

**Organizational Imprints under Pressure:
The Role of Value Systems in Engaging with External Institutional Demands**

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Summary

Organizations are under constant pressure from changing institutions (such as laws, public opinion, or societal norms) to react and perform in certain ways. However, these external institutional demands can sometimes run contrary to the organization's declared value system. Between 1949 and 2016, successive changes in Germany's social sector transformed the institutional external environment for German welfare associations, calling into question the legitimacy of their dominance in civil society in general and especially in the context of welfare provision. This comparative case study traces the development of the respective value systems of two of the main German welfare associations during that period. The two cases – *Deutscher Caritasverband* (Caritas) and *Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband* (the Paritätischer) – were selected for their contrasting value systems within the spectrum of German welfare associations.

For the purposes of this study, value systems are understood as consistent imprinted perceptual frameworks that normatively shape and influence behavior, and external institutional demands are defined as implicit or explicit requests made from outside an organization towards the organizations by integrated systems of formal and informal rules and patterns, which structure social interactions and constitute the social environment an organization operates in. The analysis explores how such seemingly persistent value systems change over time, and how the demands made by external institutions increase or diminish explicit reference to that value system.

Drawing on the membership magazines and newspapers (or "corpus") of the two selected associations, the analysis indicates that the value system of Catholicism initially shielded Caritas from external institutional demands until the observed level of Catholic and religious language diminished and the organization became more exposed to episodic change within the sector. In contrast, pluralism enabled the Paritätischer to engage more readily with the four episodes of self-help, German reunification, privatization, and social innovation, from the beginning of the study period.

In tracing how the two associations engaged with these episodes, the findings confirm that the language associated with an organization's imprinted value system changes over time. Here, two distinct types of imprinted value system – resisting and diaphanous – respectively shielded or enabled engagement with external institutional demands, and a framework is proposed to model the consequences of these differences.

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It has been suggested that the German welfare associations have little interest in being studied (Merchel, 1989, p.13). I was very happy to discover that the opposite is true. Both Caritas and the Paritätischer were open to cooperation and contributed to this thesis by giving interviews and granting me access to their membership magazines. In particular, I would like to thank Hans-Peter Metje of the Paritätischer for providing many archival documents, and the Caritas archival and library team, particularly Ingeborg Feige and Angela Hensle. I would also like to express my gratitude to the many members of both organizations who took the time to talk to me during interviews and at events. They have given me a much deeper understanding of the welfare associations than I would have had otherwise.

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0.3 List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Definition (German)	Definition (English)
AWO	<i>Arbeiterwohlfahrt</i>	Workers' Welfare Association
BAGFW	<i>Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege</i>	Federal Working Group of Free Social Welfare
BGW	<i>Berufsgenossenschaft für Gesundheitsdienst und Wohlfahrtspflege</i>	Employers' Liability Insurance Association for Health Service and Welfare Work
BMFSFJ	<i>Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend</i>	Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth
BRD	<i>Bundesrepublik Deutschland</i>	Federal Republic of Germany
DCV	<i>Deutscher Caritasverband</i>	German Caritas Association
DRK	<i>Deutsches Rotes Kreuz</i>	German Red Cross
DPWV	<i>Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband</i>	German Equal Welfare Association
DDEB	<i>Diakonie Deutschland – Evangelischer Bundesverband</i>	Diakonie Germany – Protestant Federal Association
DDR	<i>Deutsche Demokratische Republik</i>	German Democratic Republic
GDR	<i>Deutsche Demokratische Republik</i>	German Democratic Republic
ICR		Intercoder reliability

NSV	<i>Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt</i>	National Socialist People's Welfare
OCR		optical character recognition
SED	<i>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands</i>	Socialist Unity Party of Germany
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i>	Social Democratic Party
SVFWP	<i>Spitzenverbände der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege</i>	Central Associations of Free Social Welfare
WWI		World War I
WWII		World War II
ZWST	<i>Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland</i>	Central Welfare Office of the Jews in Germany

Table 1: List of Abbreviations

0.4 List of Translations

Original	Translation
<i>Agape</i>	Christian love
<i>Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preußischen Staaten</i>	General State Law for the Prussian States
<i>Altenhilfe</i>	Elderly care
<i>Amtskirche</i>	Ministerial church
<i>Arbeiterwohlfahrt</i>	Workers' Welfare Association

<i>Aus- und Fortbildungsstätten für soziale und pflegerische Berufe</i>	Education and training centers for social and nursing professions
<i>Badischer Frauenverein</i>	Baden Women's Association
<i>Barmherzigkeit</i>	Compassion
<i>Bedürftige</i>	Deserving poor
<i>Behindertenhilfe</i>	Handicapped aid
<i>Berufsgenossenschaft für Gesundheitsdienst und Wohlfahrtspflege</i>	Employers' Liability Insurance Association for Health Service and Welfare Work
<i>Bildungsbürgertum</i>	Upper educated bourgeoisie
<i>Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege</i>	Federal Working Group of Free Social Welfare
<i>Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Hilfe für Behinderte</i>	Federal Working Group Help for Handicapped
<i>Bundesrepublik Deutschland</i>	Federal Republic of Germany
<i>Burschenschaft</i>	Fraternity
<i>Caritas</i>	German Caritas Association
<i>Central-Ausschuss für die Innere Mission der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche</i>	Central Committee for the Inner Mission of the German Protestant Church
<i>Charitasverband für das katholische Deutschland</i>	Charitas Association for Catholic Germany
<i>Deutsche Liga der freien Wohlfahrtspflege</i>	German League of Free Welfare
<i>Deutscher Caritasverband</i>	German Caritas Association

<i>Deutscher Frauenbund</i>	German Women's Federation
<i>Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband</i>	German Equal Welfare Association
<i>Deutscher Verein</i>	German Association
<i>Deutscher Verein für Armenpflege und Wohltätigkeit</i>	German Association for Care of the Poor and Charity
<i>Deutscher Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge</i>	German Association for Public and Private Welfare
<i>Deutsches Rotes Kreuz</i>	German Red Cross
<i>Diakonie Deutschland – Evangelischer Bundesverband</i>	Diakonie Germany – Protestant Federal Association
<i>Ehrenamt</i>	Volunteering
<i>Eingetragener Verein</i>	Registered association
<i>Einigungsvertrag</i>	Unification Treaty
<i>Evangelisch-Socialer Kongress</i>	Protestant Social Congress
<i>Familienhilfe</i>	Family assistance
<i>Flammenkreuz</i>	Flamed Cross
<i>Forum chronisch Kranker und behinderter Menschen</i>	Forum for Chronically Ill and Handicapped People
<i>Frauennot</i>	Hardships of women
<i>Fünfter Verband</i>	Fifth Association
<i>Fünfter Wohlfahrtsverband</i>	Fifth Welfare Association
<i>Gesamtverband</i>	National association

<i>Gesinnungsgemeinschaft</i>	Community of convictions
<i>Gesundheitshilfe</i>	Medical social work
<i>gGmbH</i>	Non-profit limited liability company
<i>Gleichheit</i>	Equality
<i>GmbH</i>	Limited liability company
<i>Helfer</i>	Helper
<i>Hilfe für besondere Situationen</i>	Help for exceptional situations
<i>Hilfskasse gemeinnütziger Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen Deutschlands</i>	Emergency Fund of Charitable Welfare Institutions in Germany
<i>Innere Mission</i>	Inner Mission
<i>Jugendhilfe</i>	Help for adolescents
<i>Komitee der Fünf</i>	Committee of Five
<i>Kulturkampf</i>	Cultural Battle
<i>Lebensreform</i>	Life Reform
<i>Leitbild</i>	Guiding principle
<i>Museumsverein</i>	Museum association
<i>Nächstenliebe</i>	Charity
<i>Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt</i>	National Socialist People's Welfare
<i>neue caritas</i>	New caritas
<i>Offenheit</i>	Openness
<i>Ostdeutschland</i>	East Germany
<i>Paritätischer, the</i>	German Equal Welfare Association

<i>Pia corpora</i>	Pious foundations
<i>Preußischer Vaterländische Frauenverein</i>	Prussian Patriotic Women's Association
<i>Reichsarbeitsministerium</i>	Federal Ministry of Labor
<i>Reichsfürsorgepflichtverordnung</i>	Federal Public Assistance Order
<i>Reichsgrundsätze über die Voraussetzungen, Art und Maß der öffentlichen Fürsorge</i>	Federal Principles on Conditions, Type and Level of Public Welfare
<i>Reichsjugendwohlfahrtsgesetz</i>	Federal Youth Welfare Law
<i>Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden</i>	Reich's Deputation of the German Jews
<i>Rheinbund</i>	Confederated States of the Rhine
<i>Selbstbestimmung</i>	Self-determination
<i>Selbsthilfe</i>	Self-help
<i>Selbsthilfegruppen und Gruppen des bürgerlichen Engagements</i>	Self-help groups and groups of civic engagement
<i>Solidaritätszuschlag</i>	Solidarity surcharge
<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i>	Social Democratic Party
<i>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands</i>	Socialist Unity Party of Germany
<i>Sozialunternehmen</i>	Social enterprise
<i>Sozialunternehmer</i>	Social entrepreneur
<i>Spitzenverbände der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege</i>	Central Associations of Free Social Welfare
<i>Tafeln</i>	Food services / soup kitchens

<i>Tendenzbetrieb</i>	Value-based organization
<i>Toleranz</i>	Tolerance
<i>Trägerverband</i>	Sponsoring association
<i>Turnverein</i>	Gymnastic association
<i>Verband der Frankfurter Krankenanstalten</i>	Association of Frankfurt Hospitals
<i>Verband für sociale Kultur- und Wohlfahrts- pflege</i>	Association for Social Culture and Welfare
<i>Vereinigung der freien privaten gemeinnüt- zigen Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen Deutsch- lands</i>	Association of Free Private Charitable Welfare Institutions of Germany
<i>Vereinigung der freien privaten gemeinnüt- zigen Kranken- und Pflegeanstalten Deutschlands</i>	Association of Free Private Non-Profit Hospitals and Nursing Homes in Germany
<i>Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs</i>	Constitution of the German Empire
<i>Vielfalt</i>	Plurality
<i>Volkssolidarität</i>	People's Solidarity
<i>Volksverein für das katholische Deutsch- land</i>	People's Association for Catholic Germany
<i>Weitere Hilfen</i>	Other help
<i>Werkblatt der Katholischen Suchtkranken- fürsorge</i>	Worksheet for Catholic Addict Care
<i>Wiedervereinigung</i>	Reunification
<i>Wirtschaftsbund gemeinnütziger Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen Deutschlands</i>	Economic Association of Charitable Welfare Organizations in Germany

<i>Wohlfahrtsverband</i>	Welfare association
<i>Württembergischer Sanitätsverein</i>	Medical Association of Württemberg
<i>Zeitschrift für Caritasarbeit und Caritaswissenschaft</i>	Journal of Caritas Work and Caritas Science
<i>Zentralwohlfahrtsausschuß der Christlichen Arbeiterschaft</i>	Central Welfare Association of Christian Workers
<i>Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland</i>	Central Welfare Office of the Jews in Germany

Table 2: List of Translations

It should be noted that all passages from the charters and magazines issued by the organizations quoted in this thesis, as well as excerpts from interviews conducted with some of their leading employees, were translated from German to English by the author.

Moreover, many of the German words used in the source material already give a good sense of the culture and mentality of the German welfare associations under analysis. Unfortunately, their full meanings do not always carry into the English translation. For the international reader, the text is kept in English. To still give a sense of what the words actually mean, comments and explanations are given in footnotes throughout the text.

1 Introduction

This thesis aims to increase the current base of knowledge about how organizational imprints change over time, the role external institutional demands play in that change, the importance of value systems, and the difference between religious and secular value systems in the way organizations deal with external institutional demands. Toward that end, organizational theory is refined and expanded, and the gap between the imprinting literature and the institutional demands literature is bridged. Furthermore, the thesis offers policy makers and practitioners from welfare associations, social entrepreneurs, and value-based non-profits insights and advice, so they can ultimately be more innovative, inclusive, and representative of the social sector.

1.1 Academic Problems Addressed

While there is extensive research on organizations, many questions about organizational imprints have not yet been answered. Currently, a good understanding exists on how imprints change during times of organizational receptiveness, the so-called sensitive periods. However, between 1949 and 2016, the welfare associations may or may not have experienced such sensitive periods. The fact is that, Caritas and the Paritätischer, the two organizations investigated in this study, have maintained the value systems that have been in place since their founding, regardless of any sensitive periods they may have experienced since that time.

However, does this mean that the organizational imprints have not changed over time? Are imprints either there or not? Or, can changes within an imprint be seen if one looks beyond the binary state (the presence or lack of an imprint), and track both the existence and prevalence of the imprint? The issue of the long-term change of an imprint that is continuously in existence cannot be answered sufficiently by the current state of research on imprints. Can the concept of institutional demands provide a better understanding of how change in an organization's external environment is linked to change in an organization? Moreover, does this have to be a conscious, strategic effort by the organization, or can it be a more subtle change over time?

Furthermore, the issue of a sensitive period raises the question of the role of the external environment in which an organization operates. While researchers have a good understanding of social sectors and organizations, the long-term effects of an organization's presence in a society have not been studied sufficiently. While imprint-

ing scholars have considered long-term change in organizations, the direct impact of a changing society is often not tracked quantitatively. Organizational scholars rarely measure the prevalence of imprints or the change in an organization's external environment. Moreover, how to compare imprints between organizations must be considered. This is a measurement problem, as well as a problem related to the depth of an analysis. To compare imprints between organizations, their imprints must be the same, or the differences between similar imprints must be made clear.

This raises an important practical research question: How can changes in imprints, and organizations in general, be coherently tracked over several decades? One option to address this is to conduct retrospective interviews; however, that method can be highly subjective and biased. Another option is to focus on business parameters, published financial statements, or minutes from board meetings. However, these only offer a very small glimpse into an organization. Moreover, that data might not be available or easy to access. This is not a problem specific to organizational scholars; rather, it is a general problem for any researcher conducting an historical analysis. This is the case even if one is not necessarily conducting a historical analysis as historical science, but is attempting to understand past developments.

As a requisite for solving the academic problems stated earlier, many commonly used methods are insufficient, either because they are not equipped to deal with the long timeframe needed to conduct the inquiry, or because the view they provide does not include the factors that must be investigated to answer a research question. This dissertation offers as solution by analyzing materials that have been published and archived by and about the organizations being studied. Membership magazines offer a view into a wide variety of issues about an organization, but mainly they preserve how an organization is framed in a specific moment in time.

