

WELFARE ASSOCIATIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW SELF-HELP MOVEMENT IN WESTERN GERMANY

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I. The Establishment of the German Welfare System

The genesis of the German welfare system was an attempt to ward off revolutionary, radical, socialist, communist, or anarchist "dangers". In 1848, the year of the unsuccessful German revolution, Johann Hinrich Wichern, founder of Innere Mission, the protestant charity association, gave a famous speech in Luther's church in Wittenberg at the first Kirchentag of the German churches. He proclaimed Innere Mission as "the armed daughter of the church...for the fight against revolution" (Fischer 1951, 504). He saw a "general attack of the satanic empire, represented by communism on one hand, by atheism on the other" (Heinze/Olk 1981a, 240). Social control of middle and lower class movements, religious obedience by the lower classes and the youth, maintenance of morals, and the elimination of juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, prostitution, and the like, have been the focus of the Christian charity associations. Although the enemies and dangers have changed to a certain extent, the degree of continuity is fascinating. An example: when the Catholic Caritas set up its first secretariat for Italian workers in Germany in 1896, it stressed the socialist dangers as well as the moral ones, and tried to combine religious care with practical help (Werthmann 1958, 164). About seventy years later, in 1964, the only change in Caritas' emphasis was that it was no longer the German Social Democrats who were considered dangerous, but the Italian Communists. The *Sozialbetreuer* (social caretaker) in 1964 had to strive for the "removal of mental disorientation, to prevent the guest workers becoming ant-like (Überameisen), to keep them from becoming lonely,

and not losing their way in misplaced social activities". "No worker should return to his homeland unreligious, morally disordered or politically disorientated". "This special social help should make him immune against communist cells infiltrating from the countries of origin" (Winkler 1964, 87/88).

These conservative attitudes went hand in hand with top-to-bottom organization patterns. The decision making bodies in the denominational welfare organizations consisted of prominent laymen and of clerics. Wichern excluded even industrialists, and so the central committee of the Innere Mission consisted only of clerics and conservative top bureaucrats (Heinze/Olk 1981a, 243). A great deal of the work was done by middle class women. "In the army of Caritas women are the corps du garde", wrote the founder of Caritas, Lorenz Werthmann in 1899 in the characteristic militarist tone of the imperialist age. Apart from female middle class volunteers, special units were recruited from the lower classes, particularly from large peasant families. Catholics founded new orders for the hospital service, and the Protestant church, which had been without religious orders since the reformation, established "mother houses" of deaconesses, hierarchically organized even more so than their Catholic counterparts. The Red Cross did the same, creating its own sisterhoods for service in its hospitals (Sachsse/Tennstedt 1980, 222).

Employees had no say in the decision-making committees, nor had clients. They were objects of the charity system. As an example we can again take the foreign workers in Germany. For their benefit a "*Comitato di Protezione degli Operai Italiani in Germania*" was created in 1895, cooperating with an Italian committee. Both consisted of clergymen and some members of the "educated classes" (Werthmann 1958, 113, 161-168).

At the same time, the state tried to obstruct autonomous organizations of the needy. The patronizing and elitist charities fitted well into the authoritarian system of the German *Obrigkeitsstaat*.

This structure was not uncommon in Europe around 1900. Most European bourgeois parties used it. Decisions were taken in small

circles which were not answerable to the public. We also can find examples of the great charity entrepreneur in other countries, building an empire of welfare under his own control, in some cases also setting up a family dynasty (Booth and the Salvation Army, and the Red Cross Dunant, Bodelschwingh and Bethel, a family empire to this day — see Diessenbacher 1981). Unlike party structures, where the patterns of organization have changed decisively (in Germany we now find the well organized mass party), the organizational pattern of the charity organizations has remained much the same up to now. They have not taken over any of the modern organizational patterns: there is no clear democratic responsibility within the bigger organizations, nor is there marketlike competition, nor a big bureaucracy and universalistic criteria, typical for most modern welfare states. A premodern structure has been preserved, with personalistic patterns of organization, binding employees to certain moral standards and loyalties even in their private lives, and with ill-defined policy responsibilities.

