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# **The Churches and the emergent Welfare State in Germany**

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If religion matters for the public domain also in modern times, the study of the emergence of the welfare state should provide substantial insights in its operating. This is the starting assumption of this paper. Given its various restrictions I concentrate on the German case, but I shall try to put it in the more encompassing frame of reference of a theory of the welfare state.

The theory of the welfare state is only in its beginning<sup>1)</sup> and also historical studies about the growth of welfare institutions and social legislation have appeared only in recent years<sup>2)</sup>. The impact of religion is acknowledged in these works only incidentally if at all. JANOWITZ is probably right when he calls "religious and altruistic elements (as) operative, although they are second-order dimensions" (l.c. p. 22). There exists however a vast literature, at least in Germany, dealing with the relationships of the churches to the so called 'social question' ("Soziale Frage") in the 19th century as well as concerning the social and political movements linked to Catholicism and Protestantism in Germany<sup>3)</sup>. Although the largest part of this literature is focused on cognitive interests of the respective confessions, it is nevertheless a valuable source for the reconstruction of religious influences upon socio-political movements and innovations. It seems to me that the authors dealing with social movements actually tend to restrict their focus too much upon socialist movements, fading out therefore the impact of the parallel christian movements. Although these movements were obviously less powerful in terms of challenging the capitalist order, it seems that they had a substantial integrative impact as they promoted also social reform and made it acceptable to parts of the ruling classes.

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1) Major contributions: H. ACHINGER: Sozialpolitik als Gesellschaftspolitik. Von der Arbeiterfrage zum Wohlfahrtsstaat (Hamburg 1958). T.H. MARSHALL: Class, Citizenship and Social Development (Garden City 1964). J.F. SLEEMAN: The Welfare State, its Aims, Benefits and Costs (London 1973). H.L. WILENSKY: The Welfare State and Equality (Berkeley 1975). W.A. ROBSON: Welfare State and Welfare Society (London 1976). M. JANOWITZ: Social Control of the Welfare State (New York 1976). I. GOUGH: The Political Economy of the Welfare State (London 1979). P. FLORA/A.J. HEIDENHEIMER (Eds.): The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America (New Brunswick 1981). J. ALBER: Vom Armenhaus zum Wohlfahrtsstaat. Analysen zur Entwicklung der Sozialversicherung in Westeuropa (Frankfurt/New York 1982).

2) Beside the works of FLORA/HEIDENHEIMER and ALBER see H. HECLO: Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden (New Haven/London 1974). W.J. MOMMSEN: The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany (London 1981). P.A. KÜHLER/ H.F. ZACHER (Eds.): Ein Jahrhundert Sozialversicherung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Frankreich, Großbritannien, Österreich und der Schweiz (Berlin 1981). H.G. HOCKERTS: Sozialpolitische Entscheidungen im Nachkriegsdeutschland (Stuttgart 1980).

3) I am indebted to Angelika ENGELBERT (Bielefeld) for a cautious screening of that literature.

## 1. The German 'Sozialpolitik' and the Welfare State

It may be of interest in our context, that the first record of the term 'welfare state' leads to the British archbishop William TEMPLE who used it in a pamphlet "Citizen and Churchman" in the year 1941<sup>4</sup>). This was the year in which Roosevelt and Churchill proclaimed the Atlantic-Charter and asked for "freedom of fear and want" in a new society after a victorious end of World War II. One year later the Beveridge-Plan appeared which is considered as a landmark in programming the welfare state. In 1948 the General Declaration of Human Rights promulgated not only civil but also social rights like the right for social security, for work and recreation, for a decent standard of life, the protection of mothers and children as well as the right of education and of cultural participation<sup>5</sup>). In the Anglo-Saxon-perspective the welfare state has emerged essentially after World War II despite some preliminary innovations beginning with the British Factory Act of 1833, the Public Health Act of 1848, the Education Act of 1870, the Workmens Compensation Act of 1897 and the Old-Age-Pensions Act of 1908 for the respective areas. Although Great Britain (and in parts also France) was leading in the industrialization process of the 19th century and first experienced the social problems of industrial work, it was not Britain but Germany who took a pioneering role in the intellectual analysis of the new society and its problems as well as in the creation of political measures to deal with these problems.

