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## Social Reporting in the 1970s and 1990s

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Abteilung „Sozialstruktur und  
Sozialberichterstattung“  
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## Introduction

In November 1997 and in February 1998 there were held two conferences commemorating important events in the development of social reporting in Germany: the publication of the first government report on the situation of the family in 1968 and the trade union congress on quality of life in 1972. At both conferences I gave a talk referring to an early paper of mine also from 1972, under the title „On the measurement of quality of life“ (Zapf 1972). In the following version I take up again the two main parts of that paper: the theoretical discussion about a broader concept of welfare (I) and the discussion about methods and institutions of social reporting (II). In conclusion, I briefly shall discuss probable effects and limits of social reporting today (III).

## I Concepts of welfare

In 1972, the theoretical discussion about a broader concept of welfare was presented under the topic „the economics of qualitative growth“. First the concepts of social cost (Kapp) and external diseconomies (Mishan) were investigated with the result that externalities basically are a function of the *level* of industrialisation, not of the *system* of the economy, i.e. that externalities emerge in socialism as well as in capitalism. As countermeasures, in economics there was developed the program of qualitative growth, in the US by the Republican government in „Toward Balanced Growth Quantity with Quality“ (1970) by help of liberal sociologists R. Bauer and D. Moynihan. For the political system there were designed programs of „active social policy“ and at the societal level for an active society (Etzioni 1968), with a significant increase in public participation when citizens leave behind their only passive roles as consumers and voters.

The next topic was „private wealth and public poverty“ in the sense of K. Galbraith's criticism, this criticism was new around 1970 formulated in terms of public goods (including meritocratic goods) and publicly provided infrastructure. As mechanisms of public poverty were identified short-sighted time preferences in politics, the free rider effect in collective action and the egoism of bureaucratic agencies.

Another topic was the revision of economic accounting by including environmental cost on the negative site and quality improvements and enlarged leisure time on the positive site.

As to the philosophy of quality of life there was a discussion of possible dilemmas between mobility and solidarity, efficiency and participation, information as control versus information as means of social learning. For illustration of the paradox effort to *measure quality* I quoted the dimensions selected by Karl W. Deutsch (1970: 204-223): quality of political leadership, quality of everyday life of the average citizen, equal rights, opportunity of participation, protection of minorities. Quality of life in the earlier discussion comprised at the same time individual well-being and quality of society.

The oil crises of 1973 and 1979 seemed to confirm the worst predictions of the growth critics. Nevertheless, the development of Western societies took another path and that, of course, influenced also the discussion about welfare and quality of life. The oil crises proved to be politically produced and not as the exhaustion of resources. The next economic crises in the early 1980s and the discussions about stagnation and social dismantling ended with a new period of growth in the late 1980s.

Overall, the further growth of OECD countries again increased private wealth, and the manifold effects of all this might be summarized as individualization and a greater plurality of industrial class structure. In *Shifting Involvements* Albert Hirschman (1982) has developed a theory about why after years of public engagement its marginal utility decreases and actors again turn to private interests. The heavy protest against the national census in Germany was an indication for a serious resistance against an active social policy led by information. The misery of Socialist command economies discredited large-scale planning and budgeting programs. The expansion of material infrastructure, of the educational system and overall of the welfare state silenced critics of public poverty or seemed to qualify this phenomenon as a special US problem. Ecological innovations supported the notion that the „ecological question“ could be stepwise solved as successfully as already earlier the „social question“.

During the 1980s we had an intensive discussion and plenty of investigations into the quality of life. But somehow the concept itself became „individualized“. Quality of life was conceptualized more and more as individual well-being (c.f. Argyle 1996) which is determined not only by good objective living conditions but also by subjective well-being: „quality of life must be in the eye of the beholder“ (A. Campbell 1972: 422). Survey research became the favourite methodology because it enables you to combine objective and subjective characteristics on the individual level (e.g. income and satisfaction with income), whereas official statistics by tradition (in Germany also by law) has to renounce to collect subjective characteristics. Survey research proved to be also a flexible instrument for international comparative welfare research, and in the version of panel studies it allows you causal modelling and life course analyses.

However, I do not want to give a picture of welfare research in the 1980s that is too idealistic. The idea that after the problems of *standard of living* also the problems of the *quality of life* are near solution, and that post-modern *plurality of lifestyles* would be now guide welfare research as well as inequality research - that notion has not succeeded. I already have mentioned serious debates on the welfare state crisis, „new poverty“ and

„deterioration of social security“ which used in the early 1980s nearly exactly the same arguments which we hear today (although in Germany social security spending increased by 15% in real terms between 1980 and 1990).

Today we are again in the middle of controversies about the „state of the nation“ and the welfare of its citizens. According to the Hirschman theorem it could be the start of a new stage of public interest and engagement. Quite obvious is the fact that distribution questions become the more important the more insecure the profits from growth. These controversies or discourses occur in several contexts, e.g. about ongoing modernization versus second modernity, decline of the welfare state, decline of innovations. Obviously, problems of content and guidance of quality of life play an important role, and this again in the original broad understanding in which individual well-being and quality of society influence each other and are evaluated jointly. There are, however, at least four aspects in which the constellation has clearly changed compared to the 1970s.

- 1) Quality of life and other new welfare concepts no longer are oriented, for instance, at „the socialist way of life“ in the context of a competition of systems, although they can be still very critical of capitalism.
- 2) Quality of life today is a world-wide concept which applies not only to the rich West and which is no longer constructed from one single contradiction as, for instance, quantity versus quality or economy versus ecology.
- 3) Hopes and illusions as to a comprehensive planning society and guidance by comprehensive information systems have vanished not only in the East but also in the West.
- 4) But not the self-regulating market is presently the prominent model but instead the co-ordination of different and differentiated guidance systems: market, state, associations, but also families and other small groups.