1.2 Governance Problems Addressed

Social innovation is one of the key topics of the German social sector, and it has been for several years. Generally, this appears to be an issue that policy makers have a great fondness for, and they feel that more innovation should be encouraged in the social sector. Particularly, in Germany, there is juxtaposition between the large and traditional central welfare associations and newly emerging social entrepreneurs. While the welfare associations provide a significant amount of the social welfare in

Germany, in some cases, they are very set in their ways. However, while social entrepreneurs may bring in innovative ideas, they often lack the experience in the sector as well as the reach to quantitatively make a significant improvement in the status quo.

Thus far, in many cases, policy makers have focused on financially supporting the founding of new social enterprises, which are often assumed to provide novel, and thus potentially better, approaches. However, this does not appear to have shaken up the sector in the way policy makers intended. A better understanding of how the welfare associations have changed and engaged with developments in the sector over the last seven decades will provide policy makers with a stronger foundation upon which to develop innovative and data-based policy approaches to more effectively support the exchange between established and emerging social welfare providers.

This approach transcends the specific area of the social sector; it applies to all policy areas where decisions must be made about how to get large, established organizations to incorporate fundamental changes into their core values, operating principles, or structures. This raises the following questions: How well are established organizations equipped to adapt on their own? How much do they incorporate trends from their external environment? To what extent are policy tools, such as changes to current laws, needed to get organizations to respond? The comparison of two value systems, and how they persisted under different episodes, has implications for this policy problem by demonstrating the impact that episodes from different sources have had on organizations. This can serve as a proxy to seeing for example how a welfare association may react to legal changes in contrast to pressure from newly emerging organizations.

Does it matter what kind of value system an organization has? For the non-profit sector, and its “warm glow”, which role does it play for an organization to be religious or not, or is participation in the non-profit sector enough to signal any organizational values to exude a warm glow? Does this matter for the organization, its constituency, society, the country? From an organizational perspective, legitimacy is an important governance issue. Social organizations derive legitimacy from the work they do, and whether or not they operate from a moral or inclusive background. As societies change, what constitutes a legitimate background also changes.

How to achieve a social sector that is representative of society is another governance problem that must be addressed. This is as relevant for policy makers as it is for organizations that want to be active in the sector, especially if they receive preferential treatment, such as welfare associations, in general, and specifically the two church-affiliated organizations addressed in this thesis. This touches on the issue of legitimacy. A society that is less and less connected to organized-Christianity has less and less justification for treating church-affiliated organizations differently from other organizations. Being representative can be an important part of a welfare provider's legitimacy, particularly providers that have certain privileges, such as their own working laws or participation rights of employees, and want to retain them.

New organizations can use this background as a differentiating factor by providing legitimacy for a new constituency. In contrast, established organizations need to deal with the issue of how to stay legitimate and maintain or re-forge those links with society in order to legitimize their way of working. To accomplish that, the first step is to consider the specifics of the organization and identify the things that can help or hinder its legitimacy. The thesis will present a way to consider and measure these developments in relation to two welfare associations, Caritas and the Paritätischer. This will give the two organizations an assessment of their own situation, which can be a useful impulse for them to reconsider their long term approach on maintaining or regaining legitimacy. It will also present a method for how to replicate the analysis for other organizations.

1.3 Relevance of this Thesis

While a lot is known about the German social sector, organizations in general, and the welfare associations in particular, there is still a lot that is not known. The previous section outlined the academic and governance problems that can be addressed and solved, at least in part, by the questions this thesis asks and answers. The relevance of this study lies, first, in increasing the current understanding of organizations in general, and in providing new insights into supposedly well-known organizations. This thesis also offers a novel method to conduct an organizational analysis, and provides a solution for some of the current academic and governance problems related to organizations.

It is important to understand value systems, because they profoundly impact any given society. Particularly, religious imagery plays a very powerful role in shaping policy and mobilizing people. Value systems lie at the heart of what non-profits do, and part of the “warm glow” the sector provides might be associated with the fulfilment of specific aspects of those value systems. This analysis places the issue of religious versus non-religious organizations back on the research agenda – not just research that investigates value-based concepts, but, specifically, research that compares different types of value systems.

The methodological approaches used in this study offer a novel way to conduct a longitudinal organizational analysis. This gives researchers more options to further the current base of knowledge about organizations and to analyze organizational development more consistently and objectively. It also offers a way to quantitatively track the prevalence of an imprint over time, thus enabling researchers to analyze organizational change in a more nuanced way than was possible before.

The sum of the questions and aspects raised in the previous sections leads to one important issue: the adaptability of established organizations. Most of the academic and governance challenges can be addressed from this issue. This thesis focuses on the long-term adaptability of organizations, the dual-edged aspects that come with adaptability, and the role religious or secular value systems play in organizational adaptability.

In the context of this thesis, this study focuses on two sub-aspects of the general adaptability of established organizations: the role of imprinted value systems and the role of external institutional demands, conceptualized here as episodes in the German social sector. From emergence in the field through interviews, observations, and current studies, it became clear that the group of welfare associations is more heterogeneous than is often taken into account in the welfare literature. One strong differentiating factor might be the value systems of the organizations. This led to the two key research questions addressed in this thesis: How do imprinted value systems in organizations persist under external institutional demands? How do different types of value systems influence the way organizations engage with emerging external institutional demands? Thus, this thesis addresses the academic and governance problems associated with these two questions. It also presents ways to resolve these issues.

1.4 Outline of this Thesis

The focus of this thesis therefore is to answer two questions: How do imprinted value systems in organizations persist under external institutional demands? And how do different types of value systems influence the way organizations engage with emerging external institutional demands?

In addressing these questions, the author attempts to develop a bridge between the literatures on organizational imprinting and on institutional demands. The importance of the impact of an institutional external environment on organizations and the relevance of the specific nature of imprints are shown, as well as the way these two aspects develop over a long period, in this case 67 years, 1949–2016. Answering these questions will enrich the literature on both imprinting and institutional demands, and enhance our understanding of the role value systems play in an organization's trajectory.

A suitable subject was found in Germany's unique system of welfare provision. The welfare sector in Germany has developed over centuries into what it is today. In the last 150 years, six organizations, which strongly shaped the sector, stand out. These six so-called *Spitzenverbände der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege* (Central Associations of Free Social Welfare, SVFWP) were founded between 1848 and 1924. All of them originated in different religious or social movements, and ideas of welfare provision. The distinct value systems associated with the situation at the time of their establishment have shaped the ways these organizations see themselves and play their part within the mutual area of welfare provision.

Their value systems have also been important in how the organizations interact with and position themselves within the welfare sector. Different trends resonate more or less with an organization, depending on how the organization's value systems help or hinder such engagement. The welfare associations have often clearly stated in their founding charters the importance of their respective value systems – be it in the form of expressing one's affiliation to a religious group or by laying the foundation for organizational plurality.

In order to take a deep look into these issues a corpus analysis of the membership magazines of two of these welfare associations, Deutscher Caritasverband (Caritas) and the Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband (the Paritätischer), was conducted. These organizations were chosen for comparison due to their

strong differences in one being Catholic and the other overarching pluralistic, with a number of different and sometimes contrary ideas and approaches championed by their member organizations. The contrast is not confined to that of denominational and nondenominational. Variations are found within their types of value systems. Demonstrating these differences is significant, particularly for the theory of imprinting. It is later shown that, instead of treating the concept of imprinted value systems one dimensionally, going one level deeper by developing different types within that category gives us a better understanding of how imprints change over time.

In this study, value systems are understood as consistent perceptual frameworks that normatively shape and influence behavior. Value systems as the basis of caregiving have a very old and long tradition. Religious principles, such as that of Christian charity (Latin: *caritas*, Thomas Aquinas (1947, p. 2858): “the friendship of man for God”), the Jewish “Tzedakah” (ZWST, 2011), or the Muslim “Zakāt” (one of the five pillars of Islam, making charity an obligation and “sadaqa”, the performance of virtuous acts (Senturk, 2016)) – to name just the most prominent ones. Non-religious principles arose out of secular humanism and post-secular charity (Coles, 1997). In organizations, these principles can be part of a *Leitbild* (guiding principle) – both a framework for how they view their work and a guiding star to help them chart their course. Both secular and religious organizations use them in framing their approach to caregiving (Cloke, Johnsen, & May, 2005).

According to Tilly, “we must finally examine how relatively general mechanisms and processes incorporate or respond to locally accumulated institutions, understandings, and practices” (2001a, p. 571). This is precisely what is offered in this thesis: an examination of the relatively general mechanisms of institutional demands and organizational imprints followed by an empirical demonstration of how demands from the changing German welfare sector interact with the imprinted value systems of the two welfare associations selected for this study.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the relevant literature regarding organizational imprinting, institutional demands, and the German welfare sector with its multiple players. An examination of the research on organizational imprinting from Stinchcombe (1965) to Johnson (2008) and Marquis and Tilcsik (2013), and on institutional demands with a focus on Oliver (1991) and Pache and Santos (2010) points up the lack

of a bridge between the two strands of literature, and lays the foundations for constructing one.

The literature review on the welfare sector and the two welfare associations selected for analysis reveals three neglected tasks this thesis will undertake. First, there is hardly any longitudinal empirical organizational analysis in this field. Second, no extensive comparison between Caritas and the Paritätischer exists to date. Finally, the issue of the interrelationship between those two organizations' values and an ever-changing institutional external environment has yet to be studied.

Based on the literature, characteristics for a model are developed, which frames how outside demands in a changing external environment may put pressure on organizational imprints. These will later be applied to the findings of the analysis to create the model for framing external institutional demands on imprinted value systems (see chapter 6).

Chapter 3 deals with the issue of value systems and their role in the German welfare sector. Zucker (1977) emphasized that such systems are passed on from one generation to the next while being maintained and reproduced. While being passed down, they represent stability and security. People know what they are getting into with organizations which stand for certain values – both from the position of employees and for those using the organization's services. In the case of the welfare sector in Germany, value systems have continued to play an important role from the time of their emergence in the late 19th century to this day.

This chapter brings together the literature on imprinting and institutional demands. Value systems, differentiated from values and imprints, are introduced as a concept and example of imprints. Changes in the institutional external environment are conceptualized as episodes during which demands are made towards the organizations. In contrast to the current literature on imprinting, change in the imprints is thought of not only as appearing during "sensitive periods" (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013), but rather as occurring over decades of demands made on the organizations.

Chapter 4 opens with a detailed introduction to the German welfare sector and the history of its leading associations. It is designed to acquaint readers, especially those from other countries, with the long tradition of welfare provision on a grand scale and in an organizational setting that is almost unique to Germany. The welfare associations are amongst the largest nonprofit organizations worldwide (Anheier & Salamon,

2006, p. 90), and vary greatly in terms of the social environment out of which they were founded, which in turn imbued them with quite different value systems. Out of the six existing central welfare associations, there are three denominational and three non-denominational organizations. Two out of the three non-denominational organizations can still be linked to a political (Workers' Welfare Association) or a social movement (German Red Cross), while only the Paritätischer appears to be mostly affiliated to pluralism.

Next, the chapter takes a close look at the historical development of the Catholic Caritas and the pluralistic Paritätischer, followed by an in-depth discussion of their differing imprinted value systems. The benefit of such a comparative analysis is the potential for a better background of "how the organization's choices, forms, history, and so forth might help us understand heterogeneity in organizational and societal outcomes" (King, Felin, & Whetten, 2009).

Chapter 5 lays out the methodology and type of data being used, and sets up the following analysis. This analysis relies on a mixed approach. The main source of data is provided by the membership magazines of the two selected organizations – the corpus for the analysis. This section explains how the data was collected and made operational through digitizing the paper-based magazines, Optical Character Recognition (OCR) scans, and intensive cleaning of the material from scan artifacts as well as material not considered for this analysis, such as advertisement or obituaries. For an initial insight into the nature of the generated corpus, a Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) analysis was conducted to demonstrate certain characteristics of the text.

Proceeding from extensive readings, observations, interviews, and emergence in the welfare sector, a coding approach was devised to measure the two value systems Catholicism and pluralism, and four selected episodes assumed to affect the organizations and the value systems in the magazines over time. The level of analysis is the organizational level. For simplicity, the two umbrella organizations are viewed through their membership magazines as single entities. There is no analysis of their individual members or regional affiliations, as the overarching value systems are found at the highest organizational level and the selected membership magazines are produced by the national central associations.

Chapter 6 develops the coding for the value systems out of those documents of the two organizations where their value systems are most prominent, which include the founding charters to highlight the origin of their imprints as well as the current charters, position papers, and mission statements. Then four episodes in the welfare sector are selected to test their relation to the imprinted value systems. By immersion in the literature and many aspects of the sector, these episodes were identified according to their potential to deeply affect the value systems of the welfare system: the emergence of an influential self-help movement, German reunification, privatization of the welfare sector, and social innovation. These are used to describe and measure external institutional demands, which are made towards the organizational imprints in the welfare associations – their value systems.

The following analysis exposes how certain tendencies in their originally imprinted value systems influence each organization's reaction to the episodes, and shows quantitatively how the presence of these episodes in the corpus correlates with the development of the value systems in the welfare associations. It also reveals qualitatively how the two selected welfare associations have conceptualized these changes in their institutional external environment. The results of this analysis are then brought together with the characteristics developed from imprinting and institutional demands theory in chapter 3 to develop a model which is able to describe the development observed in the welfare associations, and which can explain internal dealings with changes in an external institutional environment, based on the type of imprinted value system an organization has.

Finally, chapter 7 draws conclusions from the study's findings and highlights practical implications for researchers, managers, and policy makers. It also addresses the limitations of the thesis and suggests avenues for future study.

2 Literature Review

The following literature review will cover the three areas relevant to this dissertation: the literature on organizational imprinting, on institutional demands, and on the German welfare sector with its welfare associations. The sections on organizational imprinting and on institutional demands demonstrate the theoretical scope of this study while clearly showing their respective lines of inquiry. The following synthesis of the relationship between the two exposes a gap in the literature on organizational studies that needs to be addressed. Next, both strands are brought together on the question of how imprinted value systems in organizations hold up under external institutional demands. The review of the literature on German welfare associations gives an overview of the vast topic of the German welfare sector, and highlights organizational and comparative studies, as well as articles concerning their value systems.