As we explore the development of these specific patterns of German charity organizations, we can distinguish three formative periods:

a) *Concentration* and *centralization* were the catchwords of the period before World War I. This was particularly true for charities at the local level. Control of beggars and a rational scheme for distribution of donations for them were repeatedly emphasized by liberals, Catholics and Protestants (Sachsse 1986; Werthmann 1958, 27 ff.; Olk/Heinze 1981). It was stressed that unorganized charity might encourage beggary and that alms should not be given to the unworthy. Efficiency could be improved if funds and charity were channeled through a rational system. "He who gives reasonably, gives threefold", wrote the founder of the Catholic Caritas, Lorenz Werthmann (37). On the one hand, this type of rational organization means social control, on the other hand, it is also instrumental in organizing a network of help for the needy. An important organizer of planned help was the famous industrialist Wilhelm Merton. He planned his social undertaking with the same "disciplined rationality" (Achingner 1965) with which he built up the "*Metallgesellschaft*", a big trading company. Many of the

progressive ideas for the future originated from such liberals, whereas the Christian organizers stressed much more the need for social control. In Merton's conception, research was considered an important tool for the betterment of the needy in all respects (Sachsse 1986b).

When Werthmann organized the Catholic Caritas in 1895, he could already distinguish four types of nationwide charity associations: the liberal, the official, the Protestant and the patriotic version, including the Red Cross, "mostly under the protectorate of the land's princess" (Werthmann 1958, 41). The Catholics, typically, came late. A case study on Konstanz, one of the liberal strongholds with a Catholic population, shows that in the 1870's, the liberals led a campaign against beggary and accused the traditional Catholic charity institutions of creating laziness and dependency and mismanaging the city's charitable endowments. The liberals stripped the clergy of control over the foundations and used the newly acquired "dead capital" for investment (Zang 1978, 309 ff.). In the 1890s, the older precapitalist type of Catholic charity was replaced by a newer one, modelled after the prevalent modern type which fits into the Weberian ethics of capitalism. Thus, the creation of the *Caritas Association* in Germany in 1895 can be seen as part of the acculturation of German Catholics in Protestant and capitalist imperial Germany, of their embourgeoisement. Instead of the traditional symbiosis between Catholic orders and the poor, there emerged an institution of social control in the spirit of capitalism.

b) *Nationalization* and *homogenization* characterize the second phase of the institutionalization of the charity organizations, between 1914 and 1933. Christoph Sachsse has described the ideological and practical nationalization of the German women's movement in World War I. In a parallel manner, the charity organizations lost their functional autonomy, working to a great extent for nationally defined priorities during the war and the turbulent times thereafter. They depended on state subsidies which were widely extended, and lost their financial foundations in the inflation of the twenties. Only the churches and church-related charities were able to retain some autonomy because of the German system of government-collected church tax.

In spite of the charities' loss of functional autonomy and funds, they were able to maintain their organizational autonomy. In the litigation over the restructuring of the welfare system during World War I, when state priorities dominated, the charities' catchwords changed. The emphasis was not on centralization, which, in effect had become stronger, but on "*Freiheit der Liebestätigkeit*" (freedom of love-doing). The charity organizations no longer called themselves private, but free. They were prepared to take over state functions, and to act on behalf of the state, but managed to retain their organizational autonomy — the pattern of authoritarian corporatism (Gerhardt 1948, 227).

During the Weimar Republic (1920-1933), the Reich and Prussian ministries of welfare mostly remained in the hands of the Catholic center party. The corporatist pattern was consolidated and the state financed activities of the charities were extended. The Catholic doctrine of *subsidiarity* developed in this environment, formulated in 1931 in the *encyclica Quadragesimo anno*, drafted by the German Jesuit Oswald von Nell-Breuning (Werthmann 1958, 149, Kühr 1986). In 1924, seven "Spitzenverbände der freien Wohlfahrtspflege" (national confederations of free charity associations) were recognized by the Reich government. They were able to influence the policies of the central government which, in turn, relied heavily on them.

The important innovative rôle of liberal associations had ended in these years. Free foundations had lost their financial base, and the age of amateurs was over. Instead, pioneering ideas now were often tried out at the local government level, particularly in those communities governed by the Social Democrats (Frankenthal 1981). The Catholic and Protestant associations remained the largest. A Jewish organization was formed in 1917, and the German Red Cross was reorganized in 1921. The Social Democrats, who, as a matter of principle, advocated a public welfare system and were opposed to bourgeois charity, curiously enough joined the system. The possibility of public funding played an important role in that decision (Sachsse 1986, 338). Whereas most top positions in the other charities were occupied by men, with the women supposed to do the daily work, many top positions in the Social

Democratic *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* (workers' welfare) were occupied by women. Founded in 1919, *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* in its first years was a section of the party itself.