Already in the thirties and forties of the 19th century a keen awareness of the basically new character of industrial misery (as differentiated from pre-industrial poverty) is found among leading theorists as thinkers like Franz von BAADER, Robert von MOHL, Lorenz von STEIN and Karl MARX. It is impressive to see how these thinkers that may be labelled as leading figures of conservative (BAADER), liberal (MOHL), reformist (STEIN) and revolutionary (MARX) thought converge in the diagnosis that industrial misery stems from a social division between the wealthier people that are able to participate in the development of the new economic opportunities and the "proletaires without property" (BAADER 1835) that are forced to sell their abilities to work for whatever price and under whatever working conditions they may get. The network of these new economic opportunities was called - following HEGEL "the (civil) society" and it was differentiated from "the state" as the constitution of self-containing legal power. The new opportunities of industrialization were seen as a consequence of withdrawal of the liberal state from economic tutelage; thus also its social consequences were attributed to the separation between state and society, i.e. also the abolition of the feudal order that accounted for economic backwardness as well as for a basic protection of the bondsmen. It is in that context that the term 'Sozialpolitik' has been asserted to denote the problem of a 'mediation between state and society in order to solve the social problems of early

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4) Cf. P. GREGG: The Welfare State (London 1967), p. 3 s.

5) Cf. the articles 22-27 of the General Declaration of Human Rights. The existence of social rights has to be considered as basic element of the welfare state, cf. MARSHALL 1. c..

capitalism<sup>6)</sup>.

Created in the fifties the term "Sozialpolitik" has been progressively used to denote actions or proposals for action to solve the "Soziale Frage" (social question), a term that denoted first the problem of poverty in general but was then modified during the sixties and seventies to denote the problems of the industrial workers. This switching of meaning is a symptom of the occurring process of industrialization in that time: In 1850 only about 4% of the total working population in Germany was working in industry; in 1873 it was about 10% and in 1900 about 22%<sup>7)</sup>. Moreover between 1850 and 1880 the rural exodus became predominant throughout Europe and hence urbanization and industrialization became linked processes. Of course the urbanized proletarians were much more exclusively dependent from their wage-earnings than the rural poors who had - if only by thieving - a better access to natural goods. Hence the misery of the industrial agglomerations became predominant and formed a quite more impressive challenge to the civil society which was confronted now not only in theory but in practice with the negative side-effects of its success. In 1872 an association of social scientists for the promotion of social reform by state intervention named itself "Verein für Sozialpolitik" (Association for Social Politics) and from this time the term is well established in the modern sense of the politics and the institutions promoting social welfare.

First interventions of the state in order to protect children in industrial work are recorded in Prussia in 1839. Although Prussia had introduced compulsory education already in 1825 the implementation of work protection for children was very slow until 1853, when a modification of the 1839-Act prohibited work of children under 12 and introduced effective public controls. A rather general regulation of working conditions in the mining industry including a compulsory social security scheme (Knappschaft) was introduced by Prussia in 1854 and 1865. With the unification of the German Reich in 1870 under the auspices of the King of Prussia the etatistic approach to solve social problems became stronger. Accounting to the widening of industrialization and in order to control the growing socialist movement the emperor Wilhelm I. and his chancellor Bismarck undertook the creation of the first nation-wide social security system covering the risk of health (1883), workmens compensation (1884) and disability (1889). The very innovative factor of this reform was less of a technical character - most of the adopted solutions had already predecessors in form of private, communal, factory-related or even state regulations. The decisive factors are

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6) Cf. E. PANKOKE: Sociale Bewegung - Sociale Frage - Sociale Politik. Grundfragen der deutschen 'Socialwissenschaft' im 19. Jahrhundert (Stuttgart 1970). E.W. BÜCKENFÜRDE: Lorenz von Stein als Theoretiker der Bewegung von Staat und Gesellschaft zum Sozialstaat. In: BÜCKENFÜRDE (Ed.): Staat und Gesellschaft (Darmstadt 1976) pp. 131-171. The correct translation for 'Sozialpolitik' in English has to consider if one focuses upon the political process for social reform (social politics) or upon the institutions of welfare (social policy). The German terms denote both.

7) F.W. HENNING: Die Industrialisierung in Deutschland 1800-1914 (Paderborn 1973) p. 130.