What are the new concepts of welfare? „Sustainable development“ and „Human development“ are global programs. „Quality of persons“ and „Liveability“ are concepts which want to broaden a narrow understanding of subjective well-being. „Exclusion“ is a new perspective of inequality research. „Social capital“ describes the societal resources of solidarity. „Welfare pluralism“ or „welfare mix“ refer to the innovation potential of the welfare state. Here I can only outline the basic ideas of those concepts. „Sustainable development“ as well as „Human development“ are propagated as world-wide programs at the level of the United Nations. Here sustainable development is the modernized version of qualitative growth which starts from the problem that we need further growth nationally and internationally which, however, must be shaped in such a way that the living conditions of future generations are preserved. The concept of sustainability can also be applied at the sub-national level, e.g. for firms and organisations. Competing concepts would be zero growth, resignation, asceticism, radical redistribution.



„Human development“ has become prominent by the annual reports of the United Nations Development Program. At present it is the most ambitious and far-reaching concept of welfare. The basic idea is to increase the individual options, the quality of human life. That notion goes beyond the development of human resources and beyond welfare state programs which consider people more as recipients than as actors for achievement. Theoretically, human development, therefore, includes beside productivity, equality and sustainability also empowerment. Empirically, all nations of the world are classified according to a Human Development Index. The Human Development Reports and the HDI are, besides all criticism, the realisation of two basic demands of social reporting, namely international comparison and the presentation of a comprehensive indicator beyond Gross National Product. By the way, Germany in 1995 was number 19 behind 18 other OECD countries.

At the micro-level the concept of „Personal development“ has a similar purpose (cf. Lane 1996), namely to combine living conditions and objective welfare with active capabilities of growth. Moreover, the macro-perspective is connected with the micro-perspective in as far as Personal development depends on a liveable society - the concept of Liveability (cf. Veenhoven 1997). In this concept we find the important perspective of trust in institutions, trust in the future, and perceived security without which even good living conditions cannot be transformed into stabile subjective well-being. (This might explain several problems in today's Eastern Germany. The personal living conditions are regarded by the majority as good but trust in the political and economic system and even more in the system of social security clearly are declining; cf. Zapf/Habich 1996).

The topic of „Exclusion“ points to the most actual welfare problems and the most modern form of inequality within the European Union: not only distance but exclusion from social life, not only exclusion because of poverty and unemployment (i.e. by deficits in resources) but exclusion by discrimination and the refusal of access and life chances (c.f. Silver 1994). Exclusion is destroying solidarity, the fairness of competition, political rights of participation and integration in a society. Solidarity and integration can be preserved, extended or regained the better and bigger the „Social capital“ of society, i.e. the stock of shared norms and values, personal support systems and social networks. Whereas social capital originally (in Bourdieu) was presented as a scarce and on principal unequally distributed good, i.e. as social connections in a narrow sense of privilege creating contacts, it is presented in more recent approaches (Coleman, Putnam) as on principle multiple and distributable. Social capital at the same time increases competence to solve social problems better: „Civil engagement and close social contacts produce positive results - better schools, faster economic development, lower crime, more effective administration“ (Putnam 1995: 65).

Contributions to „Welfare pluralism“ or „Welfare-mix“ concentrate on a very prominent problem, namely the financial and institutional crises of the welfare state and of the system of social security (c.f. Evers/Olk 1996). The basic idea is that social security no longer can be guaranteed by market and state alone but that the resources of civil society (the social capital) has to be activated, i.e. the big social organisations as well as local communities, neighbourhoods and families. By combination of the outputs of those institutions, by a

„portfolio of economies“ (R. Rose), the overload of particular institutions can be prevented. The most practical example is old-age pension which rests on several pillars, i.e. in addition to public pensions on company pension plans and on private life insurance. No longer economies of scale is propagated but diversification.

## II Institutions of Social Reporting

Under the second heading „social reporting“, in 1972 I had discussed the following three areas of research:

- Approaches for a societal information system
- Social indicators and social reports
- Mobility versus solidarity; efficiency versus participation

I shall give some more detailed comments on the first two topics. For illustration, I remind you of some brilliant publications which are influential still today: *Toward a Social Report*, edited by Mansur Olson in 1969; *Les indicateurs sociaux*, edited by Jaques Delors in 1971, and also the German *Materialien zum Bericht zur Lage der Nation*, edited by P.Ch. Ludz in 1971. Social reporting is a broader concept for the ideas of the so-called social indicators movement which goes back to a classical work of Raymond A. Bauer, *Social Indicators*, from 1966.

To condensate societal information into social indicators is only one approach among others. At that time the following approaches to social reporting had been topical - and are important still today. First task was the *development of official social statistics* which should become as differentiated as the more developed economic statistics. Next was the *development of survey research* which then and now is basically in the private sector. The development of time series by replication studies then was regarded as an innovation. The first general household surveys or welfare surveys were carried out in the United States and in Sweden. Classics here are the *Level-of-Living-Study* of 1968 in Sweden (cf. Johansson 1973) and *Quality of American Life* of 1971 in the United States (cf. Campbell et al. 1976). Promising was *national goals analysis and national goals accounting* with the help of medium-term and long-term development plans. Social predictions and societal simulation systems were discussed as ways to give social reporting, in addition to the retrospective or stock-taking focus, also a prospective focus. *Social accounting systems* eventually should summarize the most important information for particular areas of life and eventually for the

overall societal system - in analogy to national economic accounting. We find interesting contributions, e.g., for a demographic accounting system, educational accounting system and, somewhat later, also for an ecological accounting system.

On the other hand, already in the early 1970s there had been doubts if two other goals could be accomplished by social reporting, namely the consensual *setting of societal goals and priorities*, and the convincing *evaluation of social policy programs*. Notable is also that there was a promising discussion on the preconditions, implementation problems and consequences of data production and data utilisation. That means that statistics itself had become a relevant research topic in the sense of sociology of knowledge.