Charities that did not fit these organizational patterns joined another national organization: the *Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband* (DPWV—German Paritetic Welfare Association). Charity was largely dependent on public money and most of the charity associations depended on political backing from other organizations. Even the Communists created a charity: the *Rote Hilfe* (Red Help).

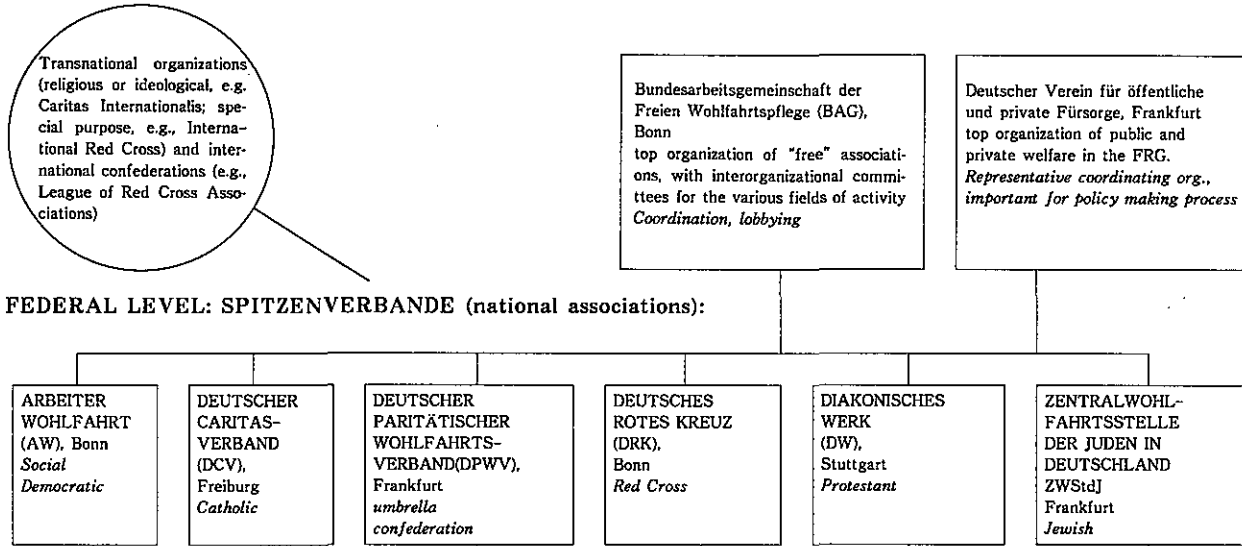
The pattern of quasi-state charity was continued during the Nazi era. *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* and *Rote Hilfe* were outlawed in 1933. The Christian workers' welfare organization was also dissolved, and integrated into the two denominational organizations.⁽¹⁾ The Red Cross continued to exist, working in close cooperation with the Nazi system. DPWV was taken over by the *Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt* (NSV), a monopolistic party charity organization. Only the Christian organizations retained a certain autonomy, but their activities were restricted more and more. The suppression of democrats and Jews, the forced emigration and the holocaust put an end to progressive traditions in German welfare. This is an important reason for the lack of innovative social policies in Germany after World War II which contrasts with the progressive social work and social science policies promoted in the US by central European immigrants.

c) The strengthening and formalization of the corporatist charity system took place after World War II. When the German national state was destroyed, churches and Christian welfare organizations became important and popular (Degen 1975). They remained an island of organizational continuity, in contrast to all other groups and institutions, particularly the state itself, which was reconstructed in a slow and time consuming step-by-step process, ending with the founding of the Federal Republic in 1949. The Christian Democrats, in the time of their absolute majority, formalized the principle of the "subsidiary"

precedence of "free" charity organizations. Since 1961, municipalities have not been allowed to establish kindergartens or other youth care institutions when there is a "free" organization which wants to do it — with the municipality's subsidies guaranteed exclusive control over personnel and curricula (Matthes 1964). In many other welfare fields the precedence is observed in practice. Charities, particularly church-related ones, have monopolistic control in many regions over youth care institutions, hospitals, services of social advice, and the like.