(1) the compulsory membership of all industrial workers and (2) the establishment of specialized public bodies that are administered not by the state but by employers and workers. We can speak therefore of a kind of indirect ruling of social security by the state in Germany, and this reflects the stalemate between state and society as a characteristic feature of social reform in Germany.

If one sees the granting of social rights as decisive aspect of the establishment of a welfare state, Germany was pioneering another time in 1919, when the new constitution included a series of basic social rights for the first time. These however could not be realized adequately during the Republic of Weimar as a consequence of both economic stagnation and progressive political cleavages. This experience led the founders of the constitution of the Federal Republic to renounce the formulation of specific social rights that have been substituted by the general rule of a 'social character' of the state. Democracy, the binding of all public action to law (Rechtsstaatlichkeit), the social character (Sozialstaatlichkeit) and federalism are considered today as the four basic features of the Federal Republic of Germany. The correspondent term 'Sozialstaat' (social state) has similar connotations as the English 'Welfare State', the latter being even a less obligatory term: They denote a certain program as well as certain institutional features of modern states that are related to individual as well as to collective welfare. Moreover they imply a basic compatibility of individual and collective welfare that becomes questioned in recent discussions about a 'crisis of the welfare state'. In this paper however I take the integrating character of the welfare state for granted, as it has been believed by its promoters in the century that is of concern for the emergence of the welfare state, i.e. approximately 1850 - 1950<sup>8</sup>).

This very incomplete sketch of some aspects of the emergence of the modern welfare state should only sensitize the reader for the subject we are dealing with. It may be added that beside the problems of worker protection and social security the fields of health, housing, education and of social aid are considered as main domains of welfare state activities. The concern of these activities has shifted from the industrial worker to the population at large, i.e. in most countries persons are eligible to social services and benefits irrespective of their professional or any other status, if certain conditions that define need are met<sup>9</sup>). Hence welfare activities can also be classified by segments of the population that

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8) For the position of the present author towards the Welfare State see F.X. Kaufmann: Sicherheit als soziologisches und sozialpolitisches Problem (Stuttgart 1974). Social Policy and Social Services. In: D. GRUNOW/F. HEGNER (Eds.): Welfare or Bureaucracy (Cambridge Mass./Königstein/Ts. 1980) pp. 29-43. Elemente einer soziologischen Theorie sozialpolitischer Intervention. In: F.X. Kaufmann (Ed.): Staatliche Sozialpolitik und Familie (München 1982) pp. 49-86. Steuerungsprobleme des Wohlfahrtsstaats. In: J. MATTHES (Ed.): Verhandlungen des 21. Deutschen Soziologentages in Bamberg 1982 (Frankfurt/New York) in print.

9) Professional as well as e.g. confessional status matters however in many countries for the responsibility of particular bodies for the performance of certain services.

are typically in need: Old people, children, the handicapped, single mothers, unemployed workers etc. The stated aim of the welfare state is to help the disadvantaged social groups and individuals and to promote equality and security. To what extent has religion contributed in promoting these promises and performances of welfare, notwithstanding the shortcomings that may be noticed on closer inspection?

There seems to be an obvious relationship between modern ideas of welfare and basic predicaments of the christian gospel. The ideas of charity, of man's individual dignity, of equity as well as of solidarity and justice are deeply rooted in christian traditions. It is however an open question if and to what extent the impact of these traditions has operated through the established forms of christian religion or if there is only a very indirect link mediated by more modern trends of thought like natural law, the enlightenment, socialism etc. In this paper some first steps towards an ascertaining of direct influences of christian traditions will be reported. We shall see that these influences are quite varying insofar as the promotion of the welfare state is concerned. The commitment to human welfare is only one (and perhaps not the most important) aspect of the churches' activities as well as of the emergence of the welfare state. Moreover we shall ascertain various ways by which christian traditions became operative in promoting the welfare state, and most of them do not lead through the official bodies that we are accustomed to call the churches today.