The most practical successes came with the development of *social indicators* and *social reports*. Social indicators are nothing else than social statistics which however differ from normal statistics by several characteristics: they should measure outputs and not inputs; they should refer to individual welfare and not to bureaucratic activities; they should inform about change, i.e. they should be presented as time series; they should be formulated within a theoretical context, i.e. there should be a clear causal relationship between indicator and indicatum. Some authors also pledged for the development of highly aggregated indicators, e.g. the total learning force/total labour force ratio.

For more than a decade the OECD-Programme of Work on Social Indicators (cf. OECD 1973) was especially influential. It defined eight basic areas of life and below those areas more specific concerns:

- Personal health and safety
- Personal development and intellectual and cultural enrichment through learning
- Occupational development and satisfaction
- Time and leisure
- Command over goods and services
- The physical environment
- The social environment
- The political environment

For several years high ranking civil servants together with social scientists worked on common definitions and operationalizations of those concerns but they did not succeed with any serious empirical implementation and in the 1980s the program was cut down. But in some countries social scientists have taken up the OECD ideas. For instance, we developed in our Frankfurt/Mannheim group the so called SPES indicator-system (cf. Zapf 1978) which is continued until today and which encompasses several hundred time-series, ideally 1950-1996 (cf. Noll 1995).

Social reports are social policy analyses with the clear-cut question if objective living conditions and subjective well-being, and beyond individual dimensions if the quality of society has improved. The classical example is the U.S. *Toward a Social Report* (1969)

organized by economist Mancur Olson. „Our ideal is that social indicators measure and that a social report evaluates what is neglected by economic accounting“ (Olson 1969: 86/87). The chapters of this report come under the following headings:

- Health and illness: Are we becoming healthier?
- Social Mobility: How much opportunity is there?
- Our physical environment: Are conditions improving?
- Income and poverty: Are we better off?
- Public order and safety: What is the impact of crime on our life?
- Learning, science and art: How much are they enriching society?
- Participation and alienation: What do we need to learn?

That ambitious report was not repeated, but it became a model for several countries to establish regular social reports. Since 1970 *Social Trends* in Great Britain are regularly published. We have several editions of the French *Données sociales* since 1973 and since 1974 the *Social and Cultural Reports* of the Netherlands. In the United States there were published *Social Indicators* three times but then disconnected. In West Germany also three times were published *Materialien zum Bericht zur Lage der Nation*; later on the *Datenreport* became the most important German contribution (cf. Habich/Noll 1994: 71-112).

If we now turn to recent developments then we must say that social reporting's zenith was passed in the mid-1970s and that we had until the mid-1980s a considerable downturn. Some observers called it the routinization of social reporting in the sense that its ideas were implemented in several different disciplines and special branches of sociology and that there was no longer a need for a social indicators movement. It was called „dissolution by diffusion“ (cf. Glatzer in: J. Public Policy 1988). From today's point of view there have been however also several promising innovations which promoted a renewal of social reporting in the 1990s. Heinz-Herbert Noll and myself (1994), in an article „Social Indicators Research: Societal Monitoring and Social Reporting“, have summarized some of the new developments. First we note the enormous spread of national social reports which mostly are published by ministries, planning agencies or the central statistical office. The ideas represented by Social trends and *Données sociales* have succeeded after all. In Germany the *Datenreport* is published bi-annually by the Statistical Office in co-operation with social scientists who cover a second part on „Objective living conditions and subjective well-being“ with survey data.

A second line of new activities can be found at the supra-national level of international organisations, e.g. the World Development Reports and the Social Indicators of Development of the World Bank; in Eurostat publications such as Social Portrait of Europe; and since 1990 annually in the Human Development Reports of the UNDP program. On the other hand, we observe manifold activities on the regional and local levels, e.g. statistical compendia or social reports and development reports for regions and cities.

An area in which social reporting lately has made particular progress are reports focused on specific population groups and specific areas of life and policy areas. H.-H. Noll in a summary volume (1997) has brought together experts to describe this field for the Federal Republic of Germany: There is a broad literature in the areas of poverty, health, family, further education, environment, children, old age population, women, and there are interesting efforts for an ecological accounting.

In our review (Noll/Zapf 1994: 11-13), in conclusion, we delineate seven recent lines of development:

- Because of obvious political reasons monitoring the *transformation of the former socialist societies* and investigating their welfare development resulted in numerous research projects and will be an important topic for more years to come.
- The *elaboration of concepts of welfare and quality of life* is theoretically of special importance as already discussed above.
- Once more we have *efforts to develop synthetic welfare indicators*. In this context Jaques Delors' demand toward social indicators research has become famous to produce two or three comprehensive indices which can complement the Gross National Product. Next to fulfill this demand comes the Human Development Index (HDI) which combines the dimensions of average life expectancy, education (rate of illiteracy, years of schooling) and per capita income (with heavily decreasing marginal utility). These are macro-analyses for all countries in the world. This effort has been heavily criticised; it has meanwhile however made some impression as a measure of developmental progress of poorer countries.
- Another innovation is the *utilization of longitudinal data* besides classical time-series analyses which is generated by a series of cross sectional surveys. In recent years there have been developed two alternatives: panel studies and retrospective life-course studies. In panel studies, e.g., all members of selected households are investigated year after year so that one can reconstruct individual changes within the context of the household and can built causal models. Retrospective life-course analyses lead to quicker results than a panel that is continued annually but they have bigger methodological problems of reliability and validity of respondents' memories.
- *Strengthening the international perspective*: Meanwhile ideas as formulated in the 1970s in the OECD-program are taken up again, namely large international comparisons of social change and welfare development. One reason for this is the closer entanglement of the member states of the European Union. Comparisons of one's own position („Where we stand?“) always had been a strong motive of social reporting,

especially in the Anglo-saxon world where ranking is a wide-spread and legitimized procedure.