The growing flow of state subsidies, and the expansion of the welfare state, based upon the rapid economic growth between 1950 and 1973, had three further implications: First, the charities boomed financially, subsidized by numerous state programs, and fueled by church taxes which are collected as an eight to ten percent surcharge on the income tax. Second, the financial wealth of the charities resulted in expansion of the charity organizations, with more paid positions replacing voluntary ones, and, consequently, in greater bureaucratization (Kühr 1986). Finally, in this process, the "free" and the public charities became less and less distinguishable from each other. A para-state complex had been established, intimately linked to officialdom and to the political parties. On all levels, political parties were important in securing public funds for the "free" charities. Vice versa, charities were often bases of party influence and recruitment. It is not uncommon in local councils that a Caritas official holds a seat for the CDU, or an Arbeiterwohlfahrt official for the SPD. This constitutes corporatist circles of influence and patronage, comparable to the Italian *sottogoverno* and extended role for the parties (*partitocrazia*). It also has a homogenizing effect as all participants tend to benefit from an expansion and a smooth and quiet functioning of the system (Thränhardt 1983).

TABLE 1: ORGANIZATION OF CHARITIES IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC



FEDERAL LEVEL: SPECIAL ORGANIZATIONS:

Intra- and interorganizational committees and organizations on the national level, like Catholic orders, Protestant and Red Cross sisterhoods, hospital organizations, youth care org., kindergarten org., anti drug work, et cetera

Functions of coordination, programmatic and organizational discussion and programming, funding, lobbying

REGIONAL LEVEL:

Regional organizations of the various national associations and confederations (Landesarbeitsgemeinschaften, LAG). Most important policy making and funding level: Catholic dioceses, Protestant Landeskirchen, Red Cross and DPWV Landesverbände, AW Bezirke (districts), Intra- and interorganizational committees and organizations of umbrella, specialist, religious and ideological type.

Functions of coordination, programmatic and organizational discussion, programming, funding, lobbying, in some cases services operation and administration

LOCAL LEVEL:

City and county committees of various organizations, denominational organizations, along the patterns of church organizations, regional federations of various county and city organizations in some cases, city district organizations, of the Spitzenverbände, their member special organizations, and other intra- and interorganizations.

Functions of coordination, funding, lobbying local governments, policy making, partly services administration and operation.

INDIVIDUAL WORKING UNITS:

Hospitals, church parishes, AW and Red Cross local committees, DPWV member organizations, kindergartens, youth centers, and the like. Operational units. Some financially autonomous, some dependent on local or regional levels.

II. The Emergence of Protest and Self-Help Movements

In public protest movements since 1966, the corporatist system came under heavy criticism. The charities remained in the lee of the storm, for they were not as visible as the state institutions. The protest movements emerged on political issues in confrontation with the government, criticizing state activities and political symbols. Ideological debates and symbolic showdowns centered around political issues like the Great Coalition (CDU/CSU and SPD 1966-69), state of emergency provisions (1968), "*Berufsverbote*" (the early 1970's), nuclear energy (around 1980), missile deployment (1982/83), construction of large technological facilities, and the state census (1987). The protest movement was, however, not only anti-Government but at the same time also state-orientated in its political outlook. The dominant socialist ideas were explicitly or — more often — implicitly tied to the enlargement of state functions (see, as an example, the first *Jahrbuch der Sozialarbeit*, 1976). Only in the last few years has this trend ended, with decentralist ideas becoming more influential.

Charities were affected in their role as a quasi-state apparatus controlling major components of the welfare system, such as kindergartens, youth care centers, hospitals, and the like. They were challenged not as organizations but in respect to the above mentioned concepts of paternalistic social control.

The controversies differed in the various welfare fields. They were most visible where student action groups were involved. The activists' understanding of the context was decisive.