## 2. The Churches and the State in Germany

If we want to understand the varying attitude of the churches towards the welfare state in Germany, we have to look first for the changes in the basic relationship between the churches and the state. For Germany the basic historic facts of concern are the reformation and the counter-reformation with the consequence of a bi-confessional structure of the German population<sup>10</sup>). Until the times of Napoleon Bonaparte the principle of the "Augsburger Religionsfrieden" of 1555 "Cuius regio, eius religio" remained the basic feature of the confessional structure. This meant for the protestant principalities that the prince was the administrator of the church which considered itself as not a social but a spiritual institution. In the catholic case most territories remained under ecclesiastical rule. With the expropriation of ecclesiastical territories by Napoleon (1803) and the subsequent Congress of Vienna (1815) a new socio-political structure emerged in Germany, including substantial parts of the catholic popu-

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10) Despite the historical conflicts among Lutherans and Calvinists as well as the enduring schism among Catholics (Altkatholiken versus Roman-Catholics) the basic confessional frontier has remained that between Catholics and Protestants so that these sophistications (as well as others) can be omitted in a macro-sociological analysis. - For a quite valuable presentation of the two confessions in Germany see the twin books: H.W. HESSLER (Ed.): *Protestanten und ihre Kirche* (München 1976) and G. GORSCHENEK (Ed.): *Katholiken und ihre Kirche* (München 1976).

lation under protestant rule. With the reestablishment of the Roman papacy and the concordats giving the pope a direct control over the bishops, the institutional differentiation of the (catholic!) church and the state became more and more operative. Hence the relationship between church and state in the 19th century was quite different in the case of Catholics from that of Protestants. For the Protestants the state remained the only focus of collective social life, whereas Catholics became divided in their loyalties between their church and their state. This conflict was augmented by the Roman conception of the church as a "societas perfecta" i.e. the pretention that the church was like the absolutistic state a body claiming dominion over all aspects of human life. Insofar as the minority position of the Catholics became linked with other aspects of political or economic disadvantages - and this was the case especially in Prussia - they developed a strong in-group feeling and kept distance to their protestant sovereigns. This tendency was amplified by the unification of the German Reich under the King of Prussia, and not under the Austrian Emperor as most Catholics had hoped for until 1866. By the separation of Germany and Austria the minority status of the Catholics became settled. At the same time they developed stronger emotional bonds to the pope and to their church (ultramontanism). Thus the Catholics became a kind of sub-society within the dominantly protestant German society: 'Catholicism' became a distinct form of living, of feeling and a socio-political movement<sup>11)</sup>. As we shall see it was this movement that gained substantial importance for the promotion of social policy in Germany.

For the Protestants the 19th century did not bring any substantial changes in their relationship to the state. The victory of the 'Prussian model' of the unification of the German Reich brought an even increasing identification with the new state, and also feelings of superiority that emerged not only from the political and economic sphere but also from the scientific success of the German universities. Insofar as Roman anti-modernism became emergent the influence of Catholics in German universities regressed substantially. 'Cultural Protestantism', a rather secularised form of confessional identity became the predominant feature of German culture around 1900.

With the end of World War I also the Protestants experienced the differentiation (if not separation) of church and state. The Constitution of Weimar granted both confessions the status of churches as public corporations. So they kept a privileged status and were not reduced to the status of private associations like in several other countries. By exception of the time of the Third Reich this legal status has remained quite unchanged yet.

However the social structure of the churches seems to have undergone substantial changes since World War II: On the one side the Protestants dis-

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11) For a sociological account of the emergence of Catholicism as a social structure in Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands see K. GABRIEL/ F.X. KAUFMANN (Eds.): Zur Soziologie des Katholizismus (Mainz 1980).

covered the organizational aspect of their church and organized themselves not only on the level of the old states within the Reich (Landeskirchen) but on a national level, too. Also the Catholic dioceses now reinforce their common structures and tend to concentrate the services operating on a national level at Bonn. This process of administrative centralization and several concomitant processes of (1) mingling of confessions (by flight and expulsion from the eastern territories and by social mobility), (2) reorganization of the political parties in terms of a biconfessional "Christian-Democratic-Union" and some other parties without strong confessional profile and (3) the emergence of a pluralistic structure of mass-culture favoring a common attitude versus both churches led to a modified attitude of the church members in relation to their church: In the protestant case a more institutional orientation seems to develop whereas in the catholic case the identification with the church and especially with the non-religious aspects of 'Catholicism' seems to weaken substantially. As a consequence one can observe a growing similarity of the social aspects of both confessions that may account also for a part of the ecumenical tendencies in Germany. At the same time the domain of confessional activity is more and more restricted to the explicit religious field. Hence also the term 'church' itself changes in meaning and denotes more and more the 'clerical' and administrative structure and no more the (different!) structure of the two confessions as in the second part of the 19th and the first part of the 20th century<sup>12)</sup>.

