

Martti Muukkonen

Bible and Classics as General Social Movement Literature

Introduction – Sociology of Continuity

The modern world - as well as other human societies - is built on the basis of its past. In most of the contemporary sociology, this aspects, however is missed. The time-span can reach to the beginning of modernity in the 19th century but mostly the focus is on the post-war period - or even shorter time. The focus has been on the speciality of the modernity and the change that has happened - from pre-industrialism to industrialism, and now, from modernity to post-modernity. However, along this well established *sociology of change* we also need *sociology of continuity* since some taken-for-granted practices of our societies are thousands of years old¹.

My interest in sociology of the continuity has risen from the findings in welfare-state research. In a nutshell, what Esping-Andersen called Nordic social-democratic model, Central-European conservative model and Anglo-Saxon liberal model, could be rather easily named as Lutheran, Catholic and Calvinistic-Anglican models. There is significant correspondence between social ethics of these confessions and social-political solutions of their respective countries.

Even in its secularised form, western thinking is basically a combination of three elements, as Peter Berger notes: “Although we would not have modernity without Athens or Roman law, the religious roots of modernity, as Max Weber showed, are to be found in neither Hellenes nor Rome, but in biblical tradition².” Talcot Parsons, in turn, goes even further by noting that the era circa 700-

¹ The most obvious examples are our frames of time. We still divide our hours and minutes into 60 smaller units - like ancient Sumerians 5000 years ago. We still have basically the same calendar (only with two modifications by Julius Caesar and pope Gregorius) that Egyptians used since the dawn of the written history. We still divide the circle into 360 grades like it was done in Sumer. We use alphabets that are basically in the same order into which Phoenicians put them 3000 years ago.

Along with these technical standards, we have numerous similar examples in our social life. In the field of welfare, the basic responsibility for welfare services for the last 5000 years has been on the family and religious institutions. In the Law of Hammurabi, we can even find the principle of subsidiarity that is the basis of the Central European welfare model. In ideological level, the Western equality doctrine is fundamentally based on the Hebrew creation story where a human was created as an image of God - emphasising that both a slave and a king are ontologically equal in front of God and His law.

² Berger 1982, 64.

600 BC was the time, which formed the value systems of the great cultures that have guided the civilisation from then on³.

The legacy of antiquity for present day welfare models and philanthropy is twofold. First, in terms of Clifford Geertz, many *models of* the ancient solutions became *models for* Byzantine philanthropy solutions, which, in turn, were *models for* the Medieval organisation of philanthropy. Medieval monasteries, on their part, created European education, health care and social care. As already noted, this gave direct models to Catholic welfare state models (via Thomism and *Rerum Novarum*). In the same way as Reformation's theology emerged from Catholic theology, Reformations social some ancient models of poor relief and health care can be also traced via Reformation to Nordic (Lutheran) and Anglo-Saxon (Methodist-Puritan) models as well. These ancient models have been amazingly stable and their different combinations can be found through the European history⁴.

Second, Antique has influenced modern welfare solutions not only via a long historical path via Middle Ages and Reformation. From Antiquity we have two sets of texts that have influenced in the thinking of the social reformists: the Bible and the Hellene classics, especially works of Aristotle and Plato. When people have studied both the Bible and Hellene classics, ideas of these texts have in a way 'jumped' directly to the time of modern reformists (as they did several times earlier in the history). The Bible has influenced modern social thinking especially through Evangelical Awakening in the 18th century and Social Gospel in the break of 20th century. Along the Biblical influence, we have to remember that until relatively recently classical education in Europe meant that schoolboys read Plato and Aristotle in Hellene language! It is this second impact of Antiquity that I am interested in this paper.

General Social Movement and Its Literature

One of the pioneers of the social movement research is Herbert Blumer. He worked in the interactionist stream of Collective Behavior tradition⁵ and developed theories of collective behaviour, their characteristics and emergence. Blumer divided collective behaviour into three

³ Parsons 1969, 558-563.

⁴ In historical sociology, there has been a growing interest on *path dependency* theory/approach that was developed in economics. In a nutshell, the theory states that small incidents define which direction the history will take and, then, when the direction is 'locked', the direction is difficult to change. On comparison of path dependency theory with some other sociological theories, see Muukkonen (2005)..

⁵ Herbert Blumer presented his ideas first as a part of Robert E. Park's edition *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*

elementary forms: crowd⁶, mass⁷, public⁸ and propaganda⁹. The study of collective behaviour, in turn, was linked to general sociology as follows:

sociology in general is interested in studying the social order and its constituents... as they are; collective behavior is concerned in studying the ways by which the social order comes into existence¹⁰.

For Blumer, social movements were just one form of collective behaviour. They were "collective enterprises to establish a new order of life." Social movements arise from the social unrest

and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living.¹¹

Blumer classified social movements into three different types: general social movements, specific social movements (which were further divided into reform and revolutionary movements) and expressive movements (which were, in turn, divided into religious and fashion movements)¹². In this paper I am interested in the first type of movement.