- *New efforts of modeling and social accounting:* These classical topics are taken up again, for instance, in connection with the above mentioned area reports and especially by statistical offices. It is a reasonable goal to try to filter a systematized core set from the mass of information.
- *Development of prospective social reporting.* These are efforts to develop systematically the underdeveloped and dispersed prognostic methods like scenarios or projections. The reason is to add to retrospective and status-quo-analyses also controlled prognoses or scenarios of alternative futures. These approaches, too, are a revival of early experiments of the founders of the social indicators movement.

### III Social Reporting today

How should one evaluate the success of social reporting and how should one explain its effects? These questions which deserve an essay of its own can be only briefly covered in conclusion. As to the evaluation of present social reporting recently two international experts have given statements which broadly coincide with our review. Kenneth Land (1996) from the United States is quoting some of our criteria literally. Interestingly he points to new relationships with marketing research and especially emphasises the comparison of achievements and outputs by ranking-methods. Joachim Vogel (1997) from Sweden argues that still the most important contribution of social reporting is general enlightenment. He articulates this function with classical goals of the welfare state, namely measurement and evaluation of objective and subjective living conditions. In connection with the serious crisis of classical welfare states he demands a substantive reorientation and the development of indicators which refer to the current problems of inequality, poverty, exclusion and disintegration.

What can one reasonably expect as results of social reporting, granted that it is theoretically stimulating and empirically reliable? To answer this question I refer to a study of German reporting on families and to an evaluation of economic policy counsel. In an article by Wolfgang Walter (1995) the results and effects of the hitherto five German Family Reports is evaluated as follows. They have had influenced the discourse of family policy and have changed it from ideological to functional orientations. They have had only little direct political effects because there is no consensus about the ideal family but rather

criticisms of any ideal type. But those family reports have had a catalytic function in preparing new definitions, and in the proliferation of new topics, concepts and empirical findings.

Manfred J. M. Neumann, the chairman of the Council at the German Ministry of Economics, has called economic policy counsel „a troublesome business with uncertain result“ (1998). He concedes that politics and economic policy follow their own interests and may under certain circumstances consciously act against scientific counsel. Nevertheless, economic reporting should insist to inform according to best knowledge about the short-term and longer-term consequences of economic policies and it should insist to evaluate urgent measures according to basic policy principles. For instance, the German Council of Economic Advisors has introduced into public debate over the years several new theoretical concepts. Again, also for economic reporting general enlightenment is the overall goal and the most important achievement, whereas direct influence on urgent political decisions is rather the exception.

In my opinion the idea of the one and only encompassing social report is not feasible. The big policy alternatives eventually are decided in elections and for a limited period of time. Nevertheless we can go beyond the enlightenment function and the continuous monitoring. If social reporting succeeds in improving causal explanation models then the debate about evaluation and intervention will be revived. In particular areas, e.g. in medical organisation research, there are some positive signals, and at the same time we observe a revival of a sociology of knowledge of statistical data production.

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## Forschungsschwerpunkt III "Sozialer Wandel, Institutionen und Vermittlungsprozesse"

### Verzeichnis der Arbeitspapiere (Stand: Januar 1999)

#### Abteilungsübergreifend

- FS III 93-301 Wir und die Anderen. "Imagined Communities" im westeuropäischen Vergleich.  
*Dieter Fuchs, Jürgen Gerhards und Edeltraud Roller*
- FS III 96-301 The Mass Media and Modern Government  
*Kenneth Newton*
- FS III 96-302 Das intermediäre System der Politik als Orientierungssystem der Bürger  
*Dieter Fuchs, Edeltraud Roller, Dieter Rucht und Bernhard Weßels*

#### Abteilung 1 "Öffentlichkeit und soziale Bewegungen"

- FS III 90-101 Strukturen und Funktionen moderner Öffentlichkeit. Fragestellungen und Ansätze.  
*Jürgen Gerhards und Friedhelm Neidhardt*
- FS III 91-101 Mesomobilization Contexts: Organizing and Framing in two Protest Campaigns in West Germany.  
*Jürgen Gerhards und Dieter Rucht*
- FS III 91-102 Left-libertarian Movements in Context: A Comparison of Italy and West Germany, 1965-1990.  
*Donatella della Porta und Dieter Rucht*
- FS III 91-103 The Political Opportunity Structure of New Social Movements: Its Impact on their Mobilization.  
*Hanspeter Kriesi*
- FS III 91-104 Persönliche Netzwerke und die Mobilisierung politischen Protests: Stand der Forschung und strukturanalytische Perspektiven.  
*Thomas Ohlemacher*
- FS III 91-105 Öffentliche Kommunikationsbereitschaft. Test eines zentralen Bestandteils der Theorie der Schweigespirale.  
*Dieter Fuchs, Jürgen Gerhards und Friedhelm Neidhardt*
- FS III 91-106 Eine Untersuchung des Beitrags politischer Klubs zur Entwicklung einer demokratischen Infrastruktur in Polen - am Beispiel von 'Dziekania'. (Forschungsbericht)  
*Helmut Fehr*
- FS III 91-107 Parteien, Verbände und Bewegungen als Systeme politischer Interessenvermittlung.  
*Dieter Rucht*
- FS III 91-108 Die Macht der Massenmedien und die Demokratie: Empirische Befunde.  
*Jürgen Gerhards*
- FS III 92-101 Anbieter von öffentlichen politischen Veranstaltungen in West-Berlin.  
*Barbara Blattert*  
Nachfrager und wahrgenommenes Angebot von öffentlichen politischen Veranstaltungen in der Bundesrepublik.  
*Jürgen Gerhards*
- FS III 92-102 Support for New Social Movements in Five Western European Countries.  
*Dieter Fuchs und Dieter Rucht*