The most widely known and visible conflicts centered on kindergartens and schools and focused on the concept of "anti-authoritarian" education. Although educational concepts had been liberalized over the years, a symbolic conflict arose here: education (or non-education) for a new nonrepressive society vs. the necessity of orderly education and social control for forming a normal personality. The conflict was publicized by the media, particularly by magazines like *Der Spiegel*, and by Stefan Aust's television features of "*Kinderläden*" (independent kindergartens) as an example of a totally alternative education. The

ideas were widely disseminated and simplified. One example of a best-seller misunderstanding is Alexander S. Neill's book on his Summerhill school. It had been hardly noticed when it appeared in 1964 under its original title, released by a small Munich publisher (and had to be sold at a loss). But it sold more than one million copies and became known in every school when *Rowohlt* published it in paperback under the new fashionable title, "*Theorie und Praxis der antiautoritären Erziehung*". It was vividly discussed in the media and its simplified interpretation influenced the whole world of education.

A second field of conflict was the anti-institutional campaign against youth care centres, which derived from the concept of emancipation of the proletarian youth, as a substitute for the working classes (who did not follow the Marxist ideas of class struggle and rebellion). A critical campaign against repressive practices in youth care institutions was organized, articles in support of which campaign were published in a variety of pamphlets and in the alternative press that had emerged in the 1970's (see e.g. "*Knipperdolling*" in the late seventies in Münster). It was the first time since 1932 that closed correctional youth institutions were publicly challenged, and this was made possible only with the help of a new generation of critical social workers. For the charities, this unexpected experience in the limelight was traumatic because they were not accustomed to such conflicts. Their first reactions in most cases did not include holding thoughtful discussions. They felt unjustly accused and took disciplinary measures against suspected "disloyal" employees, or ignored the accusations, with the help of the establishment press.

In the following years, the critical tendencies broadened, and all fields of institutionalized charity were affected. I cannot describe the conflicts in the various fields here, but I want to stress the two new inroads into the system:

- a) the alternative concept for clients, based upon self-determination and emancipation, and critically opposed to institutionalization. Self-help and collective organization were stressed.
- b) the alternative concepts for professional social work, non-

paternalistic practice, and community orientation.

Both concepts developed over the years, and were diffused into this or that form in all the fields of social and psycho-social care. They reached to the very heart of the charity organizations, which in spite of their ideology of "free charity" were, as I have been stressing above, essentially paternalistic. They stood against the traditional ideologies of religious resignation which had dominated the churches' charity. For years, both sides had great difficulties in coming to terms and to a mutual understanding. Social scientists may in many cases have contributed to misunderstandings and "sterile agitation", instead of facilitating learning and understanding. It was only after the common danger of financial cuts in the welfare system over-shadowed the controversies, and the new ideas of self-help and self-determination had been taken up even by the conservatives, and at the same time, the trust in the possibilities of education and radical change had been severely shaken, that a new mutual understanding began to develop (Thranhardt et al. 1986).

When the new outlook was transferred into self-help movements in the early seventies, the protagonists of the protest movements reacted negatively at first and did not see the importance of self-help spreading into all parts of society. Offe called it "a perversion of political citizens' initiative into politically meaningless forms of collective self-help" (1971, 160). But self-help was a broader social movement, important for many people in their personal and social situation. Particularly meaningful is its expert-critical outlook, giving the participants a new feeling of competence for their own affairs. As self-help is conceived collectively, it also creates a social network, which aids participants in overcoming their isolation. The social network, the confidence in one's own abilities, and sceptical attitudes towards bureaucracy and established politics and administration can also become important for social movements in other fields, as issues come up in the public sector.

At the same time, the readiness for voluntary work in the charity associations is declining. Whereas in 1962 only 49% of the population

answered negatively when asked if they were prepared for voluntary work with charity associations, 59% answered negatively in 1979. But the percentage that said no was lower among persons of higher education (Niedrig 1982, 126). Other data show parallel developments: church attendance in 1980 was only half of that in 1950 (Golomb 1983, 99); all other indicators for attachment to churches indicate the same trend.

Empirical research demonstrates that there are some similarities in recruitment and stratification between self-help movements and the more traditional realm of volunteers in charity organizations. The workers of both spheres are predominantly female and middle class (Trojan 1986, 36 ff.). The particular strength of self-help lies in the fields of psychosocial problems.

A quantitative study on self-help in North Rhine-Westphalia, the largest West German state with 28% of the country's population, shows that 24% of all self-help groups were organized around addiction problems, a further 17% around somatic illness, and 9% deal with a special psychological situation. Although the local data also reflect specific conditions and needs, they make clear that self-help groups have emerged in all parts of the country, with heavier concentration in cities containing large new middle class sectors, like Cologne or Münster.