According to Blumer, general social movements are like cultural trends in society. They act within the public and they express themselves mainly in literature. "Such a literature is of great importance in spreading a message or view... and so in implanting suggestions, awakening hopes, and arousing dissatisfactions," writes Blumer. 'Leaders' of this kind of movements "are likely to be 'voices in the wilderness', pioneers without any solid following."¹³

Perhaps one of the best examples of this type of general social movement literature is Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* from 1962¹⁴. That book preceded the environmental movement and arose the consciousness on the environmental issues.

Rex Hopper, based on Blumer's work, uses the concept of 'popular stage' in which people become aware of the problem and start to discuss about it. According to Hopper, in this period two important type of leaders emerge: prophet "formulates and promulgates the social myth" and reformer "develops a clearly defined program." Although they have authority to lead people, this

in 1939.

⁶ This he borrowed from Gustave Le Bon (1896) and other early students of crowd behaviour.

⁷ The difference between a crowd and a mass is that the latter is formed of individuals acting not together but alone at the same time (Blumer 1953, 185-189).

⁸ For Blumer (1953,189-195), public refers "to a group of people (a) who are confronted by an issue, (b) who are divided in their ideas as to how to meet the issue, and (c) who engage in discussion over the issue."

⁹ Propaganda, differs from public in the sense that it is one-way communication. (Blumer 1953,189-195)

¹⁰ Blumer 1953,167ff.

¹¹ Blumer 1953,199.

¹² Blumer 1953, 199-217.

¹³ Blumer 1953,199-202.

¹⁴ Carson 1962.

authority arises from their ability to listen to the needs of people. In other words, they express in words what people are unable to express by themselves.¹⁵

Much later, Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison have expressed similar ideas. They emphasise the role of movement intellectuals in the creation of the ideology of a movement. Intellectuals give the words that describe the *raison d'être* of the movement.¹⁶

Now, the crucial question is: “where do the movement intellectuals get the frames with which they interpret the latent ideas of the public?” In general, these reformers were ‘children of their time’ or products of their culture and zeitgeist. What they had learned at home, at school, what have been their generational experiences, their experiences of success and failure, their class basis, their beliefs - all these are parts of their interpretative frame. As social constructivists have continuously pointed, there are no objective ‘facts’ - there are only interpretations of reality. From this point of view, the movement intellectual applies such a theoretical frame to the emergent situation that the movement rank-and-file members can accept.

In the formation of these frames, there are two basic sets of inputs. First, the cultural values and modes of thinking that people take for granted. In Berger and Luckmann terms, the routinised way of thinking. The other set of inputs, then, is the *zeitgeist*. *Zeitgeist* can be the potential period when the culture changes (switchman of history in Weber’s terms).

Welfare Reforms, Classics and the Bible

As Peter Berger said above, the European culture has Greek, Hebrew and Roman roots. In welfare thinking, it is basically interaction of two poles: Greek Aristotelian philosophy and Oriental religious thinking. The tension and mingling of these two can be seen through the European history of poverty. The essence of Aristotelian philanthropy is that you must help your *philoï* (literally: ‘your own’ – kin, friends, peers, etc.). According to him, there is no obligation to help foreign poor – actually it might be harmful for the society. In Oriental thinking, on the contrary, the focus of help is on those who do not have *philoï* as their help. Especially Old Testament texts emphasise the help that must be given to orphans, widows and strangers (refugees). They are under special protection of God.

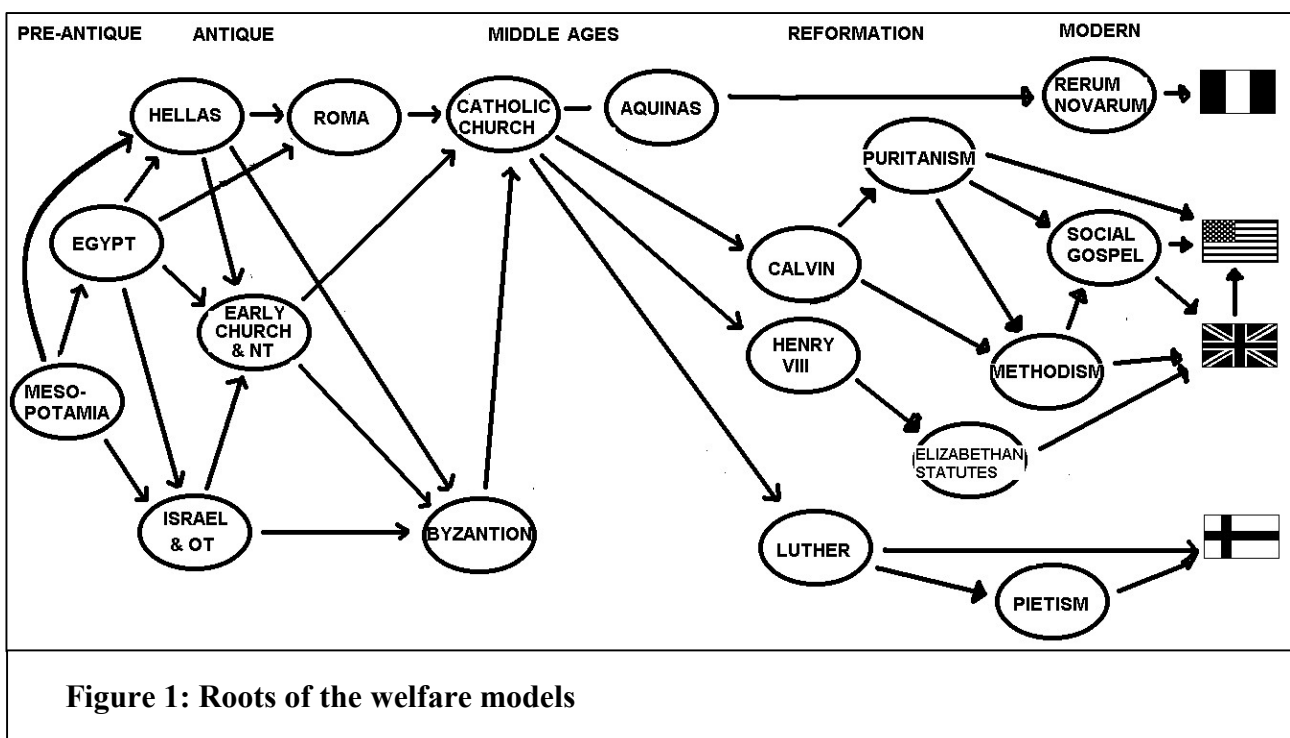
¹⁵ Hopper 1959 (1950), 314.