- FS III 92-103 Dokumentation und Analyse von Protestereignissen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Prodat), Codebuch.  
*Dieter Rucht, Peter Hocke und Thomas Ohlemacher*
- FS III 92-104 Social Relays: Micro Mobilization via the Meso-Level.  
*Thomas Ohlemacher*
- FS III 93-101 Westeuropäische Integration und die Schwierigkeiten der Entstehung einer europäischen Öffentlichkeit.  
*Jürgen Gerhards*
- FS III 93-102 Selbstkontrolle in den Medien: Der Deutsche Presserat und seine Möglichkeiten.  
*Jessica Eisermann*
- FS III 93-103 Prominenz in der Bundesrepublik.  
*Birgit Peters*
- FS III 93-104 Bevölkerungsmeinung und Gewalt gegen Ausländer im wiedervereinigten Deutschland. Empirische Anmerkungen zu einem unklaren Verhältnis.  
*Thomas Ohlemacher*
- FS III 94-101 Von den Oppositionsgruppen der DDR zu den neuen sozialen Bewegungen in Ostdeutschland?  
*Barbara Blattert, Dieter Rink und Dieter Rucht*
- FS III 94-102 The Political Construction of the Nuclear Energy Issue and Its Impact on the Mobilization of Anti-Nuclear Movements in Western Europe.  
*Ruud Koopmans und Jan Willem Duyvendak*
- FS III 95-101 A Burning Question: Explaining the Rise of Racist and Extreme Right Violence in Western Europe.  
*Ruud Koopmans*
- FS III 95-103 German Unification, Democratization and the Role of Social Movements: A Missed Opportunity.  
*Dieter Rucht*
- FS III 95-105 Diskursanalyse im Zeit- und Ländervergleich. Methodenbericht über eine systematische Inhaltsanalyse zur Erfassung des öffentlichen Diskurses über Abtreibung in den USA und der Bundesrepublik in der Zeit von 1970 bis 1994.  
*Jürgen Gerhards und Monika Lindgens*
- FS III 95-106 Social Movement Mobilization under Right and Left Governments: A Look at Four West European Countries  
*Ruud Koopmans and Dieter Rucht*
- FS III 96-101 Politische Unternehmer, Netzwerke und Bewegungserfolg: Die "Einzelmitglieder" der NSDAP, 1925-30  
*Helmut Anheier und Thomas Ohlemacher*
- FS III 96-102 Protest - öffentliche Meinung - Politik [vergriffen]  
*Friedhelm Neidhardt*  
erscheint in: Wolfgang van den Daele, Friedhelm Neidhardt (Hrsg.), Kommunikation und Entscheidung. WZB-Jahrbuch 1996. Berlin: edition sigma 1996.
- FS III 96-103 Determining the Selection Bias in Local and National Newspaper Reports on Protest Events  
*Peter Hocke*
- FS III 96-104 The Role of News Factors in Media Use  
*Christiane Eilders*

- FS III 96-105 The Observation of Public Opinion by the Governmental System  
*Dieter Fuchs and Barbara Pfetsch*
- FS III 97-101 Citizenship, National Identity and the Mobilisation of the Extreme Right. A Comparison of France, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland  
*Ruud Koopmans and Hanspeter Kriesi*
- FS III 97-102 The Impact of Editorial Content on the Political Agenda in Germany: Theoretical Assumptions and Open Questions Regarding a Neglected Subject in Mass Communication Research  
*Christiane Eilders*
- FS III 98-101 Proteststrukturen im Ost-West-Vergleich 1989 - 1992  
*Susann Burchardt*
- FS III 98-102 The Political Construction of Immigration in Italy: opportunities, mobilisation and outcomes  
*Paul Statham*
- FS III 98-103 Die Branchenstruktur der Markt- und Meinungsforschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1986 bis 1996. Eine deskriptive Analyse  
*Simone Wack*
- FS III 98-104 Konjunkturen der NS-Bewegung. Eine Untersuchung der Veranstaltungsaktivitäten der Münchener NSDAP, 1925-1930  
*Helmut K. Anheier, Friedhelm Neidhardt und Wolfgang Vorkamp*
- FS III 98-105 Challenging the Liberal Nation-State? Postnationalism, Multiculturalism, and the Collective Claims-Making of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in Britain and Germany  
*Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham*
- FS III 98-106 Die Stimme der Medien im politischen Prozeß – Themen und Meinungen in Pressekommentaren  
*Friedhelm Neidhardt, Christiane Eilders und Barbara Pfetsch*
- FS III 98-107 Methodenbericht zum Projekt: Die Stimme der Medien im politischen Prozeß – Themen und Meinungen in Pressekommentaren  
*Christiane Eilders und Albrecht Lüter*
- Abteilung 2 "Institutionen und sozialer Wandel"**
- FS III 90-202 Politisches Denken in der Informationsgesellschaft. Zum Zusammenhang zwischen Fernsehnutzung und Einstellungskonsistenz.  
*Katrin Voltmer*
- FS III 90-203 The Normalization of the Unconventional - Forms of Political Action and New Social Movements.  
*Dieter Fuchs*
- FS III 90-204 Vielfalt oder strukturierte Komplexität? Zur Institutionalisierung politischer Spannungslinien im Verbände- und Parteiensystem in der Bundesrepublik.  
*Bernhard Weßels*
- FS III 90-205 Zum Wandel politischer Konfliktlinien. Ideologische Gruppierungen und Wahlverhalten.  
*Dieter Fuchs*
- FS III 91-201 Ein analytisches Schema zur Klassifikation von Politikgehalten.  
*Edeltraud Roller*
- FS III 92-201 Trends of Political Support in the Federal Republic of Germany.  
*Dieter Fuchs*