### 3. The Church and Social Policy

If one tries to detect a direct influence of church-officials upon social policy in Germany one will make the experience that such an influence seems to be stronger today than in the 19th century. This impression staggers at first glance, but it becomes understandable if one considers also the above mentioned changes in their relationships to the state. As the history of these relationships is different within the confessions we will now split our analysis along the confessional lines<sup>13)</sup>.

#### a) Catholicism

In Germany the loss of secular power of the church in the beginning of the 19th century did not result in a loss of spiritual power within the Catholic part of the population. On the contrary, the minority

12) For a more detailed analysis see F.X. KAUFMANN: Kirche begreifen - Analysen und Thesen zur gesellschaftlichen Verfassung des Christentums (Freiburg i.Br. 1979).

13) Most of the relevant literature deals also only with one confession. Note however the broad (and international) overview of M. GRESCHAT: Das Zeitalter der industriellen Revolution - Das Christentum vor der Moderne (Stuttgart 1980) and the comparative presentation of G. BRAKELMANN: Die soziale Frage des 19. Jahrhunderts (Witten 1971<sup>4</sup>).



status of the Catholics led not only to ultramontanism but also to a high degree of conformity with the clergy. This fact should however not be interpreted as mere clericalism. Especially in social and political affairs the influence of laics upon the clergy has been considerable, and there is a clear difference between the hierarchy and the associational forms of catholic organization since 1848 - the year of the revolutions in continental Europe.

Already in 1846 the first association of catholic artisans and journeymen had been founded at Elberfeld by four laics and - promoted by the young priest Adolf KOLPING - spread within five years to a social movement ("Katholischer Gesellenverein") that still exists today. In 1848 the first General Assembly of the German Catholics as well as the first convention of the Bishops of Germany took place, and both dealt with "the social question" as one of several major topics. Although there had been several dispersed initiatives of social reform since the thirties, the year 1848 is the landmark from which it makes sense to speak about a social movement in German Catholicism<sup>14)</sup>.

From the 25 bishops of that time only two were still noblemen and some came from quite poor families (HERMANS l.c. p. 39). In the Catholic Association of Germany ("Katholischer Verein Deutschlands") founded in 1848 as a union of the various local associations of Catholic laics the inclusion of all social classes was a generally accepted rule and also the Catholic party ("Zentrum") that was founded with the unification of the German Reich in 1870 represented not a particular class of Catholics but "the Catholics" from all classes of the society. This (in terms of the current socio-political divisions) integrative character of the catholic movement was due to ideological as well as to socio-economic and political factors.

From the aspect of leading ideas there were not only the already mentioned predicaments of the gospel but also the dominant views of society that led to an attitude of social integration. The cleavage of classes of the time was acknowledged at least by the leading figures but it was seen as a sign of deterioration of the right order, as a consequence of the god-forsaken

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14) There exists a lot of literature concerning the history of German catholicism that deals also with its socio-political aspects. For a more specialised overview see A. FRANZ: Der soziale Katholizismus in Deutschland bis zum Tode Kettelers (München-Gladbach 1914). J. HÖFFNER: Die deutschen Katholiken und die soziale Frage im 19. Jahrhundert (Paderborn 1954). P. JOSTOCK: Die katholisch-soziale Bewegung der letzten hundert Jahre in Deutschland (Köln o.J.) . E. RITTER: Die katholisch-soziale Bewegung Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert und der Volksverein (Köln 1954). J. SEITERS (Ed.): Portraits christlich-sozialer Persönlichkeiten (Osnabrück 1965). B.H.A. HERMANS: Das Problem der Sozialpolitik und Sozialreform auf den deutschen Katholikentagen von 1848 bis 1891 (Diss. Bonn 1972). For an international overview see S.H. SCHOLL: Katholische Arbeiterbewegung in Westeuropa (Bonn 1966).

liberalism. The proper order was considered to be realized in the ranked society of the pre-revolutionary period. The social reform should therefore be realized by reestablishment of bonds of mutual help from the side of land-owners and employers as well as from the side of the empoverished peasants and artisans that formed the lower classes of Catholics at that time.