¹⁶ Eyerman & Jamison 1991, 98f. According to Eyerman and Jamison (Idem 102) the leaders “filter out aspects of a rather diffuse worldview, which as a source of collective identity has served as a framework for mobilizing supporters, into clearly defined items for political negotiation in the institutional frameworks of the established

The *philoi*-model was utilised in Greek and Roman poor-care by granting the state allowances and subsidies on the basis of citizenship. Already Athens knew unemployment-subsidies to sailors and in Rome there was the famous *panem et circences*-policy which granted the state support to the 1/10 of the population – the citizens, the *philoi*. One of the first European welfare reforms occurred in Byzantium where the state cancelled the subsidies based on citizenship and adopted the Oriental model of giving the aid to the very poor – irrespective of citizenship.

Throughout the European history there has been a tension between aid to the *philoi* (practically to the impoverished members of one's peer-group) and aid to the very poor. Moreover, among poor, there has been a distinction between 'the deserving poor' (ascetic monks, people impoverished because of a catastrophe, etc.) and the mob (those from the lowest classes).

The major periods when new innovations in the welfare were invented were Byzantine period (from where the most welfare institutions can be traced), 11th and 12th centuries (when the majority of European monasteries were founded), Reformation of the 16th century and modernity from the 19th century on. It is in this rough time-setting where the welfare reformists appeared.



As we can see in the figure 1, the Catholic social ethics lie behind all Western Christian thinking. However, in the case of welfare thinking, it is best to start from the north and from the Lutheran

political culture.”

thinking since the modern Catholic social ethics was formulated as a reaction to Lutheran emphases in the 19th century.

The Bible and Lutheran Welfare Reforms

The Reformation changed the track of European welfare thinking perhaps more than any other period. As we know, the fundamental *heureka*-moment for Martin Luther was when he read from St. Paul's Epistle to Romans that "He who is righteous through faith shall live (Rom 1:17)." There were several consequences of this finding. From the welfare point of view, the major issue was that – contrary to Catholic thinking – Protestants held that nobody could "earn" his/her place in heaven by donations and almsgiving. Another point was that there was no need for mediators between human and his God. Everyone had right to approach Him directly and everyone had right to read and interpret the Bible by him/herself. It can be said that these notions changed the Northern Europe and to-be North America.

Along his spiritual mission, Luther also focused on what he saw as deacon work. This also arose from the Bible – this turn from the Old Testament: "There should be no poor among you." This notion led Luther to reform the social care of the Protestant cities. He cancelled the numerous guild-funds and combined them to one local fund which was administered by the city-council. Here we can see the roots of the Nordic welfare state where the public sector has responsibility of the welfare of the population.

Luther's emphasis on everyone's right to read the Bible led, as we know, him to translate the Bible into German, thus laying a foundation for the numerous other translations that often served as bases for the literal forms of the respective languages. Contrary to elitism of humanism, Luther stressed everyone's right to read and understand the Bible. This also meant that basic literacy was a right of everyone. From this basis new schools on the behalf of princes and towns were founded throughout Germany¹⁷. Similar attempts were formulated in other wing of the Reformation, namely in Calvinism as well.¹⁸

¹⁷ Luther expressed his main theses in *An die Radsherrn aller Stedte deütsches Lands: Das sie christliche Schulen affrichten und hallten sollen* (To the councilmen of all cities in Germany that they establish and maintain Christian schools) from 1524 (Luther 1955a) and *Dass man Kinder zur Schulen halten sollen* (Exhortation that children should be sent to school) from 1529 (Luther 1955b).

¹⁸ Gelpi & Bowen 1994,29ff.

When Martin Luther wanted to create educational institutions that were open to masses he realised that they "would have to be public and financed by citizens¹⁹." From this time we have a new model for education, namely that education is a responsibility of the state. The teachings of Luther laid the foundations of the legitimacy of the modern welfare state²⁰.