2.1 Literature Review – Organizational Imprinting

2.1.1 Historical Overview

The concept of organizational imprinting was first introduced to organizational research by Stinchcombe (1965), who described the founding environments of organizations. Since its beginning, imprinting has been of interest for various fields, such as organizational ecology (Carroll, 1988), institutional theory (Marquis & Huang, 2010), and cultural entrepreneurship (Johnson, 2007).

Some scholars have widely used imprinting in analyzing and understanding industries (Stinchcombe, 1965) as well as intercorporate communities (Marquis, 2003). Other scholars have applied it to understanding single organizations (Johnson, 2008), various positions within organizations (Burton & Beckman, 2007), or their individual performance (Tilcsik & Marquis, 2013, p. 111).

Despite the rich set of studies on imprinting there have also been questions regarding the actual meaning of imprinting as well as a lack of theorizing about the external pressure on imprints (Mair, Mayer, & Lutz, 2015). This literature review will focus on clarifying organizational imprinting by integrating various works of literature and offering suggestions on future research.

2.1.2 The Development of Organizational Imprinting

2.1.2.1 Early Phases of Imprinting as a Concept

Marquis and Tilcsik (2013) track the roots of imprinting to 1873, when Douglas Spalding, a British amateur biologist, investigated domestic birds, which had a tendency to follow the first moving object they saw because the birds were motivated by their early experiences. Oscar Heinroth, a German biologist, made similar observations about 20 years later. After various investigations by different scholars in subsequent years, the concept of imprinting was brought to organizational studies by Arthur Stinchcombe (1965).

Without actually using the word “imprinting”, Stinchcombe theorized: “The history of a group can leave a residue of organization, common experience, and common culture that involves primary groups in the larger collectivity.” (1965, p. 190). The idea is that the surroundings and existing factors at the time of an organization’s founding have a strong influence on the character of a newly established organization, as Johnson (2007) demonstrates. Imprinting theory “emphasizes prominent environmental conditions” (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 203), such as the foundational environments of the welfare associations.

Stinchcombe identified three key mechanisms through which imprinting features persist: efficacy, lack of competition, and institutionalization. This can be complemented by the more recent concept of “structural inertia” (Hannan & Freeman, 1984), showing how the persistence of imprinting features is a result of a difficulty to change established routines that have been invested in.

The aim of Stinchcombe was to understand why various organizations from a common period were similar. Stinchcombe investigated how external environmental forces were important in shaping the initial structures of firms as well as how these patterns persisted over time. In this analysis, Stinchcombe noted that organizational inventions during a particular historical time period are dependent on the social technology then available (1965, p. 153). He attributed this to the fact that organizations can effectively function with these organizational forms, and that the basic organizational structure tends to remain relatively stable as these forms become institutionalized.

Stinchcombe gave one prominent example by explaining the employment patterns across industries, whereby those industries that were founded during the same peri-

od later still illustrated the socio-economic conditions that were prevalent when the organizations were founded (1965, p. 159). A strong correlation exists between the current structure of industries and the era in which they were developed. Building on Stinchcombe, several authors have used the “organizational imprinting hypothesis” (Johnson, 2003) to look at the relationship between an organization’s founding phase and its subsequent development. Recent examples of this are Marquis (2003), Johnson (2007), Greve & Rao (2012), and Marquis & Tilcsik (2013).

While imprinting theory highlights the importance of the environment and also emphasizes the ongoing process of keeping those imprints in the organization, little thought has been given to understanding and measuring the effect a changing external institutional environment might have on these imprints.

2.1.2.2 Imprinting Applied in the Study of Organizations

Much of the literature based on Stinchcombe’s insights has focused on the organization as level of analysis. However, imprinting research at various other levels has been emerging. Imprinting has been applied in understanding why and how some elements in organizations, such as jobs, occupations, routines, and capabilities, continuously reflect the circumstances of their creation (Baron, Hannan, & Burton, 1999).

There has also been exploration at the individual level to understand how early career experiences exert a lasting experience on the careers of people (Tilcsik & Marquis, 2013, p. 123), as well as how people carry along these imprints across organizational boundaries (Boeker, 1989). It is, therefore, important to note that the concept of imprinting has become important and widely applied in research on organizations since its inception for organizational studies by Stinchcombe (Ellis, Aharonson, Drori, & Shapira, 2017).

As Johnson points out: “the idea of imprinting actually combines two distinct processes under one hypothesis: first, the process by which technological, economic, political, and cultural elements of the founding context shape the characteristics of a new organization; and second, the process by which these founding characteristics are reproduced during the organization’s subsequent history.” (2007, p. 98). Symbols, myths or models play a vital role in both of these processes.

For testing the persistence of imprints over time, German welfare associations, given their relatively long timeframe of existence, are especially interesting subjects of analysis: “The more remote the founding, the more apparent the presence of imprinting is likely to be.” (Johnson, 2007, p. 103). Mechanisms should be visible much more easily than in more recently established organizations.

2.1.2.3 Imprinting Defined

A comprehensive definition based on the current state of the literature is provided by Marquis and Tilcsik, who “define imprinting as a process whereby, during a brief period of susceptibility, a focal entity develops characteristics that reflect prominent features of the environment, and these characteristics continue to persist despite significant environmental changes in subsequent periods.” (2013, p. 199). They identify three different sources of imprints in the literature: “a) economic and technological conditions; b) institutional factors (including regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive factors); and c) particular individuals” (2013, p. 205).

The concept of imprinting has three key features, as denoted by Marquis and András (2013, p. 203). First, during a sensitive period, which is temporarily restricted, an organization is highly susceptible to external influence. Second, the sensitive period is influenced by the institutional external environment, and as a result, the focal entity reflects the external elements of that time. Third, there is a persistence of those characteristics that emerged during sensitive periods even when subsequent external changes occur (Marquis, 2003).

During such a sensitive period, there is malleability of the focal entity by external conditions, as compared to normal times, Marquis and Tilcsik argue (2013, p. 203). As a result, the window of imprintability remains open at only restricted periods and there is no likelihood of a lasting impact once it is shut (Stinchcombe, 1965, p. 160). There have been various studies based on this insight, focusing on the founding as the major sensitive period for an organization (Carroll, 1988). Some have also applied this to the individual level by conceptualizing the early stages of careers as sensitive periods for individuals (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 203).

Regarding the “stamp of the environment” as the “second important element of imprinting”, it should be noted that the “core features of the environment exert a significant influence on the focal entity during sensitive periods” (Tilcsik & Marquis, 2013, p.

202). For instance, the mapping of environmental conditions occurs at this time in the case of organizations (Carroll, 1988, p. 206). In terms of persistence of imprints as the third element of imprinting, Stinchcombe suggested three reasons why the persistence of structures can be experienced. First, these organizations could continue to be the most efficient. Second, these structures may be preserved by traditionalizing forces, working out of ideologies and stakes. Third, there is less competition in the structure which can force the organization to be superior to the alternative form (Dobrev & Gotsopoulos, 2010, p. 1153).

For the purpose of this thesis, imprinting will be defined as a process by which one or more characteristics are fixated into an organization and kept over time by reinforcing it within the organization.

2.1.2.4 Distinguishing Imprinting from other Concepts

Imprinting should be distinguished from concepts like path dependence, which denotes how historically small events can be magnified through positive feedback (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 209). Unlike path dependence, imprinting does not involve historical accidents but rather prominent environmental conditions. It also involves short sensitive periods as opposed to long-term event chains, which are the case in path dependence (Marquis, 2003).

Imprinting should also be distinguished from cohort effects, which denote an aggregation of organizations or individuals imbued with “a common set of experiences because they were founded [...] at the same time” or state (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 211).

2.1.2.5 The Different Foci of Organizational Imprinting

The literature on imprinting makes it difficult to integrate various insights across different levels, due to the way it has developed across different levels of analysis. Johnson notes that there is usually a dramatic difference in the empirical studies on imprinting, which has rendered comparisons and conclusions difficult (2008, p. 16). As Marquis & Tilcsik show, there is a wide range of research on different sources of imprints and imprinted entities (2013, p. 208). In their framework, sources of imprints can be individuals, external conditions, or institutions; while imprinted entities under

analysis tend to be individuals or organizations – either as single entities, parts of them, or collectives.

While persistence and direct effects of imprints have been a focus of the imprinting literature (Baron et al., 1999; Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 226), fewer efforts have been put to theorizing the aspect of external pressure on the imprints. The early insights of Stinchcombe have been elaborated on by theorists mainly focused on institutionalization and inertia, which is the persistent resistance of an organization to changing the architecture (Hardy, 1983, p. 340).

Persistence is drawn from institutionalization, which emerges from stable and orderly social arrangements from a relatively self-activating social process (Carroll, 1988, p. 64). The institutionalization perspective points out that organizations create explicit goals and communication channels, as well as coordination mechanisms (Swaminathan, 1996, p. 1350). Subsequently, they persist because they are “taken for granted” (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 204) and incorporated with “value beyond the [...] requirements of the task at hand” (Selznick, 1957, pp. 16–17). The literature on the aspect of external pressure on imprints can be drawn from some of the earliest empirical studies that grew out of Stinchcombe’s essay examining the institutional conditions responsible for shaping organizations.

Carroll denotes that organizations usually incorporate the prevailing political and social arrangements into their organizational designs (1988, p. 446). Organizations also retain these distinctive features after founding. Various recent scholars have extended this literature on institutional imprints. Johnson (2007) shows how the existing organizational templates could shape the strategic choices of organizations, by demonstrating the strong influence the French state had to explain how it shaped the choices of the founder of the Paris Opera.

The concept of a sensitive period has not been used much or sharply emphasized, especially regarding sensitive periods occurring at later stages (Marquis, 2003). Despite the fact that typically any individual sensitive period is comparatively short, an organization can experience several of such periods during its existence. According to Carroll, the sensitive periods for imprinting take place during the “key developmental stages”, which suggests that other sensitive periods might occur than those during founding (1988, p. 293). Uncertainties of a strong transition periods might lead to organizational imprinting since they lead to new external institutional demands. This is

in line with the idea that these demands put pressure on organizations when an organization is going through a period of transition or instability. On a similar note, research suggests that during role transition periods, individuals are susceptible to influence because of high uncertainty relating to role requirements (Greve & Rao, 2012, p. 649). Such periods motivate individuals in reducing uncertainty and experience cognitive unfreezing.

In such vulnerable moments, the potential for imprinting is amplified. Nevertheless, the founding period is still the “key sensitive period for organizations” (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013, p. 201), since it marks an important shift from non-existence to existence (Greve & Rao, 2012, p. 636). It should be noted however that the concept of short sensitive periods runs contrary to the analysis conducted in this study. Rather than short jolts, such as a merger, larger environmental developments and their influence will be considered and conceptualized as episodes.

2.1.3 Literature on Organizational Imprinting – Interim Conclusion

Various researchers have investigated and documented the role and importance of historical forces in the study of contemporary situations of organizations. This literature review has argued for the pervasiveness of organizational imprinting and its implications. Imprinting is pervasive since it exists at multiple levels and has far-reaching implications.

The concept of imprinting is not only important to researchers for pointing out how and when history matters, but also a powerful tool for systematically identifying significant and contextual influences over time across various levels. It allows organizational scholars to put organizational and individual history at the center of analysis to better understand the impact founders and foundational environment have on the trajectory of an organization.

Specifically, the relationship between sensitive periods, outside demands during them, and the resulting receptiveness of institutions to either incorporating new imprints or changing existing ones, will be of relevance to the following section on the institutional demands literature. For this thesis, the importance of history and environmental influences will be front and center.

The theory of organizational imprinting offers an analytical view on organizational characteristics such as their value systems, and how they persist within the organization. This is then combined with the literature on institutional demands to understand the interdependency of organizational imprints and the external institutional environment – how imprints change under outside demands, and how outside demands can be blocked or engaged with depending on the characteristics of the imprinted value system.

2.2 Literature Review – Institutional Demands

The concept of institutional demands has been of interest to researchers in the wide field of sociology, as well as to the management of various organizations. Oliver's (1991) model, encompassing strategic responses to institutional demands, captures the concept of institutional theory. Pache and Santos build on the work of Oliver to provide the historical development of institutional demands (Pache & Santos, 2010, p. 6). Pfeffer and Salancik emphasize that organizations must be able and willing to respond to the demands of the external environment as they engage in their transactions (1978a, p. 43).

Moreover, organizations are not self-contained and have to rely on the external institutional environment for support to achieve their goals and objectives. However, the demands of external institutions often conflict with the interests of the company. As a result, for the organizations to survive, they should be selective regarding which components of the environment they can respond to. Meyer and Rowan also argue that the structures within any organization are formulated to reflect the myth of the institutional environment instead of responding to its needs and demands (1977, p. 341). This school of thought emphasizes that organizations tend to have gaps in scenarios where their formal structures respond to the needs of the external environment instead of their work activities.

Despite the differing views on the role of institutional demands, it is widely agreed that the external environment has a critical role to play legally, economically and socially in the operations of the organization. A practical example of the role of institutional demands is depicted in the role financial institutions played during the credit crisis in late 2007. During the credit expansion, institutional funding exacerbated the situation through the provision of funding to most organizations, as explained by

Ivashina and Sun (2011). They argue that an efficient organization is one, which devises strategies on how to respond to external institutional demands. This literature review focuses on the different models and strategies deployed internally by the organizations to respond to these institutional demands.

One of the strategies that the organizations devise internally to respond to institutional demands is shown in the model developed by Pache and Santos (2010). This model, as explained by Gutiérrez-Rincón, emphasizes that an organization's response to institutional demands is majorly a function of the nature of those demands, which are divided into two broad categories: functional and ideological (2014, p. 4).

The ideological demand levels mainly reflect the goals of the organization. As a result, the organization cannot easily challenge them. It is worth noting that Pache and Santos (2010) emphasize that the internal groups within the institutions normally play a crucial role in implementing and interpreting the demands which are exerted on the organization. Furthermore, these internal groups are also effective in making informed decisions especially when the organization is faced by institutional challenges and constraints. It will later be shown how in the case of welfare associations demand on the value level impact the imprinted values of an organization.

Another strategy deployed by organizations in response to institutional demands is referred to as the diverging strategy. This strategy, as Bjerregaard explains, mainly involves internal employees applying their experiential knowledge in response to institutional demands (2011, p. 9). As a result, the different levels of experiential knowledge from their interactions in different institutions can equip the organization with a dominant synergy to respond to external institutional demands. Faced with technical and institutional demands, organizations should demonstrate leadership from within to handle these external pressures. An example of this will be shown in the case of adaptive writing about the organizational value systems, thus demonstrating a change from the top down and throughout the organization.

