical social change in recent years. These processes of change, often hardly discernable in daily life, have strongly altered the picture of Switzerland. Greater individual autonomy and creativity, cultural diversity, changing forms of family and partnership, the breaking-up of traditional roles, values and meaning, structural change in the job sector and the economic sphere including new job requirements, women's increasing integration into the job market, greater income inequalities, different attitudes towards the natural environment, loss of trust in politics and the government are some of the key-words dealt with in depth in the Social Report.

The institutions have failed to follow up the fundamental social and economic change not only in the political, but also in the other social spheres. The resulting conflictive adaptation is plainly obvious with those regulations which are still based on the outdated principle of the male, full-time employed family father and breadwinner. This applies in particular to the social insurances, but also to institutions of the job market and education as well as different social services (such as child care). The deficiency of integration which results from the lack of institutional adjustment makes clear that the so-called „contract social“, the social contract between the different social groups and sections of the population holding the society together, has to be renewed. This is necessary also because previous social compromises don't work any longer or have been terminated (by one side) which is evident with the increasing income inequality and the disappearing solidarity between different social groups (recall the maternity insurance, or the integration of foreigners). Besides the already mentioned reorganization of the social security system and of the institutions of the job market, some of the fundamentals of renewal are the reform and the extension of the education system - including professional training and further

education - as well as a new orientation of immigration policy starting from the concept of Switzerland as an immigration country (rather than a place of residence for foreigners) and based on the principle of social and political integration.

Appendix: List of the indicators by thematic domain

(in brackets: page number of the German edition)

Production, distribution and inequality

- Post-compulsory degrees and diplomas (of 20-year old women and men) (22)
- Level of education of Swiss population (24)
- Level of education of foreign population (26)
- Further education (28)
- Change of sectors and industries (30)
- Labour force participation (32)
- Full-time and part-time employment (34)
- Employment and Education (36)
- Working values (38)
- Unemployment (40)
- Socio-demographic profile of unemployment (42)
- Long-term unemployment (44)
- Level and inequalities of wages (46)
- Income (48)
- Income inequalities and income components (50)

Cultural diversity

- Percentage of foreigners, profile of nationalities (78)
- Duration of stay, naturalizations (80)
- Evaluation of foreigners (82)
- (Un)equal opportunities of Swiss people / foreigners (84)
- Languages (86)
- Linguistic assimilation (88)
- English at work (90)
- Religion (92)
- Religious homogeneity (94)
- Non-denomination (96)
- Leisure time activities (98)
- Reading behaviour (100)
- Film consumption (102)
- Summer holidays (destinations) (104)
- Sport (106)

Social integration

- Marriage (134)
- Divorce (136)
- Expectations in relationships (138)
- Birth (140)
- Age structure (142)
- Retirement insurance (144)
- Disability pensions (146)
- Efficacy of social services (148)
- Poverty of different municipalities (150)
- Extension of social insurance (152)
- Suspects (property crimes and violent crimes) (154)
- Sentencing (156)
- Rate of sentencing (158)
- Perception of criminality (160)
- Crime victims (162)

Political (re)organization

- Values (186)
- Most important problems (188)
- Political trust (190)
- Political activities (192)
- Social movements (194)
- Left-Right positions (196)
- Party support (198)
- Strength of political parties (election of National Council) (200)
- Percentage of women on electoral lists (election of National Council) (202)
- Political parties and their voters (204)
- Petition for a Referendum (Initiatives) (206)
- Agreement - Disagreement between the political parties of the Federal Council (208)
- Voting Participation (210)
- Voting successes and failure of the political parties of the Federal Council (212)
- Voting differences between German vs. French speaking Switzerland (214)

Ecological integration

- Ecological damage (238)
- Land utilization (240)
- Passenger services (242)
- Goods traffic (244)
- Transport costs (246)
- Evaluation of road building (248)
- Energy consumption (250)
- Evaluation of Nuclear power stations (252)
- Waste (254)
- Air pollution (256)
- Global warming (258)
- Challenge to the environment (260)
- Evaluation of environmental situation (262)
- Eco-political measures (264)
- Benefit - risk gene technology (266)