There was however not only a retrospect in that program, as some authors suggest. There was also emphasis about free association and collective self-help as devices of coping with the miseries of the time. Although there was no decisive republican accent in the movement, it became quite concerned with the civil liberties that were again under threat after the failure of the constitutional movement of 1848. This led to a strong opposition against the politics of Bismarck and was one of the generating factors for the Prussian struggle against the Catholics ("Kulturkampf") in the seventies. This political pressure was another integrating factor for the German Catholics.

After 1880 Bismarck became interested in a truce with the Catholic party because of a growing liberal (and of course socialist) opposition against his politics. The laws on social security were passed with the votes of the conservatives and of the Catholics, and the "Zentrum" became the most stable supporter to all laws of social reform until 1930<sup>15</sup>). The socialists voted against Bismarck's social policy and became only reluctant supporters to the latter social legislation until World War I. For them the laws decided remained far behind their own claims whereas the "Zentrum" was quite aware of the power-relationships within parliament and deliberately chose an incrementalist strategy of social reform. Thus the Catholics held a position in the political struggle that was neither liberal nor socialist nor conservative or - if one prefers - they were the unique party that was able to cooperate with all of these tendencies in one or another respect. Hence their 'central' and integrating role in the political game of the German Reich.

Whereas the "Zentrum" represented "political Catholicism" the still existing associations of Catholic workers ("Katholische Arbeitervereine") and the "Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland" became the organizations of "social Catholicism"<sup>16</sup>). The 'Arbeitervereine' developed from the Christian-social movement inaugurated by the leading social reformer among the bishops, Emmanuel KETTLER (bishop of Mainz) in the late sixties of the 19th century. The forming of workers associations was the trend of the time, and they were considered mainly as organizations for education and culture, not for the articulation of common interests against

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15) During the Republic of Weimar the Ministry for social affairs was for the longest time in the hands of a minister of the Zentrum-party.

16) For the changing relationship between 'political' and 'social' Catholicism see O. v. NELL-BREUNING: Katholizismus. In: GABRIEL/KAUFMANN (Eds.) l.c. pp. 24-38.

the employers or the state. The "Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland" founded in 1890 became a kind of nation-wide organization of all Catholics with a strong commitment to social reform, at least before World War I<sup>17)</sup>. The main concern of these associations was however to integrate the Catholic workers within their church and to keep them away from socialism.

Trade unions were founded first by the socialists in the sixties. Although bishop KETTELER had already suggested their foundation in 1869, it was only after pope Leo XIII had acknowledged the right of workers to organize their interests that Catholics founded separate 'Christian' trade unions that should include Protestant workers, too. This proved to be difficult however: The larger part of the clergy was against a "mingling of confessions", and only in 1912 the dispute was settled by a circular letter of pope PIUS X. Nevertheless the influence of Protestants within the christian trade-unions remained of second order. Their success remained limited, the number of their members grew to about 15% of those of the free (socialist) unions.

From the point of view of economic and social science the catholic social movement was without any originality. The ideas of self help were quite common around 1850 and the emphasis towards more state intervention grew slowly in the sixties and took shape only after the establishment of the "Verein für Sozialpolitik" (cf. supra). There was no clear theory about the causes of actual misery and the industrial characteristics of the social question became rarely seldom acknowledged until 1869. There was then a claim for a "Catholic economic science" but no response. Insofar as one can speak of an orientation towards social science at that time, a certain influence of the professors from the "Verein für Sozialpolitik" is observable. Around 1900 a firm collaboration among all non-socialist promoters of social reform was established within the "Gesellschaft für soziale Reform".

We have already mentioned the influence of the papacy upon the struggle for Christian trade unions. Until the pontificate of LEO XIII there has however been almost no concern of the popes with the social question, and the Roman positions in political affairs were far more conservative (not to say reactionary) than those dominating in German Catholicism, which anyway was more liberal until the schism that followed the declaration of infallibility in 1870. With LEO XIII the Roman attitude to democracy as well as to modern industrialism changed significantly, and the encyclical "Rerum Novarum" of 1891 became the charter of the social movement in German Catholicism. Subsequently the scholastic philosophy about natural law became linked with the social predicaments of the popes and finally resulted in a Catholic Social Science as an intellectual basis of its own. Its impact on social politics became obvious mainly in the first program of the CDU in 1947 and resulted e.g. in the laws of workers codetermination of 1951/52.