Besharov and Khurana explore Selznick's approach to leadership that can aid organizations in dealing with institutional demands (2012, p. 5). Leadership skills are vital in this approach because they set the tone within the organization on how other employees can deal with external institutional demands. Furthermore, proper leadership structures within the organization empower employees to be innovative and devise ways through which the organization can respond to institutional demands.

Managing the legitimacy levels within the organization is another effective way through which organizations respond to institutional demands. Suchman explains that there are three main approaches to managing legitimacy: the pragmatic, the moral, and the cognitive approach (1995, p. 7). The pragmatic approach is centered on devising mechanisms, which will respond to the relevant audience and authority. Furthermore, this approach puts the interests of the organization first. The moral approach ensures that the organization is on track to fulfilling the demands of the institutions. The cognitive approach focuses on acting only on those demands the organization can comprehend.

Finally, Oliver espouses that organizations can employ other strategic responses such as acquiescence, compromise, avoidance and defiance (1991, p. 8). The acquiescence strategy mainly implies that the organization adapts to the institutional demands and devises internal mechanisms on how to cope. The compromise strategy is centered on sacrificing some of the internal benefits and advantages to cope with institutional demands. While the avoidance strategy operates on the premise that the organization will devise tactful ways on how to avoid certain institutional demands, the defiance strategy means opposing these external demands outright. It is worth noting that concerning the implementation of these strategies, the Pache and Santos model emphasizes that organizational responses are the consequence of intra-organizational politics (2011, p. 5).

Category of literature	Literature
Background of institutional demands	Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Pache & Santos, 2010; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978a
Role of institutional demands	Ivashina & Sun, 2011
Organization's reaction to institutional demands	Besharov & Khurana, 2012; Bjerregaard, 2011; Gutiérrez-Rincón, 2014; Newton, Ewing, & Collier, 2014; Oliver, 1991; Pache, 2011; Suchman, 1995

Table 3: Literature on Institutional Demands

2.2.1 Literature on Institutional Demands – Interim Conclusion

As has been shown in this overview, many of the different approaches on how organizations react towards institutional demands have to deal with changing the way things have been done so far within the organization. External demands manifest within the organizations, requiring either the leadership, the employees, or the organizational structure to adjust. This can be done immediately or gradually over a longer period. It can be on a structural or a normative level. What this literature review shows is that demands from the external institutional environment can have a strong impact on an organization's way of operating or its aims. This raises the question of whether organizations deal with demands differently depending on timing (for example if they are in a sensitive period or not) and, in case the demand is being made toward an imprinted characteristic of an organization, if the type of imprint matters to the way the demand is internalized – and whether it is internalized.

The aim of this thesis is to demonstrate how a certain type of imprint, in this case a system of values, impacts the way external institutional demands manifest in organizations. It will be demonstrated that, depending on its characteristics, a value system can either act as a barrier that needs to be worn down by outside influences before these can enter the organization or, in contrast, make it easy for an organization to absorb institutional demands – depending on whether the value system is resisting or diaphanous in nature. This should a) build a bridge between the two strands of literature on imprinting and institutional demands, and b) highlight the importance of better understanding specific characteristics of imprints when looking at sensitive periods and whether or not they have been present.

Plourde (2013) similarly considers the impact events in the environment have on the strategy of an organization. However, he does not theorize the resultant implications. He compares how organizations react to events in their environment, but is content with identifying them and their strategic implications. This thesis will go further in offering a useful model for describing a way to measure both value systems and episodes. Importantly, the model will also be able to demonstrate the implications for the imprints of an organization over a long period.

The following section gives an overview of the literature on German welfare associations and how they have been regarded so far. The aim is to better understand the

current state of knowledge on a) the environment in which the selected organizations operate and b) the nature of the organizations themselves.

2.3 Literature Review – German Welfare and its Associations

Since their founding, welfare associations have been of keen interest to researchers. The academic context of their founding can be seen in such works as Winkelmann (1802) or Krüger (1904), with Dünner (1929) offering an interesting view on welfare associations specifically. However, it is not necessary to go back so far to find a rich body of analyses on these organizations. The literature on German welfare associations is vast, with most of it having been published in German. Little has been written about them outside of Germany though they are sometimes treated within descriptions of the German welfare system. One important exception to this is a significant chapter by Anheier and Seibel (2001).

The literature on the welfare associations relevant for this analysis can be structured into three parts:

- the history of the third sector and welfare system in Germany surrounding the welfare associations, explaining the institutional external environment in which they emerged and operate in;
- the history and situation of the welfare associations in general, demonstrating their founding experiences and development;
- and individual writings on particular welfare associations, which look into their unique characteristics as single entities rather than as part of a more or less coherent block of organizations.

2.3.1 The German Welfare System

Over the last decades there were three major strands of literature on welfare systems: “modernization, neo-Marxist, and rational, efficiency-centred theories” (Hien, 2014, p. 6). Out of the 1970s came a strong neo-Marxist view on the welfare sector by researchers (Korpi, 1983) who see religion as a distortion to the class struggle. The more rational approach in a post-Cold War world did not consider religion to be of strong relevance for welfare provision, seeing the basis of welfare provision

through a business centered view (Paster, 2014). Fix and Fix (2005), taking a historical institutionalist approach, link religion to the introduction of social security.

Wendt (2008a, 2008b) provides a detailed background on the emergence of social work in Germany and its development, starting from the 18th century up until today. His comprehensive work offers a broad context for mindset and changes in the sector, specifically from the viewpoint of social work. It highlights the different streams of values in society and how important these were in shaping the current system. However, it does not go into how these systems play a role in contemporary Germany.

Political scientists have deepened our understanding of the interplay of religion and welfare. Leitner (2003) for example shows the impact of Catholicism on the emergence of social insurance in continental Europe. Hien (2014) shows indicators for a renaissance of religion in a secular society.

Esping-Andersen (1990), while not explicitly considering the impact of churches on the development of the welfare sectors, do associate Protestantism with the social-democratic model and Catholicism with the conservative type (Schroeder, 2017a, p. 12). Manow (2008) goes further by explicitly linking religion to the development of both the welfare state and its party systems. Building on this, Gabriel et al. (2013) further explore the relationship between religion and the welfare sector, while unfortunately not considering the organizational dimension of the two church-affiliated welfare associations in Germany.

2.3.2 The German Welfare Associations

Boeßenecker and Vilain (2013) is probably the standard work on the welfare organizations. It gives an overview of their development, history, self-image, and future trends. The authors argue that due to privatization in the 1990s the subsidiarity principle and welfare corporatism are going to end. They see the welfare associations applying passive adjustment (2013, p. 305).

Bauer (1978) is a prime example of the neo-Marxist view of welfare associations during the 1970s and 1980s, faulting the debate at that time for being ideologically driven and supporting a certain view of the society without exercising any criticism (1978, p. 9). He further condemns how the population does not differentiate between the state and welfare associations, which fit in neatly with the existing political system.

Quoting Ehrlich (1966, p. 19), he refers to the research on associations as having the focus of looking at the role, which the influence groups play in a capitalistic political structure (Bauer, 1978, p. 21). From the view of the associations' literature, their success is only measured in terms of political influence. Bauer criticizes the research on associations at the time for not recognizing the ideological nature of the state. Further, the debate about pluralism as ideology is seen through the lens of a Marxist critique of capitalism, faulting it for ignoring questions on ownership about the means of production or the factors of production. The questions are not focused on welfare provision, but on attacking capitalism and the system. Pluralism is not seen in terms of different world views, but as a bureaucratic plurality of power groups (Bauer, 1978, p. 25). Both the research on associations and pluralism ignore the importance of objective class interests (Bauer, 1978, p. 28). He criticizes pluralism theory with regard to the welfare associations, as in his view they were generating a loyalty of the masses (Bauer, 1978, p. 27). Rather than speaking for the downtrodden, they are stabilizing the late-capitalist society (Bauer, 1978, p. 204).

With Sachße and Tennstedt (1980) we see a clear tendency to make a connection between the working class poor, the proletariat, and the development of social welfare provision. This is one of their main objectives: Our aim is to newly formulate the question of the origin of the labor force as the basis of the industrial-capitalist economy and to demonstrate the role of poor relief especially under this aspect (1980, p. 16).

Bayer highlights the changing perceptions of the poor, beginning with a view of the poor as security risks for society to that of the deserving poor; from welfare provided by a public authority as a legal duty to free care motivated by love. Although this theoretical view serves as an explanation for the rise of such associations, Bauer does not see it practiced in reality (1978, pp. 38–39). Instead, he observes the size of the welfare associations and argues that their bureaucratic organization does not differ fundamentally from that found in public welfare providers. He further sees their public nature manifested in the fact that their work is publicly needed, and in many cases publicly financed. Today this criticism still prevails, especially in the context of churches (and thus as a double barb where Caritas is concerned).

Schroeder (2017a) explains how the last three decades of research related to welfare associations has focused on the organizations' functions and classes, with an in-

creasing interest in the relationship between the churches and the organizations. Rock (2010) deals with the issue of the breaking up of privileges for the welfare associations in the 1990s and the area of conflict between the German way of providing welfare and European Law.

Schroeder (2017a) demonstrates that the issue of how denominational welfare associations have been dealing with privatization of the sector has been a strong topic of research. Olk (1987) observes a reduction in the closeness between the confessional and/or political background of the welfare associations and the associations themselves.

Jüster identifies a loss of identity and legitimacy in the welfare associations due to the restructuring of the sector (2015, p. 480). His analysis could be an indicator of why welfare associations are trying to connect to environmental developments in an attempt to regain legitimacy. This would be in line with his assessment on how the welfare associations reacted to the economization of the sector without reflecting or reacting to the change on an identity basis, as they were moving away from their identity-giving principle of lived solidarity (2015, p. 501).

As Spear (2010) shows, religion and entrepreneurial activities can generally go hand in hand, which would not automatically exclude Caritas from partaking in such endeavors. The conflict between values and markets has been well studied by several scholars associated with the “moralized markets” school. Reich (2014) for example demonstrates how the imprinted values of a hospital can be at odds with outside market forces and how organizations can be constrained by their histories.

After World War I (WWI), there were already calls for a deconfessionalization of the German welfare sector. This led to a need to emphasize the ideological roots of the associations as well as ideological independence from public organizations (Merchel, 1989, pp. 25–26). However, Ebner (2001, 2006) provides deep insight into Catholic social teachings within the context of the German welfare system. He shows the evolvement of Catholic social teachings from the first two social encyclicals (Pope Leo XIII, 1891; Pope Pius XI, 1931) and their impact on understanding capitalism.

Merchel finds fault with what was then the current state of research on welfare associations and how they were treated as one block, without their individual backgrounds and history being sufficiently considered (1989, pp. 66–73). The fact that only few individual studies or comparisons by researchers focusing on the differences be-

tween these organizations can be presented in the following section demonstrates that there still might be a tendency to focus on the welfare associations as a block rather than as organizations with individual backgrounds.

2.3.3 Literature on Caritas and the Paritätischer

2.3.3.1 Literature on Caritas (and other Religious Organizations)

Manderscheid and Hake (2006) discuss the interdependent relationship between Caritas and the Catholic Church in Germany, and their roles in contemporary Germany. Interestingly, in this work published in 2006 there was already a tendency to look at Caritas as a social enterprise (Lehner, 2006), with other discussions concerning future modernization strategies and organizational development (Manderscheid, 2006). In their publication, many voices speak out about the relationship between Caritas and the Catholic Church. Numerous critical opinions surface, blaming the Church for hindering the role of Caritas. As this thesis will show, we can observe this trend in the way the organization talks about itself to itself and the public at large.

Although the present study is the first to conduct a large-scale analysis of the membership magazines of Caritas, others have used parts of that source material. For example, the magazine *caritas* was read with a focus on the issue of *Frauennot* (Hardships of women) by Hilpert (1997, pp. 101–149). That study, however, was much smaller in scope and executed manually. Most importantly, it did not compare organizations, as the present study has done. The history of Caritas has been the subject of a number of books and articles, with Frie (1997) being especially noteworthy.

A number of studies pair up the two German church-affiliated associations Caritas and Diakonie for examination. A recurring issue of debate involves labor law in relation to Caritas and Diakonie, for example Lühns (2006). In addition, there is a larger body of literature dating back to the debate in the 1960s dealing with *Tendenzbetriebe* (value-based organizations).

The most recent analyses of organizational change in welfare associations primarily looks at how they reacted to the restructuring of the welfare sector in Germany in the 1990s. Schroeder (2017b) analyzed how the two church-affiliated associations dealt

with this change. He asks how privatization and a more business-focused approach have affected their identity and relationship with the church.

Fix & Fix (2005) is another example where the comparative analysis focuses on Caritas and Diakonie, rather than on any other combination. However, in their case this is understandable, as their study is specifically of European faith-based welfare providers. In contrast to the present longitudinal study, they restrict themselves to a picture of the situation in the early 2000s.

In general, there seems to be little interest in the organizational literature on faith-based organizations on an international level. As Tracey (2012) shows, there is hardly any discussion of faith in organizational studies published in the main management journals. As a consequence, Tracey sees a “significant opportunity for organizational theorists to reconfigure institutional analysis of religion in the context of religious and secular organizations, as well as extend organizational institutionalism by exploring institutional ideas in a novel context” (2012, p. 32).

The study of new religious movements (NMRs, e.g. Bromley (2011)) is of particular interest, as it “helps to explain the forms of social dislocation that lead individuals to construct new types of social organizations underpinned by new meaning systems” (Tracey, 2012, p. 9). This is something also interesting for, and applicable to organizations outside the specific religious sector, especially those with explicit value systems.

Ludwig (1993) examines how the Jesuits as an organization dealt with a changing environment between 1965 and 1979. The changes tracked focused on administrative components and inter-organizational cooperation, but did not address potential changes in the value system itself or the intensity of its use. Bell et al. (2012) do address the issue of the beliefs themselves in organizations, but they only consider religious organizations, and then specifically focus on the matter of “soul”, rather than non-religious concepts. Bartunek (1984) looks at changes in the “shared interpretive schemes” due to changes in the organization. Again, this focuses on a religious order, and sees the changes because of the organization changing, which is not put into a societal context.