The Thirty Year War left a widespread ill feeling towards high dogmatism and there was a trend away from church control. According to Ipfling and Chambliss this took two forms, namely Pietism and Enlightenment²¹, which played important role in future developments. The first stressed individual *piety* and the second vowed in the name of *ratio* (reason). This trend was accompanied by the fact that the significance of universities had diminished for two reasons. First, they had suffered from the religious wars. Second, their curriculum had remained too classical. This led to a situation where the state sponsored academies took the lead in the field of sciences. Especially Halle's Institutions²² became significant actors in developing new models for the state, Lutheran churches and the third sector. Halle became the leader of academic thought for the whole 18th century. However, Halle was not only a centre of education but a centre of new models for poor relief as well. In Halle these two aspects were inseparable.²³

Developments in Bismarckian Prussia, which has been generally seen as the early version of the welfare state, were an outcome of Pietism and its belief that poverty could be overcome²⁴. Aage B. Sørensen has studied the influence of Pietism on the Nordic welfare model. According to him, the influence of Pietism is threefold. First, it strengthened state intervention into fields that had previously been a territory of the Church. Second, it established a Protestant tradition for small clubs and independent organisations. These organisations and their descendants formed the first nonprofit organisations in the Protestant part of the world²⁵. Third, Halle's Institutions enabled central administration to be less dependent on land owning nobles by supplying educated civil

¹⁹ Gelpi & Bowen 1994,29.

²⁰ On the influence of Lutheranism on the Nordic welfare state, see Lindberg (1993; 1994; 2001), Gelpi and Bowen (1994), Kopperi (1996), *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe, 1500-1700* (1997), Sørensen (1998), *Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Northern Europe* (2001), Arffman (2002), Raunio (2002)

²¹ On this see McManners 1990,266-299.

²² On Pietism, its leaders and Halle Institutions see entries in ODCC 1997,636(on Francke), 1284f.(on Pia Desideria), 1286f.(on Pietism), 1528f(on Spener). The articles in the book also include fine bibliographies on items.

²³ Ipfling & Chambliss 1994a,36.

²⁴ On the influence of Pietism on Prussian (and Danish) welfare states, see, for example, Sørensen (1998) and Ipfling & Chambliss (1994, 36)

²⁵ See, e.g., Auguste Senaud's article "'YMCAs' Before the YMCAs". Senaud 1955.

servants to states. This educated staff was inspired by Pietistic ideas and made the first attempts to create welfare states²⁶.

In Northern European thinking the Lutheran emphasis on the responsibility of the society created the Nordic welfare system in which the state is the major actor in health care, social care and education. Luther's teaching of two regiments legitimised state intervention into the fields of education and philanthropy which had been church territory before. The issues of practical reason belong to the secular authority and the divine issues to ecclesiastical authority.

On the other hand, Luther's teaching of an individual's right to read and interpret the Bible resonated with some ancient ideals of Nordic democracy and together with other factors they inflated that all Nordic countries became Lutheran. This is, of course, a more complicated issue than presented here. Although Luther's ideas resonated with democracy, his attitude to please the nobility was totally opposite to this. This gave to the rulers a possibility to use the Reformation for their own purposes, (e.g. Gustav Wasa in Sweden). The outcome of the struggles in the era of the Reformation was the principle *quius regio, eius religio*. This meant in practice that the monarch became the head of the church. Thus, the Lutheran church became part of the state bureaucracy and much of the poor-relief of the society was organised through local parishes. This relationship can still be seen in Denmark and Norway where the Lutheran church is not independent but under the state government²⁷.

In the 20th century, Nordic Social Democrats favoured the strong involvement of the state in welfare politics. Combined with old Scandinavian and Lutheran traditions of democracy, this led to state dominance in Scandinavia. The ultimate model of the state supremacy has been Sweden and its *folkhem* (*people's home*), which was created under the Social Democrats after the Second World War. Swedish scholars evolved the Keynesian model of the welfare state²⁸ and "from the 1960s to the 1980s Nordic countries believed that they had created the best social policy system in the world²⁹". Its influence and regulation reached to almost every sphere of human life.

The Bible, Classics and Catholic Welfare Reforms

Prussia is often said to be the classic model of the secular welfare state. Bismarck's Pietism oriented civil servants aimed to implement their ideas – and, in the same time, block the spread of

²⁶ Sørensen 1998.

²⁷ The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Denmark 2000; Church of Norway 2000.

²⁸ Pekkarinen 1993, 102ff.

Communism. However, reforms in the country also met large opposition. During the years 1871-1891 the struggle culminated in the *Kulturkampf* (cultural struggle) between chancellor Bismarck and the Catholic regions. It was a struggle for the division of labour and influence in the fields of education, culture, and welfare. In 1891 pope Leo XIII sent his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* which advocated local solutions to social problems. Forty years later pope Pius XI sent his encyclical *Quadragesimo anno* (Forty Years) where he continued the ideas of Leo XIII and launched the principle of subsidiarity.³⁰

These two encyclicas became the major expressions of the Catholic social ethics. Catholic Labour Movements in France, Germany and Italy adopted this social ethics as their principles and, from them, it was adopted as social policy of Christian Democratic Parties in these countries.³¹

The Catholic social ethic was based on Thomism (theology of Thomas Aquinas), which, in turn, was a combination of New Testament theology and Aristotelian concept of the good life³². This ethic has seen the concept of righteousness as a property of individuals but not as a property of communities³³. In this thinking the focus is on the actor. With the moral codes the society tries to grant that there is enough individual philanthropy to meet the needs³⁴.