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17) Cf. H. HEITZER: Der Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland im Kaiserreich 1890-1918 (Mainz 1979).

## b) Protestantism

The promoters of the new industrial society were mainly Protestants and its features emerged first in protestant parts of the German Reich. One should not forget that industrialization meant work and hence also more income in comparison with the miseries that were caused by the loss of feudal protection and overpopulation. The lack of concern with the "social question" in German Protestantism as compared with Catholicism finds an explanation also in the liberal faith in economic progress. However the mainstream of German Protestantism was not liberal but conservative as the Prussian state itself was. Insofar as the social problems were acknowledged it is a kind of Christian paternalism that characterizes most of the thinking as well as of the actions of Protestants during the 19th century.

In the specialized literature about our question<sup>18)</sup> two items are emphasized: (1) the writings and actions of J.H. WICHERN and the subsequent "Innere Mission" as expression of the "diaconic function" of the church, and (2) the "Christlich-Soziale Arbeiterpartei" (Christian-social workers party) founded in 1878 by Adolf STÖCKER with its successors, the "Christlich-Soziale Partei" and the "Evangelisch-Sozialer Kongress". Our concern with the impact of religion upon the development of social politics and social policy reduces the interest to the "Innere Mission" that has been (and is until today) an impressive social action of the Protestant churches in terms of charity, but not of politics<sup>19)</sup>. The initiatives of STÖCKER, a Prussian preacher at the royal court, led to a Protestant-social movement including also protestant workers associations, but it was of little impact and deteriorated already before World War I. STÖCKER himself was very conservative in his basic orientations and left the "Evangelisch-soziale Kongress" after its shift to ideas of social reform that transgressed the realm of the governmental social policy. The movement which gained some support from some younger protestant clergymen was forbidden to them by the church-officials that were under direct control of the Prussian state.

To conclude from this lack a vigorous social movement to a lack of influence of Protestantism upon social policy in Germany would however be faulty. Corresponding to the more spiritual conception of the church and to the more individualistic form of protestant faith the organized forms

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18) The literature about social movements in German Protestantism is rather sparse. For some overview see GRESCHAT l.c. and BRAKELMANN l.c. as well as W.O. SHANAHAN: German Protestants Face the Social Question (Notre Dame, Indiana; German edition München 1962). G. BRAKELMANN: Kirche, soziale Frage und Sozialismus. Bd. 1: Kirchenleitungen und Synoden über soziale Frage und Sozialismus (Gütersloh 1977). M. SCHICK: Kulturprotestantismus und soziale Frage (Tübingen 1970).

19) Cf. E. GERSTENMAIER: "Wichern Zwei" - Zum Verhältnis von Diakonie und Sozialpolitik. In: H. KRIMM (Ed.): Das diakonische Amt der Kirche (Stuttgart 1965<sup>2</sup>) pp. 467-518.

of explicit protestant action were rather weak. But Protestantism did not exist primarily in social organization but in the minds of the Protestants, and especially of the Prussian civil servants and politicians of the influential conservative party. We find a line of influence here that is often underestimated.

The sources of social commitment of German Protestantism go back to the pietism of the 17th and 18th century. In opposition to the protestant mainstream claiming faith only ("sola fide") the pietists rediscovered the gospels predicament of charity and claimed "faith and charity". The city of Halle with its new university had become a center of pietism around 1700 and created a whole system of education for orphans as well as for the children from the ruling classes. Leading pietists also became influential in the education of the princes of Prussia, and Halle developed into the center of education for Prussian civil servants<sup>20</sup>). J.H. WICHERN came from a pietist tradition and the concepts of the "Innere Mission" as well as of other charitable institutions show manifold similarities to the pietist foundations in Halle.

But also the civil servants responsible for social legislation had often a pietist background, and there are numerous examples of Christian responsibility in the persons that were directly concerned with the preparation of social policy within government. Compared with England and France, the Prussian state was quite strong and liberalism rather weak. German social policy in the 19th century has emerged mainly from the paternalistic ethos of its princes as well as of its civil servants and even entrepreneurs. It was therefore a quasi natural tendency of the representatives of the state to use its power for the treatment of social problems. This led to state intervention pioneering in improving the social conditions of the lower classes.