Lüttkenhorst (2004) makes for a rare example of not comparing Diakonie and Caritas, but Caritas and the Paritätischer instead. He identifies their self-imposed public engagement on behalf of the poor as their fundamental commonality, while their dif-

ferent worldviews set them apart. Lüttkenhorst argued that although the value of charity is fundamental to both of these organizations, the difference is that in the case of Caritas, the rules of the Catholic Church also apply, thereby shaping their particular application of charity¹. He also points to one other difference: their visibility. While member organizations of Caritas are openly visible, the presence of the Paritätischer is less clear, with many of its members being recognized on their own but not as part of the Paritätischer association. In terms of ideology, Lüttkenhorst places the Paritätischer close to the ideas of the Enlightenment, bourgeois society, and democracy. Yet he does this somewhat hesitantly, pointing out that there has been very little research on this topic so far. Nevertheless, he clearly identifies openness, plurality, and tolerance as the basic principles of the Paritätischer members. While Caritas tends to operate within a more closed Catholic environment, the Paritätischer is truly open as it combines both conservative and unorthodox organizations under one roof.

2.3.3.2 Literature on the Paritätischer

Overall, the Paritätischer has inspired far less individual analysis than Caritas has. Presumably, this is because the Paritätischer is a smaller and more diverse organization, making it more difficult to study. It also lacks the affiliation to the Catholic Church, which arguably renders Caritas much more attractive to analysts at a time when religion is generally declining and regarded with a fair amount of suspicion by an increasing proportion of the European population. The most important work to give an overview of the Paritätischer specifically was written by Merchel (1989).

Hollweg and Franke (2000) give an interesting insight into the regional associations of the Paritätischer in Berlin and its first 50 years there. Written to mark that anniversary and published by the Paritätischer itself, it is nonetheless a valuable contribution. The question of whether or not the Paritätischer can have one common ideal, an overarching value system, for example, has been under discussion from its inception in 1923 right up until today (Hollweg & Franke, 2000, pp. 32–41).

¹ “Charity”, although an apt translation, does not fully capture the German expression *Nächstenliebe*, which is in fact much closer in phrasing to Lev 19:18, which in the King James Bible reads: “Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but *thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*: I am the Lord.” [Emphasis in original] Building on this, a closer translation would be “neighborly love”, itself reminiscent of the more commonly used expression in English, “brotherly love”. This should give the reader an understanding of how influential religious background was in shaping the concepts used today throughout the German welfare sector.

2.3.4 Literature on German Welfare Associations – Interim Conclusion

The previous section gives an overview of the current literature relevant for understanding the history of the German welfare sector and particularly the welfare associations within it. Special emphasis has been given to the two organizations, which will be analyzed and compared in more detail, Caritas and the Paritätischer. While there is a much larger body of literature on other aspects of German welfare associations, this literature review has focused on the available texts treating aspects connected to emergence, historical development, and current position.

What this review demonstrates is that, in addition to the almost exclusively German interest in the subject, there are very few comparative studies of the welfare associations. Moreover, where there are comparative studies, they usually only compare the two large religious associations. To date there has been no comparison of a denominational association with the Paritätischer, or with any of the other non-denominational welfare associations for that matter. The overview also demonstrates the lack of explicitly considering the organizational value systems when looking at the associations' development. Additionally, there are no longitudinal in-depth comparative studies on welfare associations. Researchers have either analyzed a particular event such as Caritas and German reunification (Deutscher Caritasverband, 1992), or offered historical descriptions such as the organizational history of an association (Frie, 1997).

These identified gaps are addressed by the research and analysis in this thesis, which offer:

- a comparative analysis between a religious and a non-denominational welfare association;
- an in-detail analysis on the relevance of their value systems for the way institutional demands affected them;
- a longitudinal study reaching from 1949 until 2016.

2.4 Literature Review – Conclusion

This literature review has argued three main points:

- First, that the literature on imprinting has so far underestimated the role, which the characteristics of imprints play, and how these imprints might be reduced over time during episodes, rather than being changed during short sensitive periods.
- Second, that the literature on institutional demands can offer valuable insights to address the shortcomings in the imprinting literature and a bridging model can enrich both areas, specifically concerning the way changing institutional external environments and their demands may affect organizational imprints.
- Third, that questions pertaining to the value systems in German welfare associations and the relevance of these systems for organizational development have not been addressed in the literature although they could provide answers relevant to the study of both denominational and non-denominational organizations.

Chapter 3 will demonstrate in detail how the concepts for a framework drawing on the literature on imprinting and institutional demands is developed theoretically in order to explain the interaction between demands emerging from a changing external institutional environment and organizational imprints, and model this interaction over time.

3 Imprinted Value Systems and External Institutional Demands from Episodes – Definitions and Concepts to Bridge the Gap

When talking about the founding phase of welfare associations, one has to keep in mind that a large portion of this phase falls into a timeframe when there was no unified Germany. This situation recurred after World War II (WWII) for the re-founding phase. It was a time of nation building, where a German national identity was just being formed (Confino, 1993) – ultimately leading to World War I, as Chickering (2014) argues. However, the aftermath of WWI gave the (by then founded) welfare associations a strong boost in legitimacy and laid the foundation for their place in contemporary Germany.²

Based on Oliver (1991) and Marquis & Tilcsik (2013), the present study develops a model for theorizing on how demands from the institutional external environment will put pressure on organizational imprints. Oliver's typology lays the foundation for characterizing the type of pressure the organization is experiencing. At the same, however, this thesis challenges the concept of sensitive periods by turning the view around. The readiness of an organization to change should not be considered the determining factor, but instead the period of the external institutional environment, which formulates the demand with differing degrees of strength.

Specifically for imprinted value systems and the type of pressure they can experience, the following framework is proposed: The combination of the similarity of external institutional demands on imprints already in place within an organization and the strength with which the external institutional environment makes these demands determines the likelihood with which organizations either change existing imprints (adaptation), include new ones (adoption), or do not change anything (rejection). This framework drew inspiration from Selznick (1949), who argues that organizational change is often prompted by pressure and outside influence due to the values in their external institutional environment. Similarly, Pfeffer and Salancik argue that "organizational activities and outcomes are accounted for by the context in which the organization is embedded" (1978a, p. 39).

The current idea championed by the literature on imprinting posits that whether or not an organization will change its imprinting setting depends on the organization being in a sensitive period where the organization is open for change. This study rejects the

² For the historical development of German welfare associations up to 1951, see chapter 4.

concept of a sensitive period and reverses the point of departure: Rather than the organization being in a certain state of mind, it is changes in the external institutional environment like new organizations, ideas or laws which put pressure on organizational imprints. The type of imprinted value system within an organization plays a role in this. As will be argued, a value system can either function as an entry barrier which has to be diminished over time by pressure for outside episodes to significantly be recognizable in an organization (resisting value system); or it can be a system of enabling differing ideas to come together under one roof (diaphanous value system).

As will be shown in chapter 6, several episodes in their external institutional environment have put pressure on welfare associations. For the purpose of building a framework, the episodes in question have been, to an extent, “snipped from their historical and social contexts” (Tilly, 2001b, p. 36). Their historical and social context will be given in chapter 6. Bearing this in mind, the comparative and long-term nature of this analysis, which includes several rather than one single episode to be analyzed in the same way, reduces the risks involved when generalizing from a single event or episode on its own.

3.1 Imprints: Value Systems

3.1.1 Definition

In this thesis, a value system is defined as a consistent perceptual framework that normatively shapes and influences behavior. This definition is deliberately kept open to allow for a common and acceptable ground for both Catholicism and pluralism.

3.1.2 Value Systems as a Concept

Value systems are all around us. While the age of ideologies was deemed by many as over (D. Bell, 1960; Foucault, 1972, 1980; Fukuyama, 1992), we can still very much see their presence and power on contemporary political and social life. Žižek calls this the “Postmodernist’ trap (such as the illusion that we live in a ‘post-ideological’ condition)” (1989, p. 7). When talking about these concepts, however, one runs the risk of confusing various terms. Value system, ideology, and ethics are similar concepts and often used interchangeably.

Beyer argues, “ideologies can be defined as relatively coherent sets of beliefs that bind some people together and that explain their worlds in terms of cause-and-effect relations. Values, on the other hand, concern what should be [...]. [...] Ideologies refer to beliefs about the causal relations between courses of action and outcomes, whereas values refer to preferences for courses of action and outcomes.” (1981, pp. 166–167).

Following this definition, value systems occupy a middle ground between ideology and values. All three have a normative component. A value system contains values, brings them together in a coherent way, and combines them into a framework, which influences behavior – but which does not yet offer a worldview in terms of cause-and-effect relations. A value system has a number of interlocking values that fit together in a consistent way.

This definition is chosen to bring Catholicism and pluralism onto a comparable level. Whereas Catholicism can be seen as a full-fledged ideology, pluralism does not go that far. While Catholicism fulfills the requirements of both a value system and an ideology, pluralism does not include all the requirements of an explanatory worldview.

Values	Value systems	Ideologies
<p>“Values are stable enduring beliefs about what is worthwhile, that influence thoughts and behaviour.” (Singh, 2015, p. 125)</p> <p>Allport et al. (1960) identified five types of values: theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious.</p>	<p>A value system is a consistent perceptual framework that normatively shapes and influences behavior. – based on England (1967)</p>	<p>“Relatively coherent sets of beliefs that bind some people together and that explain their worlds in terms of cause-and-effect relations.” (Beyer, 1981)</p>

Table 4: Values, Value Systems, and Ideologies

Other researchers have not made such distinctions between ideologies and beliefs (e.g. Blau, 1977). Starbuck says that “Ideologies are logically integrated clusters of beliefs, values, rituals, and symbols” (1982, p. 3). Dunbar et al. define ideology as

“shared beliefs which reflect the social experiences in a particular context at a particular time.” (1982, p. 91). Brunsson also mixes those two layers of description and normativity: “Ideologies describe both how things are and how they should be, and these two aspects are often strongly interdependent. Both the descriptive and the normative aspects answer questions about reality.” (2007, p. 42). Indeed, Beyer admits that “ideologies and values are correlated and may thus be hard to distinguish empirically.” (1981, p. 167). Verschuereen similarly uses a preliminary definition of ideology that captures a broad area: “We can define as ideological any basic pattern of meaning or frame of interpretation bearing on or involved in (an) aspect(s) of social ‘reality’ (in particular in the realm of social relations in the public sphere), felt to be commonsensical, and often functioning in a normative way.” (2012, p. 10).

Brunsson distinguishes between three types of ideologies: a) subjective ideologies, which are based on organizational members’ individual cognitive structures; b) perceived ideologies, representing the ideas members have about their colleagues’ cognitive structures; and c) objective ideologies, shared by all members of the organization, that form the basis for discussion and action in the organization (2007, p. 41). Following Brunsson’s definition, the set of principles selected by the Paritätischer and Caritas should fall into the category of objective ideologies, within the context of this analysis regarding the organizational level. According to Brunsson ideologies either “arise by themselves in any organization” or “can also be consciously moulded by an organization’s members” (2007, p. 42). Surprisingly, he did not take into account the option of organizations being founded with certain principles embedded into their core.

Brunsson’s position arose in the context of an argument about rational and non-rational decision-making and how ideologies can overtake decision-making as a shortcut. He argues that “narrow, clear, and complex objective ideologies” make it easier to accomplish changes, whereas “broad, ambiguous, and simple ideologies” can present obstacles to change (2007, p. 43).

Value systems, especially religions, can have a strong binding effect – in some cases with clear economic benefits. The most prominent example is that of Jewish Diamond Merchants, where belonging to a certain religious group automatically ensures upfront trust, because non-compliance would come with high community costs (Richman, 2006).

Ideologies can give answers to questions about reality, such as how people adhering to an ideology behave in relation to other people; they shape what is perceived as facts and which facts are seen as important. The question of why can be answered by attributing causes to individuals, the whole organization or the environment (Brunsson, 2007, p. 42). Organizational ideologies can be seen as being close to the decision-making process – either by suggesting a preferred way to achieve something (how) or an ideal target (what).

This thesis argues just the opposite. It is easier for broader value systems such as pluralism to unify differing ideas under one roof, thus making the organization more likely to incorporate new values into its midst.

There is some debate about the question if religions are ideologies. Ingber (1989) tries to rescue religion from being lumped together with ideologies, citing its higher and not only human centered nature. Hjärpe reasons that religion can turn into ideology, as illustrated by the application of political Islam (1976, p. 56). And thirdly, Martin (2016) argues from a quasi-Marxist perspective, by grouping religion together with ideology. Religions/churches are what Durkheim called “moral communities” (1995, p. 42). However, this dimension can also be applied to Marxism or Veganism. All this demonstrates the following: A normative interest rather than an objective one can drive whether religion is seen as an ideology. With value system occupying a broader ground than ideology, Catholicism in this analysis will be considered a value system.

It has been posited that pluralism, too, is an ideology (Robotham, 1980). Applying Cohen’s and Morse’s tripartite theoretical framework of moral character to pluralism also implies that it could constitute a value system (2014, p. 50). Again, the nature of pluralism makes it more difficult to grasp and less clear to measure. Within the context of this research, it is considered a value system.

To avoid confusion between the above-mentioned different labels, the neutral and broad term value system is applied here to capture organized and defined structures of normative convictions. Value system is thus defined as a consistent perceptual framework that normatively shapes and influences behavior. This approach is echoed by Fougère and Skalén: “Organizational ideology should be conceptualized broadly in order to enable an appreciation of the different perspectives which can affect all aspects of organizational functioning.” (2013, p. 487). The term itself has already

been used before by researchers such as Markman et al., but not always with defining what it means (2016, p. 676).

3.1.3 Value Systems in Organizations

Value systems in this analysis represent specific examples of imprints, fixed into an organization at the time of its founding. However, they also possess a temporal element, as they are passed on from one generation of employees to the next, and thus maintained and reproduced within the organization (Zucker, 1977). As they are being reproduced, Zucker finds that “cultural persistence depends on the resistance to attempts to change” (1977, p. 727). Johnson argues accordingly: “Neoinstitutionalists are thus likely to seek the causes of organizational persistence not in the rationality of actors or the actual efficiency of organizational arrangements but in the tendency of actors to derive security from their sense of the efficient, legitimate, or otherwise appropriate nature of particular actions or arrangements.” (2008, p. 202).

It is here argued that the two value systems of 1) pluralism (the Paritätischer) and 2) Catholicism (Caritas) are at play in these welfare associations and affect the way these organizations see themselves and react to outside pressure. This idea already arose with Stinchcombe, who lists ideologies as one of the reasons for the persistence of structures (1965, p. 169). Even though both organizations see themselves as advocates for the less fortunate, they approach their mission from different backgrounds. Do their distinct and differing value systems influence how they deal with external institutional demands? What role does the type of demand play? Moreover, just how persistent are these value systems under pressure from external institutional demands?