III. Self Help, Charities, and Trends towards New Integration

Self-help groups and new social movements (hereafter referred to as NSMs) are becoming more and more important in Germany. The country ranks highest in Inglehart's scales of value change and the positive effects of self-help are stressed by all sorts of authorities in the last years. However, one decisive difficulty remains: creating a stable relationship between new social movements and public institutions and providing for cooperation that is needed by both sides. Various reasons for these difficulties can easily be established:

Table 2: Self-Help Groups in North Rhine-Westphalia: An Empirical Survey

Self-Help Issue Cities	Women	Men	Fami-ly	Old Age	Somatic Illness	Addic-tion	Handi-cap	Unem-ployed	Special Social Sit.	Special psych. Sit.	Rela-tive	Total
Köln	47	10	2	12	78	131	132	-	118	75	7	612
Essen	6	2	27	6	22	5	17	7	21	4	16	133
Dortmund	10	5	7	6	33	47	16	12	16	11	21	184
Duisburg	5	3	-	1	23	60	8	-	16	10	6	132
Bochum	10	3	3	2	10	9	2	1	4	5	2	51
Wuppertal	15	3	4	2	20	23	7	3	10	4	13	104
Bielefeld	13	1	8	-	30	35	6	2	7	25	6	133
Münster	5	2	55	9	19	35	37	3	14	2	16	197
Mönchengladbach	-	-	5	1	16	7	3	1	2	4	9	48
Aachen	6	-	-	-	15	13	18	3	-	19	3	77
<u>Counties</u>												
Mettmann	1	1	14	-	21	13	5	3	1	6	9	74
Unna	2	2	18	4	67	23	23	6	12	28	22	207
Ennepe-Ruhr-Kr.	7	-	47	3	23	7	20	-	7	7	10	131
Lippe	3	1	1	-	17	23	2	3	7	14	13	84
Aachen	10	-	5	5	29	5	55	-	-	5	5	119
Gütersloh	13	-	30	10	16	43	-	-	3	10	7	132
Minden-Lübbecke	4	1	2	2	14	35	7	2	8	6	-	81
Paderborn	17	2	9	3	17	46	2	4	3	17	12	132
absolute numbers	503	75	662	190	1082	1518	795	113	462	580	438	6,418
Percentage	8%	1%	10%	3%	17%	24%	12%	2%	7%	9%	7%	100%

North Rhine-
Westphalia

Source: Anita M. Jackubowski, Selbsthilfegruppen und Selbsthilfegruppenunterstützung in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Bottrop 1987.

*Calculation, on the basis of the above mentioned cities and counties, grouped along socio-economic patterns.

- Unresponsiveness on the part of state bureaucracies, which, in the German tradition, have not been used to dealing with groups of clients directly but tended to let the charities act as intermediaries (Bauer 1978; Thänhardt 1983);
- ideological pains on both sides, also related to the above mentioned conflicts in which NSM activists tend to participate;
- very diverse styles, and fears of unwanted integration into the system, respectively, uncontrollability or subversiveness in this or that sense;
- the decentralized structure of the NSMs, and their mistrust of organization and centralization, related to the now dominant ideology of unalienated *Basisdemokratie*.

Thus, the cooperation between state and local authorities on the one hand, and self-help groups and NSMs, on the other, remains difficult. Characteristically, technical problems like precise accounting are played up.

Direct state funding of self-help groups is debated on both sides. Where direct state funding has occurred, it was often more a conspicuous gesture for public relations purposes (Grottian 1986). This perception is supported by the fact that funding for advertisement campaigns to boost self-help as an anti-socialist shibboleth has, in some cases, cost more than funding of self-help programs themselves.

Also, in many cases, state agencies did not dare to fund self-help activities which were outside the limits of the established pluralism. Characteristic examples, again in the field of foreign minorities, are the refusal to fund a Kurdish cultural centre out of fear of protests from the Turkish government, or the negative attitude towards funding a well-working womens' centre with a Communist background. In both cases the Berlin government resorted to funding through a welfare organization, so that direct responsibility could be avoided. Even where special funds for self-help were introduced to mark a political intention, distribution was mostly arranged through the charities. Their mediating role, which had traditionally grown, was thus extended to the

new field of self-help. On the one hand, the charities meet the bureaucratic standards and make funding simpler and more convenient for the government; on the other, they are more easily accepted by self-help people. The "alternative scene", as it is called in Germany, tends to be suspicious of the motives and the effects of state funding, and works more easily with charity associations, through which the public money has been channeled. That eases the upholding of the alternatives' oppositional identity, even if their actual social activities may be of an integrative and stabilizing character.