This ethic proposed the principle of subsidiarity, which means, in a nutshell, that there is a hierarchy on who is responsible of individual welfare. It has three basic statements. First, an individual has to take care of himself. If (s)he is unable to do so, it is the responsibility of the family to do so. If the family cannot do it, the responsibility moves to kin, neighbourhoods, voluntary organisations, churches, etc. The state is then the last resort when there is no other possibility. Second, the higher level has a responsibility to make sure that the lower level can carry its responsibilities. Third, the higher level is not allowed to interfere the actions of the lower level if the lower level can handle its responsibilities.³⁵

This has been accompanied by the vague understanding of the state. State has been something imposed on people, not an enterprise of the people. Especially before the modern era the state was something which was far away. Additionally, different wars shifted borders so often that state was

²⁹ Anttonen & Sipilä 1993,435.

³⁰ Anheier 1992,33-37. Also Chambliss 1994,46.

³¹ On the contribution of Catholic social ethics Central European welfare model, see Tergel 1987, 39-133. On Catholic social thought, see, for example, Dorr (1992).

³² Aristotle 1908-52.

³³ In Aristotelian ethic other people are seen in relation to an individual's own good life. Accordingly, a human cannot live a good life if she/he treats others badly. This idea has been dominant in Catholic thinking through Thomism.

³⁴ Kopperi 1996,224-227.

not a stable basis for such important issues as education and welfare. From this point of view, family and parish are the more near and stable institutions and they have traditionally carried the main responsibility of people's welfare. The important point here is that this has been seen as the natural way of organising things. What Salamon and Anheier say about corporate welfare states is not opposite to this thinking. On the contrary, the role of religious based welfare agencies arises from seeing their role as natural and self evident.

The Bible and Anglican-Puritan Welfare Reforms

British welfare thinking has its roots in the *Statutes of Laborers* under Edward III in 1349 and 1351. In these statutes, the emphasis was, like in the rest of Europe, on the duty to work unless being too young, old, handicapped or ill. The religious legitimisation to this rule was achieved from St. Paul: "If a man will not work, he shall not eat (2 Thess 3:10)." This early legislation was followed by others through centuries until Elizabeth I launched her statute in 1601. This statute is generally considered the basis of the modern British welfare tradition.³⁶

The modern British system is a combination of the Catholic and Lutheran traditions and it was developed in eighteenth century England. Bowen and Gelpi note that although there were attempts for public education at the times of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, education was regarded as entirely the concern of family or philanthropic enterprise. The state hesitated to intervene in education until the midst of nineteenth century³⁷. In the British model, the different societies became to play major role in education, science and in philanthropy. The Royal Society in England as well as the French Academy in France, began as an informal gathering of famous men³⁸.

Pat Thane describes the reasons for the British system. He mentions that when the crown had not such competitors as the continental monarchs had, there was no need for strict centralised administration. The landlords were loyal to the crown even in the case when they got a relatively large amount of power. It was in a way, decentralised centralism. This led the British administration to be indirect and based on local governance. The main idea was that the central government creates the framework in which independent institutions can act. Local municipalities had large local autonomy and judicial power. The landlords served as unpaid local Justices of the Peace. Taxation

³⁵ On subsidiarity principle, see, for example, Mulcahy (1967), Kelly (1998) and d'Onorio (2002).

³⁶ On British poor law legislation, see Nicholls (1968), Boyer (1985), Brundage (2002) and Fideler (2003). On Scottish poor law, see Cage (1981) and Mitchison (2000).

³⁷ Gelpi & Bowen 1994,30; Chambliss 1994,47f.

³⁸ Ipfling & Chambliss 1994e,35.

was a typical example of decentralised administration. There was no direct income tax (except temporarily at war times). Instead, the landlords collected the taxes in rents and paid the crown its share. The poor relief was organised in local parishes as well. However, this was only in rural areas. When towns grew, the better off citizens did not turn to the existing municipal corporations to handle the emerging problems but established free associations of their own. These kinds of associations were established for street-lighting, refuse removal, etc. In general, the belief in local responsibility was strong and the dual model of coexistence of municipals/parishes and associations became the Anglo-Saxon way of organising common issues.³⁹

E. Blake Bromley gives more light on this belief in local responsibility. He states that as in the case of the Lutheran territory, the Reformation has enormous impact in the British isles as well. The common feature was the attempt to eradicate poverty⁴⁰. Bromley writes:

The Puritans of Tudor England (led by wealthy merchants) wanted to do far more than relieve suffering and poverty. They were content to do nothing less than the eradicate the conditions which gave rise to poverty and sickness and accomplish a social reformation. Although this zeal for social change was religiously motivated, these merchants could see that the church was neither able nor ideally suited to solve the problems of their society and needed a legal mechanism to implement their secular solutions, the charitable trust.⁴¹

So, when in the Lutheran territory, the tool for work against poverty was the church, in Britain it was charitable associations. Basically, there was no big difference. In both areas the society was seen as made up of individuals⁴². In both areas it was seen that the responsibility of the poor was on the society. Fundamentally, the resources came from individuals. The difference was the channel through which these funds were distributed. In the British system the principle was that as long there were private funds, there were no need for state intervention. If there were not funds enough, the responsibility was on the state⁴³. Bromley writes:

The Statute of Elizabeth I should be celebrated not as the classic starting point and quintessential statement of the law of charity but as the beginning of philanthropy as a voluntary partnership between the citizen and the state to fund and achieve social objectives.⁴⁴

Bromley notes that in the time of the Elizabethan statute, "the preamble classified as charitable things which relieve the state of expenses which it would otherwise incur⁴⁵." However, the

³⁹ Thane 1990,1-8.