Finally one should not forget that also social scientists engaged in intellectual reflection about the illness of the time and remedies to cope with them in a large number were religious Protestants.

Some of them were rather influential to government, others collaborated with the protestant social movement. Protestant faith didn't operate so much as content of social reform, but it gave motivation also in situations where personal interests could lead to opposite actions.

### 3. The Churches and the Welfare State Today

As already mentioned the social status of the churches has changed substantially after World War II. They became more alike and more distant from the daily concerns of their members. In return for that loss of influence upon the individuals they experienced a growth in their function as providers of personal social services.

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20) Cf. G. HINRICHS: Der halleische Pietismus als politisch-soziale Reformbewegung des 18. Jahrhunderts. In: M. GRESCHAT (Ed.): Zur neueren Pietismusforschung (Darmstadt 1977). M. SCHMIDT: Pietismus (Stuttgart 1978<sup>2</sup>).

In the Federal Republic of Germany social services are provided only in some few domains by state-bodies directly. In general the holders of social services are either self-administrated public bodies (like in social security) or the communes or private associations. These private associations are organized mainly along their ideological orientation: The catholic under the headline of "Caritas", the protestant under the headline of "Diakonisches Werk" resp. "Innere Mission", the socialist under the headline of "Arbeiterwohlfahrt", to name only the most important. These federations of private associations have become quite powerful actors in social politics, given their relationships to other influential actors like the churches or political parties. The development of these federations has led to a substantial loss of autonomy of the particular associations, and this seems to be a consequence of the growing importance of the federations. In the case of the protestant "Innere Mission" the establishment of the first coordination body dated back to 1848, in the case of the catholic "Caritas-Verband" it has been founded in 1897. Until the end of World War I these federations had only importance within their own confession. The strong position of socialists in the first years of the Weimar Republic and the miseries of the post-war period threatened however the social work of the churches that should be substituted by national and communal bodies. By a stronger collaboration also among the various federations they attained however that their work was included in the laws regulating public assistance. After World War II the renewed laws improved even their position, so that public or even communal services may be created only to the extent that the "free federations of welfare" (freie Wohlfahrtsverbände) would not be able to provide such services<sup>21</sup>). Moreover the federations became involved by law or by influence in various processes of public planning of social services. The confessional associations hold a varying, but always very substantial part of the services in different domains (e.g. hospitals, kindergardens, homes for youth or old people etc.). These services are paid to a major (and also varying) part by public assets, although the churches have the right to levy taxes and are therefore in a good economic position. This is also the reason why they can afford better than the poorer holders of social services the conditions set by law and why they are quite influential in the bargaining processes with the state. As personal social services have expanded at a very high rate in the last twenty years by a substantial increase of public expenditure there has been a concomitant increase in the churches influence upon the welfare state. This leads today to a kind of corporatistic relationship among the churches and the state that is mediated in the field of social policy by the confessional associations of welfare.

In recent times one can observe a renewal of socio-political influence of the churches that concerns the protection and the rights of foreign workers as well as the relationships to the third world. There are again

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21) For the underlying ideological positions see J. MATTHES: Gesellschafts-politische Konzeptionen im Sozialhilferecht (Stuttgart 1964). For an overview of the legal situation including the relationship between the churches and the state see R. WEGENER: Staat und Verbände im Sachbereich Wohlfahrtspflege (Berlin 1978).

moral positions advanced against economic considerations, as it had been the case with the "social question" in the 19th century.

#### 4. Summary

It was the aim of this paper to sketch some important issues concerning the influence of religion upon the development of the welfare state in a short way. In the German situation studied here, we can ascertain varying forms and intensities of religious influence through time and according to the confession. By and large the influence of the catholic social movement proved to be more important than correspondent protestant influences. One has to consider however that the dominant states in Germany were themselves ruled by protestant people, and some commitment had substantial influence upon the development of social policies. In recent times the differences between the confessions have weakened and a new constellation has emerged that shows the churches as holders of an important part of the welfare states services as well as advocats for minorities and for international help.

One may speculate about the causes that led to this rather strong position of the churches in German social history. I would argue that it has been the bi-confessional structure and the concomitant competitive as well as antagonistic and cooperative relationship among the churches that strengthened the domain of religion in German society in times when societies with a more homogenous confessional structure experienced a secular decline of religious influence.