List of EuReporting Working Papers

- Berger-Schmitt, Regina; Jankowitsch, Beate: Systems of Social Indicators and Social Reporting: The State of the Art. EuReporting Working Paper No. 1, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Mannheim: Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA), Social Indicators Department, 1999
- Adamski, Wladyslaw; Pelczynska-Nalecz, Katarzyna; Zabowrowski, Wojciech: System of Social Indicators, Social Reporting and Polish Society Transformation. State of the Art Report. EuReporting Working Paper No. 2, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Warsaw: The Polish Academy of Science, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, 1999
- Noll, Heinz-Herbert: Konzepte der Wohlfahrtsentwicklung: Lebensqualität und "neue" Wohlfahrtskonzepte. EuReporting Working Paper No. 3, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Mannheim: Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA), Social Indicators Department, 1999
- Harcza, István; Spéder, Zsolt: Social Reporting and Social Indicators Movement in Hungary before and after the Transformation. EuReporting Working Paper No. 4, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Budapest: Central Statistical Office; Budapest University of Economic Sciences, 1999
- Niklowitz, Matthias; Suter, Christian; Budowski, Monica; Meyer, Peter C.: Summary Health Indicators in Social Survey Research: A Useful Tool to Cover Health Status? Gesundheitsindikatoren in der Sozialforschung - ein Vergleich. EuReporting Working Paper No. 5, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Zurich: Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH-Centre), Department of Sociology; Neuchatel: Swiss Household Panel; Zurich: Psychiatric University Hospital, 1999
- Suter, Christian; Niklowitz, Matthias: Social Reporting in Switzerland. The Hidden Roots and the Present State of the Art. EuReporting Working Paper No. 6, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Zurich: Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Department of Sociology, 1999
- Hudler, Michaela; Richter, Rudolf: State of the Art of Surveys on Social Reporting in Western and Eastern Europe. EuReporting Working Paper No. 7, Subproject "Stocktaking of Comparative Databases in Survey Research". Vienna: Paul Lazarsfeld Society for Social Research (PLG), 2000
- Maratou-Alipranti, Laura: Greece: Contributions to Social Reporting: Institutions, Activities, Publications. EuReporting Working Paper No. 8, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Athens: National Centre for Social Research (EKKE), 1999
- Berger-Schmitt, Regina; Noll, Heinz-Herbert: Conceptual Framework and Structure of a European System of Social Indicators. EuReporting Working Paper No. 9, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Mannheim: Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA), Social Indicators Department, 2000
- Schulz, Wolfgang: Explaining Quality of Life - The Controversy between Objective and Subjective Variables. EuReporting Working Paper No. 10, Subproject "Stocktaking of Comparative Databases in Survey Research". Vienna: Paul Lazarsfeld Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung (PLG), 2000

- Vecerník, Jirí: Social Reporting in the Czech Republic since 1989: The Present State of the Art. EuReporting Working Paper No. 11, Subproject "Stocktaking of Comparative Databases in Survey Research". Prague: Czech Academy of Sciences, Institute of Sociology, 2000
- Martinelli, Alberto: Social Reporting at the Local Level: The Milan Metropolitan Area. EuReporting Working Paper No. 12, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Milan: University of Milan, 2000
- Hudler, Michaela; Richter, Rudolf: Source-book about Questions on Social Reporting in Cross-national and Cross-sectional Surveys - An Example: Questions Covering the Life Domain Education. EuReporting Working Paper No. 13, Subproject "Stocktaking of Comparative Databases in Survey Research". Vienna: Paul Lazarsfeld Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung (PLG), 2000
- Berger-Schmitt, Regina: Social Cohesion as an Aspect of the Quality of Societies: Concept and Measurement. EuReporting Working Paper No. 14, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Mannheim: Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA), Social Indicators Department, 2000
- del Campo, Salustiano; Camacho, Juan Manuel: Social Reporting in Spain. A Recent Tradition. EuReporting Working Paper No. 15, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 2000
- Berger-Schmitt, Regina: Dimensions, Indicators and Time Series in a European System of Social Indicators by Example. EuReporting Working Paper No. 16, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Mannheim: Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA), Social Indicators Department, 2001
- Hudler, Michaela; Richter, Rudolf: Source-book about Questions on Social Reporting in National and Cross-sectional Surveys - An Example: Questions Covering the Life Domain Education. EuReporting Working Paper No. 17, Subproject "Stocktaking of Comparative Databases in Survey Research". Vienna: Paul Lazarsfeld Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung (PLG), 2001
- Hudler, Michaela; Richter, Rudolf: Theoretical and Methodological Concepts for Future Research and Documentation on Social Reporting in Cross-sectional Surveys. EuReporting Working Paper No. 18, Subproject "Stocktaking of Comparative Databases in Survey Research". Vienna: Paul Lazarsfeld Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung (PLG), 2001
- Suter, Christian: Switzerland – A New Social Report. EuReporting Working Paper No. 19, Subproject "European System of Social Indicators". Zurich: Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Department of Sociology, 2001