⁴⁰ Jordan 1959, 18f., 143

⁴¹ Bromley 1994,173f.

⁴² This was in contrast with the medieval Catholic view of society like a human body where all members have their proper place and where the aristocracy was in the leadership position - in general as well as in philanthropy. Leiby 1984,530.

⁴³ Bromley 1994,175.

⁴⁴ Bromley 1994,176.

⁴⁵ Bromley 1994,178.

understanding of charity changed later in two respects. First, the Protestant work ethic arose the problem of ill-spending of endowments which was not a question at all before. Second, there emerged a tension between ‘entitlement’ and ‘charity’. In other words: ”It is a cardinal principle of charity law that charitable funds should not be used in place of benefits to which an individual has a statutory right”.⁴⁶

Thus the main difference to Lutheran territories was that British used voluntary organisations in this task while Lutherans relied on public funds that were funded by confiscated property of monasteries and fraternities as well as by taxes⁴⁷. British system, however, became part of the maintaining status quo in the country and especially that of the Anglican church⁴⁸. The alliance between the crown, nobles and the Church of England made the church as a fortress of the upper classes.

Another difference of British and Nordic cultures lied in the educational system. The British education up to the First World War was heavily based on classical education and focused mainly on elite. Lutheran countries, instead, tried to teach the whole population and had relatively minimal classical texts in their curriculum. Thus, the British schoolboys learned Athenian, Spartan and Roman values while reading classics in Greek and Latin. From Athens and Sparta, they learnt that the democracy was equality of the upper classes – those who had freed themselves from the labour - not of all inhabitants. Thus, the British school system maintained and legitimised the division of classes. Moreover, vicarships in Anglican Church were given to the members of the upper classes irrespectively to their education or ability. Thus, the Established Church was more a church of the upper classes than the lower.

The third difference of the British culture to Nordic was that the revelations of the 18th and 19th centuries did not remain inside the majority church (as in Nordic countries) but mostly carved their stream outside the Anglican Church. Thus, when the arising Labour Movement sought legitimacy for its claims, it did not find sympathy from the upper-class-oriented Church of England but from the lower-class-based dissident churches, especially from Methodism⁴⁹. A significant proportion of

⁴⁶ Bromley 1994,178f.

⁴⁷ British system, contrary to Lutheran territories, had an inbuilt hindrance to crown’s intervention in the matters of its subjects: already in Magna Carta (1215 AD) James II had quarantined the peer rights of the nobles.

⁴⁸ The other name of the Anglican church, the Established church, tells a lot of church role in Britain.

⁴⁹ Methodism in the 19th century was an offspring of Calvinism (or its Anglo-Saxon form, Puritanism). The major difference between Lutheranism and Calvinism was that while Luther wanted to throw away from the Church everything that was against the Bible, Calvin threw away everything that was not ordered in the Bible. Thus, Methodism, emerging from this root was extremely Biblicist. Moreover, the very name – Methodism – describe how the movement created strict methodology of spiritual life on the basis of the Bible. In the same time, Methodism was

the early labour leaders become from Methodists and nobody could be sure whether a meeting in the labour-house was a religious meeting or the service in the Methodist church was a political meeting.⁵⁰

Anglican church, however, changed during the late 19th and early 20th century due to the impact of the Student Christian Movement, which in turn, carried a strong heritage of the American-born Social Gospel Movement⁵¹, which, in turn, had also some roots in Methodism. Thus, as an outcome of this indirect influence of Methodism to Anglicanism was that the first one who ever used the concept of ‘welfare state’ was Archbishop William Temple⁵². He had been involved in Student Christian Movement in his youth⁵³.

Thus, the Lutheran and Anglican view of responsibilities grew basically from the same ground, namely the idea that the roots of poverty should be attacked. The solutions were different. However, there were also ideological differences between these two areas, namely the attitude of Labour Movement towards the church and Christianity in general.

The Labour Movement explains some differences between the British model and the Nordic systems which both had long local governance traditions and parliamentary systems. In Britain the Labour Movement got its early leaders⁵⁴ and legitimisation from Methodism and from its rebellion against the Anglican Church. In Germany and the Nordic countries there was not such opposition to the Established Church (either Catholic or Protestant⁵⁵) because the revival movements remained inside the Church. In this situation the Labour Movement did not gain religiously articulated legitimacy but the movement had to find its legitimacy elsewhere. This lies behind the greater hostility of the Labour Movement (and especially of its communist wing) towards the Church in the Lutheran territory than in Britain. The result was that in the Lutheran territory the attitude on the

a protest movement against the secularisation and cold heartness of the Anglican Church. It was, thus, this protest movement that gave the legitimation to the claims of the emerging Labour Movement.