- FS III 92-202 "Bubble-Up"-Theory or Cascade Model? The Formation of Public Opinion Towards the EC: Shaky Evidence from Different Empirical Sources.  
*Bernhard Weßels*
- FS III 92-203 Democratization and Constitutional Choices in Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Poland, 1989-1991.  
*Arend Lijphart*
- FS III 92-204 Bürger und Organisationen - Ost- und Westdeutschland: vereint und doch verschieden?  
*Bernhard Weßels*
- FS III 92-205 Hermeneutisch-klassifikatorische Inhaltsanalyse - Analysemöglichkeiten am Beispiel von Leitfadengesprächen zum Wohlfahrtsstaat.  
*Edeltraud Roller und Rainer Mathes*
- FS III 92-206 Ideological Basis of the Market Economy: Attitudes Toward Distribution Principles and the Role of Government in Western and Eastern Germany.  
*Edeltraud Roller*
- FS III 93-201 The Cumbersome Way to Partisan Orientation in a 'New' Democracy: The Case of the Former GDR.  
*Max Kaase und Hans-Dieter Klingemann*
- FS III 93-202 Eine Metatheorie des demokratischen Prozesses.  
*Dieter Fuchs*
- FS III 93-203 A Metatheory of the Democratic Process.  
*Dieter Fuchs*
- FS III 93-204 Sozialisation in unterschiedlichen Systemen. Zum Profil der Persönlichkeitstypen in West- und Ost-Berlin.  
*Carolin Schöbel*
- FS III 93-205 Mass Media: Political Independence of Press and Broadcasting Systems.  
*Katrin Voltmer*
- FS III 93-206 Mobilisieren Interessengegenschaften? Die "Hostility"-Hypothese, Wahlbeteiligung und Wahlentscheidung bei der Bundestagswahl 1990.  
*Bernhard Weßels*
- FS III 93-207 Wählen als rationales Handeln: Anmerkungen zum Nutzen des Rational-Choice Ansatzes in der empirischen Wahlforschung.  
*Dieter Fuchs und Steffen Kühnel*
- FS III 93-208 Gruppenbindungen und rationales Handeln als Determinanten der Wahlentscheidung in Ost- und Westdeutschland.  
*Bernhard Weßels*
- FS III 93-209 Geteilte Medienrealität? Zur Thematisierungsleistung der Massenmedien im Prozeß der deutschen Vereinigung.  
*Babara Pfetsch und Katrin Voltmer*
- FS III 94-201 Democratic Transformation and the Prerequisites of Democratic Opposition in East and Central Europe.  
*Bernhard Wessels und Hans-Dieter Klingemann*
- FS III 94-202 Cultural Conditions of the Transformation to Liberal Democracies in Central and Eastern Europe.  
*Dieter Fuchs und Edeltraud Roller*

- FS III 94-204 Individuelle Teilnahme an politischer Kommunikation im Prozeß der deutschen Vereinigung. Zur Struktur von interpersonaler und massenmedialer Kommunikation.  
*Katrin Voltmer, Eva Schabedoth und Peter R. Schrott*
- FS III 94-205 Nationalitätenkonflikt und Mechanismen politischer Integration im Baltikum.  
*Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Jürgen Lass und Katrin Mattusch*
- FS III 94-206 The Evolution of Western Foreign Aid Programs.  
*Thomas R. Cusack und Joyce P. Kaufman*
- FS III 96-201 Political Science: The Discipline.  
*Robert E. Goodin und Hans-Dieter Klingemann*
- FS III 96-202 Contexts of Political Protest in Western Democracies: Political Organization and Modernity.  
*Edeltraud Roller und Bernhard Wessels*
- FS III 96-203 Problemreich und konfliktgeladen: Lokale Demokratie in Deutschland fünf Jahre nach der Vereinigung.  
*Thomas R. Cusack und Bernhard Weßels*
- FS III 96-204 Social Alliances and Coalitions: The Organizational Underpinnings of Democracy in West Germany.  
*Bernhard Wessels*
- FS III 96-205 Abbau des Sozialstaats. Einstellungen der Bundesbürger zu Kürzungen von Sozialleistungen in den neunziger Jahren.  
*Edeltraud Roller*
- FS III 96-206 System Characteristics Matter: Empirical Evidence from Ten Representation Studies.  
*Bernhard Wessels*
- FS III 96-207 Wohin geht der Wandel der demokratischen Institutionen in Deutschland? Die Entwicklung der Demokratievorstellungen der Deutschen seit ihrer Vereinigung.  
*Dieter Fuchs*
- FS III 96-208 Legislative Recruitment in Germany: Professionalization or Political Class?  
*Bernhard Wessels*
- FS III 97-201 Social Capital, Institutional Structures, and Democratic Performance: A Comparative Study of German Local Governments.  
*Thomas R. Cusack*
- FS III 97-202 The Electoral Process in the Unified Germany.  
*Dieter Fuchs und Robert Rohrschneider*
- FS III 97-203 Kriterien demokratischer Performanz in Liberalen Demokratien  
*Dieter Fuchs*
- FS III 98-201 Vom Konsens zum Dissens? Politische Ordnungspräferenzen von Eliten und Bürgern im ost-westdeutschen Vergleich.  
*Christian Welzel*
- FS III 98-202 Mapping Political Support in the 1990s: A Global Analysis.  
*Hans-Dieter Klingemann*
- FS III 98-203 Remembering the Bad Old Days: Human Rights, Economic Conditions, and Democratic Performance in Transitional Regimes.  
*Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Richard I. Hofferbert*
- FS III 98-204 The Political Culture of Unified Germany  
*Dieter Fuchs*