Additionally, some Protestant church leaders have become mediators in social conflicts, trusted by both sides, government and oppositional movements, for instance, in conflicts with squatters in the city centres. Particularly the Protestant Church is also active in creating centres for the unemployed, circles for young mothers, youth meeting centers, and the like. Also, a new bridge between great parts of the younger protestant clergy and the NSMs is the peace movement, in which both sides are actively engaged. At present, relations between charity associations and self-help groups follow different patterns:

1. There is competition for funds and social functions, as between the various charities, on one hand;
2. There are symbiotic situations, self-help groups and NSMs integrated into the charity associations, on the other hand;
3. There is mutual mistrust, uneasiness, ideological and social distance as well as fear, and at the same time cooperation between the two sides.

Charities themselves are in a state of rapid change, insofar as ideology, organization, funding, and membership are concerned. NSMs and self-help movements have assumed an important role in this process. Their emergence has strengthened the smallest national organization, *Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband* (hereafter referred to as DPWV), a pluralistic umbrella organization, which in the last years has succeeded in integrating a lot of NSMs and self-help groups. Because of its democratic structures and openness, it is

particularly fit for this task. The integration process has been achieved so smoothly that the idea of founding an additional association, which was discussed in the Green party, did not receive serious consideration.

As an example for the far-reaching integration of self-help and NSMs into the DPWV, I include in Table 3 a list of the self-help organizations of the DPWV in Münster, a new middle class city of 270,000 inhabitants. This demonstrates the variety and multitude of self-help groups which have developed in the last years. They make up 57 of the 82 organizations that form the DPWV in Münster.

Table 3 : Self Help Membership Organisations of the DPWV Münster

Aktionsgemeinschaft Münsteraner Arbeitsloser e.V.,
 Ambulante Dienste e.V.,
 Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Deutschen Rheumaliga,
 Arbeitskreis ausländischer Arbeiter e.V.,
 Arbeitskreis soziale Bildung und Beratung e.V. (ASB),
 Ausreißerhilfegruppe e.V.,
 Behindertensportgemeinschaft Münster-Amelsbüren,
 Bezirksverband des Diabetiker Bundes im Landesverband NRW,
 Bund Deutscher Hirngeschädigter,
 Bundesverband der Kehlkopfflosen,
 Bund der Kriegsblinden Deutschlands e.V.,
 Bundesverband für die Rehabilitation der Aphasiker,
 Club 68 — Verein Behinderter und ihrer Freunde e.V.,
 Deutscher Guttemplerorden, IOGT e.V.,
 Deutscher Kinderschutzbund e.V.,
 Deutsche Multiple Sklerose Gesellschaft -DMSG -,
 Deutsche Parkinson -Vereinigung,
 FOCUS e.V.,
 Förderkreis Sozialpsychiatrie e.V.,
 Förderverein der Gehörlosenschule e.V.,
 Frauenberatung Friedensstraße e.V.,
 Frauenferien- und Bildungshaus e.V.,

Freundschaft mit Kindern, Förderkreis e.V.,
 Gehörlosenverein Johannes Wolken-Heim e.V.,
 Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft für die Herstellung von Holzspielzeug, die
 Reparatur von Fahrrädern, Entrümpelungsdienste GmbH,
 Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft z. Unterstützung Asylsuchender e.V.,
 Hilfe für das autistische Kind e.V.,
 Initiative für sozialpädagogische Selbsthilfe e.V. Jugendwerkstatt,
 Integration durch Information, Angebote für Gehörlose e.V.,
 Integrationsmodell e.V.,
 Interessengemeinschaft der mit Ausländern verheirateten Frauen e.V.
 (IAF),
 Jugendzentrum Wolbeck,
 Kindergruppe 13 e.V.,
 Kindergruppe Nord e.V.,
 Kindergruppe "Am Schiffahrter Damm" e.V.,
 Kinderkotten Mecklenbeck e.V.,
 Kinderhaus Münster e.V.,
 Kinderkrabbelstube Münster e.V.,
 Kindertagesstätte 71 e.V.,
 Kneippverein Münster e.V.,
 Lebenshilfe für geistig Behinderte e.V.,
 Mobile Kinder- und Jugendarbeit e.V.,
 Ortsverband zur Förderung Lernbehinderter e.V.,
 Praxisnahes Lernen e.V.,
 Projekt Alleinstehende Wohnungslose e.V.,
 Psychologisches Therapiezentrum e.V.,
 Straffälligenhilfe e.V.,
 Theaterinitiative Münster e.V.,
 VAMV — Verband alleinstehender Mütter und Väter,
 Verein zur Förderung von Bewegung und Spiel e.V.,
 Beratungsstelle Südviertel e.V. für Kinder, Jugendliche und Erwach-
 sene,
 Verein zur Förderung von Wohngruppen für Suchtkranke e.V.,
 Verein zur Förderung der Kreativität e.V.,