⁵⁰ On Methodism and Labour Party, see Wearmouth (1957), Pelling (1965, 129), Brand (1974, 16), Smith L. (1993)

⁵¹ Muukkonen 2002, 155 n2, 159-163 (A note concerning this reference: SCM was, for a great deal, a student branch of the YMCA, they have many common leaders and, along with the YWCA, a common ideological base).

⁵² Temple 1941. See also Temple 1992.

⁵³ Turner 1991, 976f. Turner (idem.) also mentions that his “stress on corporate sin was learned from Reinhold Niebuhr”, one proponents of the Social Gospel Movement.

⁵⁴ “Most of these early leaders took their gospel from the Bible and their nonconformist churches.”(Brand 1974,16)

“Methodist class meetings and lectures had been a training ground for political radicals and early trade union organizers.”(Pelling 1965,129). According to Leonard Smith the relation between Labour Movement and Methodism was first argued by Elie Halevy. On the topic see Wearmouth 1957; Smith L. 1993.

⁵⁵ Cuius regio eius religio-principle.

third sector was more negative. The philanthropy sector was seen as a fortress of conservatism and ‘an armed daughter of the Church’⁵⁶.

2.3.5 Puritanism and American Welfare

American model, for its part, has its roots in European refugees who rescued themselves to a new continent. While Protestantism in Europe was fighting for its existence, these early American settlers started to build their version of kingdom of God on earth. It was their experience of being persecuted by the state and church that made them to limit the power of these institutions. For example, Barry D. Karl argues that still in the 1920’s America, “voluntarism became a protection against government, the preservation of the democratic right of individual choice from the regimenting influence of bureaucratic coercion.”⁵⁷

Puritan heritage can be seen in American society thoroughly. Later, at the end of 19th century, the Social Gospel Movement had an enormous impact on welfare thinking of American churches⁵⁸. In both cases, the inspiration was drawn from the Bible. However, not all founding fathers were religious. To their ideas, writings of Aristotle, Cicero, Plato, Thoukudides and Xenophon gave the needed legitimacy.⁵⁹

The United States has been seen as specially hospitable towards the third sector - or nonprofit sector, as it is called there. Since Alexis de Tocqueville’s notion that “Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations⁶⁰” the United States has been seen as the major home of the third sector. The American model was founded on the British basis but - as a special spice - there was a strong allergy to central administration.

Although the US has been treated in international comparisons as an entity, it in fact has several competing traditions. John C. Schneider⁶¹ has argued that there were three different tiers in the country. These tiers consisted of different groups and had different attitudes towards the state and

⁵⁶ Seibel & Anheier 1990,8.

⁵⁷ Karl 1984, 515. On Puritanism and the American society, see Niebuhr (1937), Gaer and Siegel (1964, 105-155), Perry (1964), Handy (1974), and *Religion and American Politics from the Colonial Period to the 1980s* (1990).

⁵⁸ On revivalism and social reform, see Smith (1976), Muukkonen (2002, 155-166 - see especially references to Social Gospel literature). On American religious philanthropy, see *Faith and Philanthropy in America* (1990), Jeavons (1994), *Welfare in America* (1996).

⁵⁹ Zvesper 1989.

⁶⁰ Tocqueville 1945(1835),115.

⁶¹ Schneider 1996,198-203. He quotes Daniel J. Elazar (1972) who defined the groups in these tiers to be East Anglian Puritans in the North, Quakers in the middle, and traditionalists in the South. Schneider also quotes Raymond D. Gastil (1975) who argues that the cultures of the first settlers in each region tended to dominate the latter regional culture.

towards the private corporations ranging from benevolent to hostile in both cases. Peter Dobkin Hall notes that similar diverse attitudes could also be seen in the policies of leading political parties⁶².

Hall emphasises that before the Civil War there were two major groups that created both for-profit and nonprofit organisations, namely the evangelical network⁶³ and Boston merchants. These two groups created organisations, developed administrative skills administration, and created personal and organisational networks that enabled their work. Hall⁶⁴, DiMaggio and Anheier⁶⁵ stress that the evangelical network was a result of the New England urban elite. However, this is only one side of the coin. They do not see the impact of lay religiosity that was the result of the Second Awakening. They are right that some institutions, like Harvard and Yale, were established by the New England Puritans but they fail to see the impact of the religiosity of the outcasted of New England, namely Baptism and other free church activities⁶⁶. In fact it was free church activity in the West that made the US a Christian country. Established churches were much slower in their moves.

Hall, DiMaggio and Anheier underline that the rising organisations had close links to the urban elite. Upper class people were in boards of trustees or as patrons and in this way maintained their monitoring ability and status in the society. DiMaggio and Anheier even suspect that NPOs created by other status groups (workers, ethnic and religious communities) "are often less stable, less likely to incorporate, and less likely to claim community-wide missions than those created by the wealthy⁶⁷". This again is only partially truth. If we look at the older studies of religious movements, we see that religious sects (with their organisations) are often products of lower classes⁶⁸. The asceticism in the movements generates prosperity and mobility towards upper classes. Although this picture is one-sided a question remains: were the founders of the nonprofits already elite when they founded the organisations or did the organisations enable them to join the elite?