### **Abteilung 3 "Sozialstruktur und Sozialberichterstattung"**

- P 89-101 Die Sozialstruktur der Bundesrepublik in den 1980er Jahren. [vergriffen]  
*Wolfgang Zapf*
- P 89-102 Folgen von Arbeitslosigkeit für die Wohlfahrt von Individuen und Haushalten.[vergriffen]  
*Detlef Landua und Wolfgang Zapf*
- P 89-103 National Character Revisited. [vergriffen]  
*Alex Inkeles*
- P 89-104 Der Wandel von Lebensformen und seine Folgen für die soziale Integration. [vergriffen]  
*Martin Diewald*
- P 89-105 Stabilität und Wandel von Parteineigungen. Eine Panelanalyse politischer Präferenzen in Bundesrepublik. [vergriffen]  
*Detlef Landua*
- P 89-106 Die Wechselwirkungen zwischen Beschäftigungspolitik und sozialer Sicherung. [vergriffen]  
*Richard Hauser*
- P 89-107 Is Happiness Relative? [vergriffen]  
*Ruut Veenhoven*
- P 90-101 Erweiterungsmöglichkeiten der Standardverfahren der empirischen Sozialforschung. [vergriffen]  
*Detlef Landua*
- P 90-102 Sozialreport 1990 - Daten und Fakten zur sozialen Lage der DDR. [vergriffen]  
*Dokumentation eines Workshops am Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB)*
- P 90-103 The Duration and Extent of Poverty - Is Germany a Two-Thirds-Society?  
*Bruce Headey, Peter Krause und Roland Habich*
- P 90-104 Modernisierung und Modernisierungstheorie. [vergriffen]  
*Wolfgang Zapf*
- P 90-105 Von Klassen und Schichten zu Lebensstilen - Ein neues Paradigma für die empirische Sozialforschung? [vergriffen]  
*Martin Diewald*
- P 90-106 Zukunftsforschung aus den U.S.A. - Prominente Autoren und Werke der letzten 20 Jahre.  
*Katrin Gillwald*
- P 91-101 Der lange Weg zur Einheit. Unterschiedliche Lebensqualität in den „alten“ und „neuen“ Bundesländern. [vergriffen]  
*Detlef Landua, Annette Spellerberg und Roland Habich*
- P 91-102 Ein Jahr Umfragen in den Neuen Bundesländern -Themen und Tendenzen.  
*Christian Holst*
- P 91-103 Zeitgemäße Fragen nicht nur an die DDR-Soziologie.  
*Michael Thomas*
- P 91-104 Technik, Alter, Lebensqualität. Zur Bedeutung von Technik für die Lebensführung älterer Menschen. [vergriffen]  
*Jürgen Hampel, Heidrun Mollenkopf und Wolfgang Zapf*
- P 91-105 Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik. Soziale und ökonomische Mobilität.  
*Wolfgang Seifert*

- P 91-106 East Germany: Incomes, Inequality and the Impact of Redistributive Government 1990-1991.  
*Bruce Headey, Peter Krause und Roland Habich*
- P 92-101 Freizeitverhalten - Werte - Orientierungen. Empirische Analysen zu Elementen von Lebensstilen.  
*Annette Spellerberg*
- P 92-102 Das Jahr danach. Zum Transformationsprozeß Ostdeutschlands und seiner Bewertung aus der Sicht der Betroffenen.  
*Detlef Landua*
- P 92-103 Hoffnungsträger Ost. Entwicklungsdynamik und Entwicklungsperspektiven im Berliner Umland aus der Sicht von neuen Führungskräften.  
*Katrin Gillwald*
- P 92-104 Die Transformation in der ehemaligen DDR und die soziologische Theorie der Modernisierung.  
*Wolfgang Zapf*
- P 92-105 Wohnungsversorgung in der ehemaligen DDR. Verteilungskriterien und Zugangswege.  
*Wilhelm Hinrichs*
- P 92-106 Technische Hilfsmittel statt Betreuung? Erhaltung und Unterstützung einer selbständigen Lebensführung im Alter.  
*Jürgen Hampel*
- P 93-101 Lebenslagen im Umbruch - Zur sozialen Lage privater Haushalte in der osteuropäischen Transformation.  
*Horst Berger und Roland Habich (Hg.)*
- P 93-102 Arbeitsmarktsegmentation - Mobilitätsbarrieren für ausländische Arbeitnehmer?  
*Wolfgang Seifert*
- P 93-103 Die Auswirkungen der hohen Unterbeschäftigung in Ostdeutschland auf die personelle Einkommensverteilung.  
*R. Hauser, K. Müller, J. Frick und G. Wagner*
- P 93-104 Is Happiness a Trait? Tests of the theory that a better society does not make people happier.  
*Ruut Veenhoven*
- P 93-105 Veränderungen der Struktur und der sozialen Lage ostdeutscher Haushalte nach 1990.  
*Horst Berger, Wilhelm Hinrichs, Eckhard Priller und Annett Schultz*
- P 93-106 Technical Aids in Old Age - Between acceptance and rejection.  
*Heidrun Mollenkopf*
- P 93-107 Stabilisierung trotz Differenzierung? Sozialstrukturelle Entwicklungen und wahrgenommene Lebensqualität in Ostdeutschland 1990-1992. [vergriffen]  
*Detlef Landua*
- P 93-108 „... im Westen noch beständig, im Osten etwas freundlicher“ Lebensbedingungen und subjektives Wohlbefinden drei Jahre nach der Wiedervereinigung. [vergriffen]  
*Detlef Landua, Roland Habich, Heinz-Herbert Noll, Wolfgang Zapf und Annette Spellerberg*
- P 93-109 Ökonomische Verhaltensweisen und politische Einstellungen im vereinten Deutschland.  
*Wolfgang Seifert, Richard Rose und Wolfgang Zapf*