3.1.4 Critique of Ideology as Values and Beliefs

This broad definition of value systems, as well as other claims towards the role of ideologies in organizations, is criticized by Weiss and Miller (1987). Their main argument is that most previous studies do not present data to underpin claims of ideological impacts. In their analysis they show how the literature on organizational studies almost interchangeably uses concepts such as “frames of reference”, “perceptions

and norms”, “beliefs”, or “cultures, sagas, cognitive images, stories, myths, and ideologies” (1987, p. 111).

Weiss and Miller (1987) argue that while the concept of ideology – here used as an umbrella term for the aforementioned concepts as well as several others – can be useful, it should be left to social psychology to analyze its relevance.³ Duncker similarly argues that any definition independent of the truth criterion of ideology, including those that see ideology as a system of views or as a value judgement, would debase the term (2006, p. 11).

To address these concerns, a complementary analysis with an applicable tool used in social psychology has been added to chapter 5: a dictionary LIWC analysis to measure the influence of religious and metaphysical language used in the corpus will be employed as a comparison to the more specific measurements of the two organizational value systems (chapter 6).

3.1.5 Characteristics of an Imprinted Value System

As Battilana et al. say: “Organization theorists have long argued that organizations that serve multiple constituencies comply more readily with demands from the constituents on which they depend for access to key resources.” (2014, p. 2). Here they are referencing Pfeffer & Salancik (1978b), Oliver (1991), and Wry et al. (2013). It seems reasonable to build on that argument and ask the broader question of whether organizations that serve multiple constituencies generally comply more readily with demands because plurality is built into their organizational DNA. The pluralistic value system of the Paritätischer would be an example of this, due to their general openness for outside influences and their being used to incorporate conflicting views – a diaphanous value system which readily lets outside demands enter the organization.

What also has to be considered is the question if a global value system, such as Catholicism, reacts differently to local events than other imprints. This is a valuable question, which can only be partly answered in this analysis. As the LIWC-analysis will show (chapter 5), there was no strong reaction in the corpus of Caritas in religiousness to the elections of new popes, which are arguably one of the more im-

³ The two social psychologists Graham and Haidt refute this, however, and argue that “social psychology can best contribute to scholarship on religion by being relentlessly social”. (Graham & Haidt, 2010, p. 140)

portant events in the Catholic Church on a global scale. This suggests that even though the value system itself is global, an organization such as Caritas has advantage in choosing its own local focus within the framework of the global value system.

There have always been regional characteristics in major religions, which according to Dawson (2011) is one of the key differences between a sect and a church. As the available data in the corpus only deals with the “regional aspects” of Caritas in Germany and external institutional demands on its organizational imprints, this question will have to be answered in more detail in future research (Tilly, 2005, p. 7).

3.2 External Institutional Demands

3.2.1 Definition

Building on Hodgson (2015), institutions are here understood as integrated systems of formal and informal rules and patterns that structure social interactions. External institutions are then institutions outside of an organization and constitute the social environment an organization operates in. Demands are considered implicit or explicit requests. External institutional demands are thus defined here as implicit or explicit requests made from outside an organization towards the organizations by integrated systems of formal and informal rules and patterns, which structure social interactions and constitute the social environment an organization operates in.

Examples for institutions in this thesis are newly emerging ways to approach social welfare provision, a legal framework, or the borders and political system of a country. The sum of these institutions constitutes the social environment the organization operates in. In this instance a new or modified legal framework would be seen as a strong request by the legislator for change in the area intended to be affected by the legal modification.

3.2.2 Strength of Institutional Demand

For the purposes of this analysis, the assumption is made that the dominance of the selected events in the literature and in interviews with leading personnel in the associations signifies a sufficient amount of intensity to potentially have the strength of

making an impact on the welfare associations. The actual impact the demands of these episodes have had in the corpus will be measured in chapter 6.

The episodes have been selected for their importance to the sector. While some may also have played an important role for Germany overall, German reunification for example, the selection for this analysis was purely based on their potential impact on the imprinted value systems in the welfare associations. Besides the selected episodes, others may have been overlooked. However, if they existed, they were not strong enough to come up in the conducted interviews or the selected body of literature. This would suggest that those episodes not considered were most probably not strong enough to register outside the organizations, and thus unlikely to make an impact within the organizations.

3.3 Resistance to Change

One assumption in this model is that rather than change, an organization will generally want to continue doing things the way they have always been done. This assumption was derived in two ways: first from the literature on organizational resistance to change (Castel & Friedberg, 2004; Gioia, Patvardhan, Hamilton, & Corley, 2013; Hannan & Freeman, 1984; Pache & Santos, 2010), and second, from observations in the field. Organizations which refer to themselves as tankers, as the welfare associations do, do not cultivate a notion of adaptability or an inherent willingness to change. Particularly in those kinds of organizations imprints are thus upheld and passed on to the next generation of employees, unless there is sufficient outside pressure to force the change. This will be demonstrated in the analysis offered in chapter 6, where it will be shown that the spikes in certain aspects of their imprinted values mostly coincide with the selected outside episodes when a topic was sufficiently prominent.

Campbell points to the literature on institutional change which argues that change emerges from a stable equilibrium that is suddenly interrupted, suggesting that organizations under outside pressure would by default resist until it becomes impossible not to yield (2004, p. 5). As will be shown later, part of this holds true for the way the value system within Caritas has developed over time.

3.4 Episodes and their Demands

3.4.1 Definition

Following Tilly (2001b, p. 26) and Tilly & Tarrow (2015, p. 239), episodes are defined as bounded streams of social life containing connected moments of institutional demands.

As McAdams, Tarrow, & Tilly point out: “to identify episodes [...] remains a knotty conceptual and theoretical problem.” (2009, p. 285). They identify three approaches to do so: to reconstruct participants’ experiences, adopt existing conventions, and “create arbitrary but uniform units of observation” (2009, p. 285). The following is a mixture of using existing conventions and creating characteristics to structure the observations.

3.4.2 Episodes as a Concept

Periodization is criticized in historical science, because it simplifies historical development and reduces its richness (Hollander, Rassuli, Jones, & Dix, 2005). However, this simplification is precisely what is necessary for a structural analysis. By simplifying the innumerable individual actions that ultimately make up the past and lead to history, history itself is already a simplification. Without this simplification, we would be overwhelmed and have no opportunity to increase our understanding of trends. The following themes mark episodes, which usually went on for several years, or sparked societal developments that affected society beyond their immediate occurrence. They have been identified through the literature, as well as through interviews and observations.

As Reich puts it, we must “pay attention to the organizational environments within which these capacities have been shaped and the broader institutional environments within which they continue to be constrained” (2014, p. 1585). Following Tilly there will be no general analysis of the processes that were selected here, but considerations of specific episodes in a well-documented context instead (2001a, pp. 570–571). All of these episodes are by definition “environmental”, as they are not directly applied to the actors, but to their setting (Tilly, 2001a, p. 572).

The following topics have been identified a-priori in the literature on the German sector as well as from interviews with representatives of the associations and observa-

tions at events. Tilly (2008) emphasizes the tradition of using event catalogues in empirical studies of struggles. This concept also draws on the idea of political opportunities in social movement theory (Gamson & Meyer, 1996; Dough McAdam, 1996). The event describes a stage after the movement has seized its opportunity, when the opportunity has already become established as a presence in society. A collection of events then makes up an episode if demands occur over a more prolonged period. This then results in a gradual societal change, which for example manifests itself in legal change (e.g. the privatization of the welfare sector in Germany).

There has been considerable criticism of the welfare associations from a variety of sources, for example as welfare cartels (Backhaus-Maul & Olk, 1994), and for their still dominant position after the privatization of the sector (Otnad, Wahl, & Miegel, 2003). Suggestions for resolving this situation include welfare pluralism (Evers & Olk, 1996), a new subsidiarity (Heinze, 1986), or more market structures (Otnad et al., 2003). In a societal “event catalogue” (Tilly, 2002), the following episodes in modern German history have been selected for their relevance in the sector: the self-help movement, German reunification, the privatization of the sector, and social innovation. Some, such as German reunification, clearly have strong implications outside the sector due to the force of their impact. Others, such as the emergence of social entrepreneurs, may have much less relevance outside the sector.

These are not events in the sense of “historical happenings” (Sewell, 1996, p. 841), but episodes with effects lasting over several years, if not decades. While the fall of the Berlin wall or the act of German reunification are undoubtedly such events, their impact on society went far beyond the immediate happening. Arguably, they also go beyond a “sequence of occurrences” (Sewell, 1996, p. 878), if one does not want to dilute the phrase too much by referring to a timespan of several years in this fashion – which is what makes them into episodes.

The reason for selecting these specific episodes is that they have been identified in the literature on welfare associations and the German welfare systems to have had an impact on the sector and its organizations. This perception was backed up by this study through evidence of emergence in the sector, interviews with representatives of the welfare associations, and observations at their conferences. The analysis of the extent to which these episodes manifest themselves in Caritas and the Paritätischer will be conducted in chapter 6.

4 Free Social Welfare in Germany: History, Purpose, and Implicit and Explicit Value Systems

Chapter 4 examines three aspects of free social welfare in Germany. First, it briefly presents Germany's six central welfare associations and offers an overview of the focus and scope of their work. Next, the complex history and development of free social welfare is detailed with special attention drawn to the interplay of independent associations with state-run welfare provision. Finally, two contrasting types of organizations, those founded in civil society without religious affiliation and associations initiated within a religious context, are examined in light of their implicit and explicit value systems. One important aspect was the concept of free welfare, provided by associations free of state control. Ideals of the civic or Christian duty to assist the poor played an essential role throughout this development. Intrinsic to the rise of welfare provision was the growth of the bourgeoisie and its increasing engagement within communities. Women, too, organized themselves to help combat poverty.

The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize the selected case studies. It gives insights into the relevance of these organizations to the provision of social services in Germany, and that country's concept of welfare as a whole. It shows when they emerged, and how the institutional external environment they came up in shaped them initially. In addition to highlighting parallels to more contemporary situations, it also reveals how much of German history can be exemplified through these organizations and their position within society. This is not only relevant historically, but underlines the importance of understanding these welfare associations for policy makers and researchers concerned with welfare provision in general.

Perhaps most importantly, the final sections pick up and expand on the values that underpin welfare associations in general and in particular Caritas and the Paritätischer. As the focus of this study's detailed analysis, the two selected welfare associations are shown to have been respectively shaped by their value systems: Catholicism and pluralism.

4.1 Introducing the Welfare Associations

The way social welfare is organized varies widely from country to country. Among the European welfare states regimes, Germany is firmly placed in the corporatist Bismarckian welfare regime (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Klenk, Weyrauch, Haarmann, &

Nullmeier, 2012). Under Germany's first chancellor Otto von Bismarck (Imperial Chancellor from 1871 to 1890), the first social insurance policies were introduced (Ebbinghaus & Visser, 2000, p. 281). The aim was to calm down social unrest and put pressure on the business model of voluntary social insurances by unions and church-based worker associations, which represented political opposition to Bismarck. This further led to the introduction of public health insurance in 1883, accident insurance in 1884, and disability and retirement insurance in 1889 (later changed into pension insurance).

Prior to that development, two of the predecessors to today's welfare associations had already been established: the *Central-Ausschuss für die Innere Mission der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche* in 1848 (Central Committee for the Inner Mission of the German Protestant Church), forerunner of the Protestant Welfare Association, and the *Komitee der Fünf* (Committee of Five), which was the predecessor to the Red Cross.⁴ Beginning in the mid-19th century, a large network of foundations and organizations arose, out of which the welfare associations of today emerged. In the course of their development, these associations unified several of the early organizations under their respective roofs.

The term free welfare is programmatic and already offers some insight into the image those organizations had of themselves: products of civil society and free from state interference. In fact, a false rumor about plans to integrate the welfare associations into a state apparatus that circulated in the 1920s led to considerable uproar – especially from the *Paritätischer*, which championed the defense against the intended socialization and municipalization, preservation of freedom and independence of free welfare, influence on the drafted laws concerning patient care (Langstein, 1927, p. 219).

The six central welfare associations in existence today are umbrella organizations with thousands of member organizations. The majority of these numerous legal entities were founded in the form of an *eingetragener Verein* (registered association). Those members which have to generate capital usually choose the legal form of *GmbH* (limited liability company), or more recently *gGmbH* (non-profit limited liability company). Despite the professionalization of the whole sector, there is still a voluntary aspect to this type of work. Employees regularly profess a strong intrinsic motiva-

⁴ The German Red Cross sometimes dates itself back to the founding of the *Badischer Frauenverein* in 1859 or the battle of Solferino in 1859, which triggered the global Red Cross movement.

tion for choosing this line of work (Volkert, 1998, p. 141). Additionally, each welfare association has a high number of volunteers – with an estimated total of over 2.5 million across the central welfare associations (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege, 2018). These volunteers can to this day wield a significant degree of influence on the leadership level in the welfare organizations (G. Roth, 2013, p. 5).

The welfare associations presented here, while omnipresent in Germany, are not very well known outside the country. Especially in an international context, they are rarely the focus of academic analysis or even part of the conversation about civil society. While the German social sector is relatively well known, in both its historical and contemporary forms (see for example Anheier & Seibel (2001)), the special role of welfare associations is rarely highlighted. For the analysis of their contemporary position and self-image, it is important to understand their role in Germany's social welfare sector and their historical development. This chapter will provide an overview of who these associations are, what position they hold within the German social welfare sector, and trace how they arrived at their rather dominant position.

4.2 Six Central Welfare Associations

Today there are six *Spitzenverbände* (central welfare associations) at the center of social welfare provision in Germany: the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* (Workers' Welfare Association, AWO), the *Deutscher Caritasverband* (German Caritas Association, DCV), the *Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband* (German Equal Welfare Association, DPWV), the *Deutsches Rotes Kreuz* (German Red Cross, DRK), the *Diakonie Deutschland – Evangelischer Bundesverband* (Diakonie Germany – Protestant Federal Association, DDEB), and the *Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland* (Central Welfare Office of the Jews in Germany, ZWST). All of them were founded between 1848 and 1924. They organized under one umbrella organization in 1924, the *Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege* (Federal Working Group of Free Social Welfare, BAGFW). Other associations, such as the *Deutscher Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge* (German Association for Public and Private Welfare), provide them with an additional forum to organize and coordinate – not only among each other, but also with ministries, regions, universities, or businesses.