⁶² Hall 1987,6f.

⁶³ On the religious context of the pre civil war situation see, e.g., Yoder 1993(1954) and Smith T.L. 1976. In short the situation was that all European schisms were planted into American soil. It was the Awakenings and missionary needs that brought some churches together.

⁶⁴ Hall 1987,7.

⁶⁵ DiMaggio & Anheier 1990,141.

⁶⁶ See Handy R.T. 1970,379; Hudson W.S. 1970,211f. By the 1800s the Baptists were the largest denomination in the United States. Corbett 1990,52.

⁶⁷ DiMaggio & Anheier 1990,141f.

⁶⁸ This was the main line among church-sect-theorists before the emergence of new religious movements. One of the leading theorists was H. Richard Niebuhr. See Niebuhr 1954.

In the first half of the century the "Second Awakening" spread over the country. It created a host of interdenominational societies. According to Don Herbert Yoder these societies can be divided into two classes. The first includes those with missionary motive⁶⁹. The latter was a combination of those societies that aimed to "reform the American society in the image of American Protestantism, with its Puritan and revivalist undertones." There were societies for temperance, anti-slavery, peace, and nearly for every reform.⁷⁰

The evangelical network developed administrative skills and organisation cultures that facilitated their work. The 'secular wing' of the movement showed how religious ethics were transformed into practical policy. It helped committed laymen to have contacts with political power. These laymen, in turn, tended to find themselves in "positions of economic, political, and cultural leadership wherever they settled."⁷¹

When the Civil War broke out the Union had adequate administration and leadership neither in the government nor in the Army. In that situation people from the evangelical network and Boston merchants were recruited to reorganise the Union Army and the government. The result was that

the Union's victory was seen by its organizers and significant element of the public as a legitimization of the claims of the organized private sector.⁷²

This ensured, according to Hall, that the basic welfare and educational institutions were formed on a private nonprofit basis. When the European governments launched new services to their citizens in order to calm down the challenges of socialism, America developed a model called welfare capitalism in which the nonprofit organisations played a major role. Private companies supported voluntary organisations which in turn launched the welfare projects.⁷³

The welfare capitalism lasted until the 1930s when the great depression hit the country. The basic weakness of welfare capitalism was that in the critical situation the companies first cut out their donations to nonprofit organisations. In this situation the state had to rescue the welfare service sector. The tax legislation, that enabled tax substitutions, traces from this time.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the American Educational Society (1815), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday-School Union (1924), YMCA (1850).

⁷⁰ Yoder 1993,235. The work of these societies and churches was so effective the church membership grew from 7% in the beginning of the 19th century to 57% in 1950. Latourette 1957,19.

⁷¹ Hall 1987,7.

⁷² Hall 1987,8.

⁷³ Hall 1987,8-15.

⁷⁴ Hall 1987,15ff.; Andrews 1970,646.

After the Second World War the state became the biggest donor of the nonprofit sector although the services were launched by nonprofit organisations. Thus, the funding and delivery of services were separated. At the same time there also emerged criticism against the private welfare model. As a consequence, there were attempts to regulate both the activities of nonprofit organisations and the federal aid to them. This criticism led to the "1969 Tax Reform Act, which placed the foundations under strict federal oversight." This in turn was one major catalyst to the emergence of nonprofit studies when large foundations, like Rockefeller, wanted to know how the Act influences their environment..⁷⁵

Conclusive notes

Esping-Andersen's famous study of three welfare regimes, social-democratic, conservative and liberal, have all their roots in the social ethics of their respective dominant churches. In this, the churches have been sort of value-memories of their cultures. The common Christian tradition has been modified and interpreted according to political and cultural needs and this interpretation, in turn, has influenced in the thinking of the welfare reformers. In Geertzian terms, churches have been both *models of* their societies and *models for* them.

In some cases the influence of the Bible, Classics and the doctrinal texts have been more clear than in some other cases. The impact of papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* on Christian Democratic parties and their social policies is commonly acknowledged. In other cases, the influence is more hidden. For example, Netherlands is a mixture of inputs from Calvinism, German Lutheranism and Catholicism. It might be this interaction that lies behind the Dutch model. In the same way, Finland, although mainly part of Nordic block has a history under Orthodox Russia and a huge impact from Soviet Communism.

The influence of churches might have happened in two ways. First, they have been significant actors in the field of education, health care and social care. Religious institutions have long traditions and in some countries form a significant proportion in fields mentioned above. Second, in spite of secularism, they influence in people's thinking through the philosophical concepts they have developed through centuries. These concepts have, then, become 'natural' ways of thinking especially in the field of welfare. It is like in the joke from Bosnian war when a watchman stops a guy who was passing by. He asks whether the stranger was a Catholic, Orthodox or Muslim. When

⁷⁵ Hall 1987, 18ff.

the stranger claims to be an atheist, the watchman raises his rifle and says: “Don’t play games with me. Are you Catholic atheist, Orthodox atheist or Muslim atheist?”

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