Verein zur Förderung spastisch gelähmter u.a. Kinder e.V.,
 Versehrtensportgemeinschaft e.V.,
 Vorschulkindergruppe e.V.,
 Westf. Blindenverein e.V.,

The integration of many self-help groups and NSM activities into the DPWV resulted in an intensified competition between the various welfare associations forcing all groups to be more open to self-help activities. In some regional associations, this open door policy had been practiced since the beginning of the self-help movement, particularly in the realm of some of the Protestant Churches. This development is eased by the ideology of the charities, which have stressed voluntary work from the beginning. But the decision-making processes in the church-affiliated associations and the Red Cross often make them unresponsive to self-help groups (see examples in: Müller-Schöll 1985). Membership of self-help groups is also a structural problem for the *Social Democratic Arbeiterwohlfahrt*, which is a democratic membership organization but does not have special provisions for group or corporate membership.

Competition and plurality in the welfare system have been strengthened by the integration of self-help groups. In many sectors, self-help activities coexist with traditional activities. As a result, clients get more choice, and to some extent there is adjustment by learning. Although the DPWV, which used to be a minor organization, has become more important, the two church affiliated organizations remain the largest ones, strengthened by church funding, organization, and church volunteers. Some sectors of their activities, as the big hospitals, are influenced very little by self-help ideas.

On the whole, NSMs and self-help movement could bring about more open, pluralistic, participatory and democratic structures in the German charity system. Criteria for such a development are:

1. More responsiveness towards clients,
2. More competitiveness and possibilities of choice instead of the traditional cartellistic arrangements,

3. Meaningful democratic membership structures instead of patronizing domination,
4. Universalist selection of personnel in monopolistic and state financed institutions, and
5. Open discussion of the practices of care, help, and funding and of alternatives to traditional secrecy and dominance.

These principles are to some extent those of classical liberalism and human rights, and they are also participatory. Despite their initially radical ideology, NSMs and self-help movements have had a liberalizing effect on the semi-statist and paternalist German charity system.

Note

- (1) This organization, the "Zentralwohlfahrtsausschuß der christlichen Arbeiterschaft", was not refounded in 1945. So we now find six Spitzenverbände.

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西ドイツにおける福祉団体と 新しい自助運動の確立

〈要 約〉

アンナ・マリア・トレンハート

本稿では、ドイツにおける福祉組織、異なった状況下でのその構造の変化、及び政府と公衆との関係の歴史的な見取り図を描くにあたり、まず1800年代後期における国内伝道団とプロテスタント慈善組織を取り上げる。当時の慈善組織は、組織が“危険”であるとみなした共産主義、革命家、急進主義あるいは無政府主義を防ぐことにその宗教的努力を傾注していた。実際的な援助と結びついたこの種の宗教的援助においては、意思決定権の中央集中と政党との温情主義的な結びつきが特徴的であった。

しかしながら、現在のドイツ福祉においては、聖職者に対してより自立的で非温情的な自助グループやNSM（新しい社会運動）が支配的である。これらの諸グループは、コミュニティ志向的であり、また官僚制に対しては批判的である。こうした自助グループとNSMのDPWV傘下への統合は、ドイツ福祉組織の中に、競争と多元性をもたらすこととなった。

筆者は、これらの新しい展開と前近代的慈善組織が、より直接的な参加に基づく開放的かつ多元的な組織の新しい統合へと向かっており、それは慈善組織に自由主義的な影響をもたらすと結論づける。