Taken together, these six associations employ roughly 1.5-2 million people with as many as 1.5-3 million additional volunteers (Fritsch et al., 2011). They generate an annual revenue of at least 38 billion euros (Falter, 2010), roughly equivalent to the sum brought in by the five highest revenue-generating US charities collectively, as listed by Forbes.⁵ The whole of the social sector, of which welfare associations make up a significant part, accounted for 4.1 % of Germany's gross value in 2007, the same as car production (Rosenski, 2012, p. 217).

Name	Value System/ Affiliation	Founded	Employees	Facilities
Workers' Welfare Association (AWO)¹	Social Democrats	1919	211,727	13,000+
German Caritas Association (DCV)²	Roman Catholic	1897	617,193	24,391
German Equal Welfare Association (DPWV)³	Pluralism	1924	545,000	42,915
German Red Cross (DRK)	Red Cross Movement	1863	158,458 ⁴	8,182 ⁵
Diakonie Germany – Protestant Federal Association (DDEB)⁶	Protestant	1848	464,828	30,093
Central Welfare Office of the Jews in Germany (ZWST)⁵	Jewish	1917	120	n/a

Table 5: Overview of the Six Central Welfare Associations

Sources: ¹Arbeiterwohlfahrt (2016), ²Deutscher Caritasverband (2016), ³Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband (2010b), ⁴Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (2015), ⁵Boeßenecker & Vilain (2013) ⁶Diakonie (2015)

⁵ Barrett 2014 – Forbes List of 50 Largest U.S. Charities, sorted by highest total revenue. (Lutheran Services in America, total revenue: 20.98 bn USD / 19.53 bn EUR; YMCA of the USA, total revenue: 6.612 bn USD / 6.156 EUR; Goodwill Industries International, total revenue: 5.178 bn USD / 4.821 EUR; Catholic Charities USA, total revenue: 4.337 bn USD / 4.037 EUR; Salvation Army, total revenue: 4.316 bn USD / 4.018 bn EUR; overall: 41.423 bn USD / 38.567 bn EUR, assuming an exchange rate of 1 USD = 0.93 EUR)

This organizational setting is (almost) unique to Germany, and hugely important for providing social welfare services. These welfare associations are among the “largest nonprofit organizations worldwide” (Anheier & Salamon, 2006, p. 90), and they vary considerably in terms of their social founding environment. They are all organized as associations, with most of their member organizations being either associations themselves, or (charitable) limited liability companies. Half of them are denominational (Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish), and one has historically close political ties to the social democratic party.

4.2.1 Workers’ Welfare Association (AWO)

The AWO was founded in 1919 out of the social democratic workers movement. Then and today, it stands for local as well as state-based approaches to address social problems. In 1933, the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democratic Party, SPD) and the AWO were banned by the national socialists and their assets were overtaken.⁶ The AWO was re-founded in 1946, but was not allowed in East Germany. Since German reunification in 1990, the AWO has been present in all of Germany. Its services encompass all aspects of social work, such as retirement homes, caring for handicapped people, child and youth care, hospitals, refugee care, and international relief and development efforts, among others (Boeßenecker & Vilain, 2013; Eifert, 1993; Niedrig, 2002; Schmid, 1996).

4.2.2 German Caritas Association (DCV or Caritas)

The DCV, which shall be referred to as Caritas throughout this study, was founded in Freiburg in 1897 and is the welfare association of the Catholic Church. There is strong cooperation between the two entities – which has historically been bumpy and viewed with skepticism by the Church. Caritas gets additional backing from the Church, upholds Catholic values and is subject to religious labor law (employees for example need to demonstrate a loyal commitment to the values of the organization and are not allowed to strike). It is the single biggest private employer in Germany, and many of its organizations and members are connected to regional parishes. In

⁶ This was not the first time the party was forbidden. The *Sozialistengesetz* (1878-1890) under Bismarck forbade socialist and social democratic organizations. This was before the founding of the AWO, but underlines the background the workers association had at the time of their founding.

contrast to secular welfare associations, Caritas is not divided internally by federal state, but by diocese. The organization is ecclesial basic enforcement of the Church (Manderscheid & Hake, 2006, p. 8). Caritas focuses much of its efforts on social work, hospitals, disabled people, retirement homes, kindergartens, addicts, or refugees. It is also responsible for the Church's international relief and development efforts, as well as spiritual guidance in its facilities (Boeßenecker & Vilain, 2013; Deutscher Caritasverband, 1992; Frie, 1997; Schmid, 1996).

4.2.3 German Equal Welfare Association (DPWV or the Paritätischer)

The DPWV is an umbrella organization of independent organizations of social work. It was founded in 1924 under the name *Vereinigung der freien privaten gemeinnützigen Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen Deutschlands* (Association of Free Private Charitable Welfare Institutions of Germany), which was just one year later, changed to *Fünfter Wohlfahrtsverband* (Fifth Welfare Association). It received its current name in 1932. The association saw itself as the outsider welfare association – and still does to a certain extent. It originated from a group of hospitals and then broadened to include many other forms of organizations under its roof. From the beginning, the DPWV, hereafter referred to as the Paritätischer, had a focus on openness and a special emphasis on the free aspect of social welfare in Germany – which for them meant independence from the state. Today this openness is still present in the way member organizations stay much more independent than in the other welfare associations. This is embodied in the name *Paritätisch* (equal), both for its members and for people in society at large, regardless of their denomination, political convictions, or approaches to social welfare (Boeßenecker & Vilain, 2013; Hollweg & Franke, 2000; Merchel, 1989; Schmid, 1996).

4.2.4 German Red Cross (DRK)

The International Red Cross grew out of the *Komitee der Fünf* founded by Swiss citizens in Geneva, 1863. This served as the impulse for national Red Cross organizations across the world. The *Württembergischer Sanitätsverein* (Medical Association of Württemberg), the first Red Cross organization in Germany, was founded that same year. Much of this initiative in Germany developed under the patronage of up-

per class and aristocratic women⁷ to give employment opportunities to women. Thanks to their efforts, especially the nurses in the Red Cross were able to advance from social voluntary engagement to full-time work (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1980, p. 235). Today, the DRK is both welfare association and national relief organization. It is dually responsible for social welfare in Germany with health care and its network of blood donation services, and part of the worldwide Red Cross efforts of disaster and refugee relief (Boeßenecker & Vilain, 2013; Riesenber, 2002; Schmid, 1996; Schomann, 2014; Wörner-Heil, 2010).

4.2.5 Diakonie Germany – Protestant Federal Association (DDEB)

The DDEB is the welfare association of the Protestant Churches in Germany. It was founded in 1848, then under the name *Innere Mission* (Inner Mission), which makes it the oldest of the welfare associations. At the time, the organization was focused on solving pressing social needs in a Christian fashion. Like Caritas and the DRK, the DDEB was not dissolved during the Third Reich. However, the widespread suffering after World War II led to the foundation of a second Protestant welfare association in 1945. The two united in 1975 into what is today the DDEB. The DDEB is involved in many areas of social welfare in Germany, amongst them youth and family support, hospitals, retirement homes, handicapped support, help for addicts, integration of immigrants, and education at Protestant universities and universities of applied sciences (Boeßenecker & Vilain, 2013; Deutsches Historisches Museum & Diakonisches Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland, 2007; Frerk, 2012; Schmid, 1996).

4.2.6 Central Welfare Office of the Jews in Germany (ZWST)

The ZWST was founded in 1917 as an umbrella organization for all Jewish welfare organizations. In 1934, it was first forcibly integrated into the *Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden* (Reich's Deputation of the German Jews) and then forcibly dissolved in 1939. It was re-founded in 1951 to help rebuild Jewish life in Germany. Today it represents most Jewish communities in Germany, supports the strengthening

⁷ This affiliation to nobility holds even today. Many of their directors come from the former upper aristocracy. (G. Roth, 2013, p. 5) Similarly, the charitable knightly orders / relief organizations Malteser and Johanniter also traditionally have aristocratic ties. (Demel & Schraut, 2014, p. 27)

of Jewish identities and helps with the integration of Jewish immigrants. Even though it is a member of the BAGFW, in terms of numbers the ZWST only plays a minor role when it comes to overall welfare in Germany (Boeßenecker & Vilain, 2013; Gruner, 2002; Schmid, 1996).

4.3 Spheres of Activity

Together, the welfare associations have a wide range of spheres within society where they operate and provide welfare in various ways:

	1970	1990	2000	2012
Number of people helped	2,151,569	2,624,923	3,270,536	3,702,245
Facilities and services	52,474	68,466	105,295	93,566
Employees	381,888	751,126	1,1164,329	1,673,861
Volunteers				About 2.5 m

Table 6: Development of the Activities of the Central Welfare Associations
Source: Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege (2014)

The BAGFW differentiates between eight spheres of activity for the central welfare associations. For 2012, we see the following distribution of activities:

Sphere of activity	Facilities	Beds/ accom.	Full time employees	Part time employees
Medical social work <i>(Gesundheitshilfe)</i>	7,481	192,005	232,870	159,318
Help for adolescents <i>(Jugendhilfe)</i>	38,367	2,076,693	151,641	211,309
Family assistance <i>(Familienhilfe)</i>	4,570	41,082	9,392	21,914

Elderly care (<i>Altenhilfe</i>)	18,051	520,727	132,902	321,075
Handicapped aid (<i>Behindertenhilfe</i>)	16,446	509,395	135,944	181,009
Help for exceptional situations (<i>Hilfe für besondere Situationen</i>)	8,830	53,650	18,464	20,534
Other help (<i>Weitere Hilfen</i>)	9,914	242,447	33,369	27,406
Education and training centers for social and nursing professions (<i>Aus- und Fortbildungsstätten für soziale und pflegerische Berufe</i>)	1,636	66,246	13,112	12,602
Self-help groups and groups of civic engagement (<i>Selbsthilfegruppen und Gruppen des bürgerlichen Engagements</i>)	35,469		7,460*	
Total	105,295	3,702,245	727,694	946,167

*Not separately identified as full- or part-time.

Table 7: Central Welfare Associations' Spheres of Activities (2012)

Source: Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege (2014, p. 14)

Medical social work is a traditional sphere of activity for the welfare associations. The market pressure from private providers has led to a decrease of facilities and accommodations compared to the situation in the year 2000, but the number of employees has increased despite this trend. This includes hospitals, information centers, and ambulant services such as rescue services. While most fulltime employees work in the area of medical social work, help for adolescents comes in second, and has overall the most facilities and accommodations by far.

Explanation is needed for "Help for exceptional situations" and "Other help". "Help for exceptional situations" includes care for refugees, addicts, homeless, or unemployed – anything that concerns people in a special problematic situation. "Other help" includes those services, which do not fit into the larger areas, for example housing for

employees, food services/soup kitchens (*Tafeln*), or social supermarkets. Help for refugees into Germany has largely increased over the last months of writing this thesis (late 2018), but this is not reflected here due to the slow nature of data publication in the welfare sector.

Over time, the peak in facilities was in 2000 with 105,295 altogether, based on the figures reported by the associations themselves.⁸ The number of employees and accommodations has steadily increased however. The only area that has strongly decreased in recent years is that of family assistance, which since 1970 has declined in terms of both facilities and accommodations, shrinking to the same level of employees as in 1970, after it peaked in 2000. Medical social work has decreased facilities and accommodations in recent years, but increased the number of employees.

What we see overall is that since the German reunification, the number of employees has increased for all five welfare associations – excluding ZWST for which such detailed numbers are not available. This is not only due to reunification and the start of activities in former East Germany, as the welfare associations have increased their employees across all federal states and not just in the new ones. So throughout Germany, there seems to be a growing need for social welfare, which the welfare associations are addressing by increasing their efforts.

As this overview demonstrates, these organizations have relatively clear affiliations to a value system, be they political (AWO), religious (DCV, DDEB, ZWST), or otherwise ideologically cultured (DPWV, DRK). All see themselves as advocates for the poor/disenfranchised, but have emerged focusing on different parts of society.

As Anheier and Seibel put it: “In essence, large parts of the German nonprofit sector have become economically important because they were socially and politically so – most clearly in the case of the Catholic and Protestant churches and their corresponding systems of welfare associations, and the Arbeiterwohlfahrt, with close links to the union movement and the Social Democratic Party (SPD).” (2001, p. 4). This underlines the importance religious and political value systems have played in the shaping of the German welfare sector.

⁸ A later analysis in chapter 6 will give more detailed numbers, based on an outside organization.

4.4 Other Value-Driven Providers of Welfare – the Muslim Organizations

Next to the welfare associations described above, there are a number of other welfare providers. Among them is an increasing group of Muslim organizations, which have not (yet) united into a single central welfare association. One reason seems to be that the special concept of welfare, and how it developed in Germany, can be difficult to reconcile with the Muslim tradition. The German corporate social welfare model stands against the more individual Muslim provision (Aksel, 2015). The question whether there should be a Muslim central association is a recurring one, and demand for specifically Muslim welfare provision is increasing. Especially with the influx of predominantly Muslim refugees and Muslims being a growing part of the population in Germany, this trend is likely to continue (Ceylan & Kiefer, 2016). Most of these Muslim associations have not become members of one of the existing welfare associations – and when they have, it was mostly with the Paritätischer.

The emerging area of specifically Muslim welfare provision is one that has only recently been studied (Aksel, 2015; Ceylan & Kiefer, 2016). It has also brought a new spark to the question of the importance of religion in welfare provision in Germany (Halm, 2016; Karic & Ehlke, 2015). In fact, the area of Muslim welfare has been slowly emerging since the 1960s. Or rather, since the 1960s Muslims have immigrated to Germany in larger numbers. The aspect of having organizations that specifically cater to their religious needs has become more and more relevant as these numbers grow. Today there are both for-profit and non-profit welfare organizations providing services specifically for Muslims. In a recent study mapping that part of the welfare sector, Halm & Sauer (2015) find that within their sample representing about 38% of Muslim religious communities alone, at least 150,000 people would receive some form of social service per week (on average 110 children and adolescent per parish, as well as 80 elderly).

4.5 Founding Environment for, and Development of the Welfare Associations

The origins of welfare provision in Germany can be found in the Middle Ages. Many concepts of the deserving poor and related issues arose in that period, and their influence can still be felt today. This section highlights the historical emergence of a state-based welfare system, which becomes complexly intertwined with the non-state

welfare associations as both arise at a similar time and thus shape each other. Special attention is given to the history of Caritas and the Paritätischer.