- P 94-101 Alltagskultur in Ost- und Westdeutschland. Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten.  
*Annette Spellerberg*
- P 94-102 Arbeitszeitpräferenzen. Basisdaten für eine bedürfnisgerechte Arbeitszeitgestaltung.  
*Karin Schulze Buschoff*
- P 94-103 Jugendliche im Transformationsprozeß. Vorbedingungen, Probleme und Chancen zur Integration ostdeutscher Jugendlicher im vereinten Deutschland.  
*Kerstin Seiring*
- P 94-104 Lebensbedingungen und politische Einstellungen im Transformationsprozeß. Ostdeutschland und Osteuropa im Vergleich.  
*Wolfgang Seifert und Richard Rose*
- P 94-105 Lebensstile in West- und Ostdeutschland. Verteilung und Differenzierung nach sozialstrukturellen Merkmalen.  
*Annette Spellerberg*
- FS III 95-401 Wie Migranten leben. Lebensbedingungen und soziale Lage der ausländischen Bevölkerung in der Bundesrepublik.  
*hrsg. von Wolfgang Seifert*
- FS III 95-402 Familie und Erwerbsarbeit in der Bundesrepublik. Rückblick, Stand der Forschung und Design einer Lebensformtypologie.  
*Karin Schulze Buschoff*
- FS III 95-403 Erwerbsverläufe in Ostdeutschland. Einflüsse und Folgen.  
*Horst Berger, Thomas Bulmahn und Wilhelm Hinrichs*
- FS III 95-404 Sozialberichterstattung in und für Deutschland - ein Ziel, zwei Wege? Dokumentation einer Arbeitstagung zu „Sozialreport 1994“ - „Datenreport 1994“.  
*hrsg. von Roland Habich, Wolfgang Zapf und Gunnar Winkler*
- FS III 95-406 Developments in Satisfaction Research.  
*Ruut Veenhoven*
- FS III 95-408 Ökologisierung von Lebensstilen. Argumente, Beispiele, Einflußgrößen.  
*Katrin Gillwald*
- FS III 96-401 Mobilität zur sozialen Teilhabe Älterer.  
*Heidrun Mollenkopf und Pia Flaschenträger*
- FS III 96-402 Lebenszufriedenheit im europäischen Vergleich.  
*Ingeborg Weller*
- FS III 96-403 Vereinigungsbilanzen. Die deutsche Einheit im Spiegel der Sozialwissenschaften.  
*Thomas Bulmahn*
- FS III 96-404 Happy Life-Expectancy. A comprehensive measure of quality-of-life in nations.  
*Ruut Veenhoven*
- FS III 96-405 Response Style und Response Set. Eine Längsschnittuntersuchung zu den Zufriedenheits- und Einstellungsfragen im Sozio-ökonomischen Panel.  
*Jörg-Peter Schräpler*
- FS III 96-406 Rethinking Modernization: Legacies of Parsons and Hilbert.  
*Edward A. Tiryakian*
- FS III 96-407 Wohnortwechsel zwischen den Bundesländern im Kontext der Vereinigung.  
*Wilhelm Hinrichs*

- FS III 97 - 401 Ungleichheits- und Gerechtigkeitsorientierungen in modernen Wohlfahrtsstaaten. Ein Vergleich der Länder Schweden, Großbritannien und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland  
*Steffen Mau*
- FS III 97 - 402 Die Sozialstruktur der DDR. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion auf der Basis einer 1987 durchgeführten soziologischen Untersuchung  
*Siegfried Grundmann*
- FS III 97 - 403 Lebensstile und Wohnverhältnisse  
*Annette Spellerberg*
- FS III 97 - 404 Wohnmobilität und Wohnverhältnisse in West- und Ostdeutschland  
*Nicole Schneider*
- FS III 97 - 405 Privathaushalte und Haushalten in Ostdeutschland  
*Annett Schultz*
- FS III 97 - 406 Ein Fall von Car Sharing: Umweltentlastung durch soziale Innovation  
*Katrin Gillwald*
- FS III 97 - 407 Soziologische Forschung in der DDR. Einige Aspekte der Arbeit des Wissenschaftlichen Rates  
*Rudi Weidig*
- FS III 97 - 408 Sozialindikatorenforschung in der DDR. Wissenschaftstheoretische, forschungsorganisatorische und institutionelle Aspekte  
*Horst Berger*
- FS III 97 - 409 Wohnbedingungen und ihre subjektive Wahrnehmung in Ostdeutschland 1990-97  
*Wilhelm Hinrichs*
- FS III 97 - 410 Arbeitszeiten - Wunsch und Wirklichkeit in Ost- und Westdeutschland  
*Karin Schulze Buschoff*
- FS III 97 - 411 Ein Suchen und Sichfinden im Gestern und Heute. Verändern die Ostdeutschen ihre Einstellungen und Haltungen zur Demokratie und gesellschaftlichen Mitwirkung?  
*Eckhard Priller*
- FS III 98 - 401 Inequality and Support for Redistributive Policy: One World of Post-Communism, Two Worlds of Western Capitalism?  
*Jan Delhey*
- FS III 98 - 402 Über die Möglichkeit einer kontinuierlichen und zügigen Fortsetzung des chinesischen Modernisierungsprozesses  
*Li Pengcheng*
- FS III 98 - 403 Lebensstile im Zeitvergleich: Typologien für West- und Ostdeutschland 1993 und 1996  
*Annette Spellerberg und Regina Berger Schmitt*
- FS III 98 - 404 Teilzeitbeschäftigte in Europa. Arbeitsbedingungen, Familienkontext, Motive und subjektive Bewertungen  
*Karin Schulze Buschoff und Jana Rückert*
- FS III 98 - 405 Das Erwerbsverhalten von Frauen im europäischen Vergleich. Welche Faktoren beeinflussen Arbeitszeiten und Arbeitszeitwünsche?  
*Karin Schulze Buschoff, Inge Weller und Jana Rückert*
- FS III 98 - 406 Rette sich, wer kann? Die Krise der gesetzlichen Rentenversicherung und die Privatisierung der Altersvorsorge  
*Thomas Bulmahn*

- FS III 99 - 401 Wohnsuburbanisierung am Beispiel Berlin. Ein Erklärungsrahmen  
*Wilhelm Hinrichs*
- FS III 99 - 402 Income Dynamics in Three Societies. An investigation of social dynamics using „old“ and „new“ types of social indicators  
*Zsolt Spéder, Roland Habich*
- FS III 99 - 403 Inequality and Attitudes. Postcommunism, Western Capitalism and Beyond  
*Jan Delhey*
- FS III 99 - 404 Social Reporting in the 19970s and 1990s  
*Wolfgang Zapf*
- FS III 99 - 405 New Structures of Inequality: Some Trends of Social Change in Modernized Societies  
*Heinz-Herbert Noll*

Bitte die nächste Seite beachten!  
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