4.5.1 Historical Origins of Civically Organized Welfare in Germany

Thanks to the *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preußischen Staaten* (General State Law for the Prussian States), associations became legal in 1794 – at least within Prussian territory, and under the condition that they would further the general good (Anheier & Seibel, 2001, p. 34). At the time, this represented a step away from aristocratic privilege and towards equality and the emerging bourgeoisie. In other parts of Germany, associations were not welcomed in such a way.

The Napoleonic Civil Code, for example, which applied to the area of the *Rheinbund* (Confederated States of the Rhine), forbade any association of more than 20 members. In practice, however, mutual-aid societies were mostly tolerated by the governments as long as they stayed away from politics (Pilbeam, 2014, p. 55). There is even evidence to suggest that the article was considered “defunct” by certain groups after the 1830 revolution in France (Pilbeam, 2013, p. 35) – raising the question of how strong it was assessed in the Confederated States of the Rhine.

Out of the emerging bourgeoisie, the abolition of aristocracy, and the idealism of German philosophy, there developed Masonic lodges as the “first true ‘associations’ as opposed to ‘corporations’” (Anheier & Seibel, 2001, p. 36). Over time, associations developed more and more into a widely applied form of organizing social needs, be they political (*Burschenschaften*; fraternities), physical/patriotic/religious (*Turnvereine*; gymnastic associations), educational/cultural (*Museumsvereine*; museum associations), and, eventually, social (*Wohlfahrtsverbände*; welfare associations). The organizational form of *Verein* (association) was not accidental either, as it had developed as both a political statement and as an important “local cultural system” (Eidson, 1990) in many parts of Germany, where these associations became an integral part of civil society. Chapter 6 will take a closer look at the regional embeddedness of the welfare associations.

Poverty was widespread throughout the 19th century. Productivity declined towards the end of the 18th century, especially in the field of food production. This led to mass hunger and poverty, when the German economy was transformed from feudal division to an industrialized society. Pauperism was one of the reasons for the in-

creasing demand for welfare associations in Germany (Kaiser, 1998, p. 18). Due to the ravages of war and widespread hunger, general poverty increased significantly during the second half of the 19th century.

A new way of looking at social problems as societal rather than as God-given emerged in the 19th century, and with it the conviction that they could be addressed politically (Arnim, 1995). Science was supposed to provide the foundation for new approaches and show how to deal with such issues (Erdberg, 1903, 1911). The secularization of the state further wrested caring for the poor away from religious organizations and connected it more closely to policy decisions made by the state. Cities lost their individual power to make their own policies, ceding more and more decision-making power to an increasingly centralized state.

The mid-19th century then saw a strong emergence of associations of citizens appalled by poverty or concerned with threats to the fatherland and the civil, national order. Other associations focused on hygiene and public health, especially due to outbreaks of cholera, smallpox, and typhoid. The international Red Cross movement, for example, sparked the establishment of many associations in Germany. However, the most prominent association at mid-century was the *Preußischer Vaterländische Frauenverein* (Prussian Patriotic Women's Association), which also focused on fighting poverty and sickness. Other associations organized within the *Deutscher Frauenbund* (German Women's Federation) developed in a similar fashion and direction. The role of women in welfare provision is intriguing as members of both the bourgeoisie and aristocracy cooperated to provide aid. One example is the *Badischer Frauenverein* (Baden Women's Association), which later became a member of the Red Cross. Founded in 1859 on the initiative of the Great Duchess Luise von Baden, it grew into a strong regional provider of welfare. In 1908, every sixth adult woman in Baden was a member of the association or one of its sub-organizations (Demel & Schraut, 2014, p. 107).

Changing attitudes toward work and poverty play an essential role in the development of welfare provision. In the emerging industrial revolution, poverty was equated with non-work. To combat poverty, the duty to work was introduced, not only through workhouses, but also at home, the assumption being that there should be enough work to keep everyone busy and productive. Honorary work / volunteering was estab-

lished. Work was given to those not able to find it on their own. Work was held to be a cure-all, and it was up to the poor to improve their situation through it.

The *Elberfelder System* emerged in 1850 and incorporated the idea of helping people to help themselves. It was introduced in 1853 in the city of Elberfeld and subsequently adopted in cities all over Germany (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1980, pp. 214–222). It became a model for how to deal with the poor in the first half of the 19th century. *Ehrenamt* (volunteering) in public welfare provision was one of the main reforms in the *Elberfelder System*, as well as having enough poverty workers to focus on just a few families and know their needs, maintaining regional offices in different parts of a city, and providing payments as short as possible (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1980, pp. 215–216).

The work within the *Elberfelder System* was carried out exclusively by volunteers and unpaid labor. At its heart was the concept of bourgeois engagement in the community. The system spread within a few decades to 170 German cities, as well as many large cities outside of Germany, and influenced welfare systems as far away as the USA⁹ or Japan. The system offered a way to integrate help outside of the state system on the community level (Deimling, 2002). However, at the end of the 19th century the increased need for welfare was too much for the system and many, especially larger, cities returned to a more centralized approach with trained welfare workers, the so-called *Straßburger System* (Krabbe, 1989, p. 101).

The involvement of voluntary workers increased the input of people from the petite bourgeoisie (lower middle social class), whereas philanthropic engagement had previously been the domain of the grande bourgeoisie (upper social class). This did not develop purely out of noble intentions, as citizens in many cities received the duty to accept unpaid positions in municipal administrations. Still, mass poverty was a real and widely shared concern, and fighting it protected the security of the cities.

The increasing drive for a larger sector of the population to organize themselves in associations that addressed social concerns marked a move away from aristocratic privileges towards a more powerful bourgeoisie, especially the so-called *Bildungsbürgertum* (upper educated bourgeoisie). The social democratic movement in Germany mainly grew out of the liberal bourgeoisie and the churches (Anheier & Seibel,

⁹ Associated charities in the United States originated from the Elberfelder System, but adjusted to local conditions. (National Conference on Social Welfare, 1880, pp. 125–126)

2001, p. 46). Despite centralization and a stronger engagement of the state in welfare provision, there was still a continuously existing sense of the people that giving to the poor was the duty of a Christian (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1980, p. 109). Thus private charitable giving remained prevalent and cooperative-civil self-help systems emerged. By the time the first welfare association was founded in 1848, associations had become “the organizational backbone of the bourgeoisie as a self-conscious societal actor” (Anheier & Seibel, 2001, p. 42).

In the late 19th century, the requirements for welfare evolved as Germany experienced a substantial change – politically, socially, and economically. The growth of cities to unprecedented sizes was accompanied by a stronger segregation between the classes, and the necessity of providing more assistance to the needy. The expansion (with adjustments) of the *Elberfelder System* from the Rhineland to other parts of Germany helped, as did concentrating more power in the hands of the central government. Local associations further contributed to tackling social problems, especially in larger cities, and started to merge. The *Deutscher Verein für Armenpflege und Wohltätigkeit* (German Association for Care of the Poor and Charity), founded in 1880, was a platform for cooperation between city-based welfare providers. It remained a forum for discussion up until World War I. A critical change was the move away from mainly volunteer-based welfare provision to professional caretakers. Especially women profited from this, as a large field for employment opportunities opened up for them (Sachße, 2004).

World War I ushered in a new way of dealing with the poor. Before, social welfare had been seen in the context of being an addition to worker insurance. This changed with the war, as it brought with it a new type of poverty. War welfare became an integral part of social welfare. War poverty and inflation drove a high demand for welfare provision and at the same time destroyed the financial basis of many welfare organizations. An important factor for state involvement was the heavy inflation between 1914 and 1923, which destroyed the endowments of many German capital asset foundations¹⁰ making it all but impossible for them to continue their work (Kilian, 2008, p. 658; Liermann, 2002, p. 283). More social-groups became dependent on help. During the war, unemployment increased, putting additional pressure on families. Later, there was a rising demand for welfare from families whose male members had died. Organizations were founded to provide war welfare. The aftermath of the

¹⁰ As opposed to the institute foundations, which were not as vulnerable to inflation.

war in the area of welfare provision meant a strong increase of power for the central government. Welfare provision became a task of the state, the welfare state.

Centralization began with the federal states, which supplied the legislative frameworks for welfare provision. On the national level, specific areas of welfare were defined, such as war survivor help, social retirement help, and child help. With the new constitution of 1919 (*Die Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs*) came a strengthening of groups that had previously been less powerful, namely social democrats, Catholics, and women (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1988, p. 82). Catholics profited from Protestantism being seen as the religion of the upper classes who had lost the war (Stephan & Leube, 1931), which by extension helped Catholic organizations like Caritas.

4.5.2 Emergence of the Welfare Associations Caritas and the Paritätischer in their Historical Context

As shown above, German welfare associations emerged at times of stark changes in German society. Between the founding of the *Innere Mission* (1848) and the founding of the Paritätischer (1924), a great deal had shifted within German society. This not only holds true for the transition from the German Empire (1871-1918) to the Weimar Republic (1918-1933), but also includes the German revolution of 1848–49 and World War I (1914-1918) – and the broad range of changes associated with episodes of such magnitude.

In 1897 Caritas was founded, while the Paritätischer was established in 1924, the same as the association of the welfare associations in the *Deutsche Liga der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege* (German League of Free Welfare).¹¹ A closer look at Caritas and the Paritätischer is warranted, as they constitute the cases selected for detailed analysis in the following chapters of this study.

¹¹ Without the Workers' Welfare Association which would later join in the successor organization in the Federal Republic of Germany. Another *Spitzenverband* which did not survive until today was the *Zentralwohlfahrtsausschuß der Christlichen Arbeiterschaft* (Central Welfare Association of Christian Workers). Founded in 1921/1922, it was an association for the Christian worker unions – both Protestants and Catholics. In order not forcefully join the NSV, the organization dissolved itself and its members joined the Diakonie or Caritas, depending on their denomination.

4.5.2.1 Caritas

While religiously driven welfare provision had been initiated by the Protestant *Innere Mission* in 1848, a tendency to associate grasped the Catholic milieu towards the end of the 19th century. A large number of regional and national Catholic associations were founded or amended, with 24,000 people active in the area of healthcare alone (Guttstadt, 1900). Catholics accounted for about 1/3 of the total German population in the second half of the 19th century (Heilbronner, 1995, p. 320). The Catholic milieu, a term used since the 1960s to refer to a kind of Catholic subculture that affected society in many ways, encompassed both the edified bourgeoisie and economically lower classes. Milieu is understood here to include value systems, beliefs, behavioral norms, mentality, and way of life – shared by a group living in a certain geographical region (Heilbronner, 1995, p. 327).

In 1897 the Catholic welfare association was established under the name *Charitasverband für das katholische Deutschland* (Charitas Association for Catholic Germany). Its purpose was to allow different Catholic initiatives to work more closely together and to integrate public organizations. Lorenz Werthmann, a theologian and priest, founded it in Freiburg to raise the profile of Catholic welfare work.

At that time, religious organizations still dominated the field of healthcare provision. In Prussia in 1885, for example, 22.59% of nurses were part of the Protestant welfare association, 49.51% Catholic, 3.19% from the Red Cross, and 24.71% not affiliated with any association (Wernich, 1891, p. 477). The high proportion of Catholics is striking, as there were far fewer Catholics in Prussia than Protestants. The expansion of private religious welfare was looked upon favorably at the time, as their help was needed to provide for the needy on a scale that the state alone could not possibly handle (Grotjahn, 1908).

One reason for the foundation of what was to be renamed Caritas was the idea to become more involved with social issues, especially those concerning the emerging working class. The social encyclica *Rerum Novarum* (Pope Leo XIII, 1891) emphasized the importance of this development. Factors motivating the decision to bring Catholic social energy together under one unifying roof included ideas about professionalization, knowledge exchange, and marketing. It was also a reaction to the founding of the Protestant welfare association several decades earlier. Unlike the

Innere Mission, however, Caritas was closely connected to the *Amtskirche* (Ministerial church).

Bucher explains how the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent, and especially in the long time period from 1848–1958, moved towards the conviction that the institution is at the center of salvation (2006, pp. 14–15). It should be noted that Caritas is not identical with the Church, neither structurally nor in the eyes of the people. Nevertheless, the organization's name proclaims its dedication to the whole concept of Christian charity, and its goal of taking care of the helpless and spreading the faith.

The reestablishment of religion in the welfare system was intended to counter the moral decay of society, which was seen as the result of secularity and the communist worker movement. The two churches were of the same mind in this regard. Especially in Prussia, however, the Protestant church was in a much stronger position to defend its views, because most of the influential decision makers and state officials were Protestant. The Prussian state and later Imperial Chancellor Bismarck, on the other hand, had suppressed the Catholic Church during the *Kulturkampf* (Cultural Battle) of 1871–1887.

Catholic society had to prove itself in Prussia and made great efforts to this effect. Unable to function top down, as the Prussian state was Protestant, social Catholicism organized itself bottom up, growing through local associations and mobilizing the Catholic part of the population. The *Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland* (People's Association for Catholic Germany) had 805,000 individual members as well as 15,000 member organizations at its height before World War I, the world's largest association at the time (Klein, 1998; Sachße, 2004, p. 154). The organization had a strong mobilization potential during the Weimar Republic, especially of women, who were granted the right to vote for the first time.¹²

Following the Cultural Battle in Prussia, most of the activities of the numerous newly founded welfare associations, many of which were Catholic, centered on healthcare provision. This was helped along by the introduction of public health insurance in 1883 (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1980, p. 227). When Caritas was founded, there was already support from Pope Leo XIII for this kind of organization. Until the outbreak of

¹² Nevertheless, the organization's size was significantly reduced as inner-Catholic debates about over-organization in the welfare landscape in the 1920s took their toll. In 1933 it was closed in a police action by the Nazi regime. This was not because the organization fought against the regime. Even though initially opposed, they tried to co-exist with the regime at first. The Nazis, however, wanted to put a damper on the strong German Catholic organizational structure and suppressed it anyway.

World War I, Catholic social work expanded, professional associations were founded, and the central Caritas associations grew into the Catholic Church's welfare associations in Germany.

Social Catholicism saw society as an organism built out of the cells of families. Social change and integration of the lower social classes should therefore come through the families. In their involvement with social change they were threatened by the Social Democrats (Greschat, 1980, p. 198). The emergence of secular movements from the middle classes during the 19th century brought with it social criticism directed against capitalism and large cities, and championed a more individual lifestyle, engendering such trends as vegetarianism and naturopathy – the so-called *Lebensreform* (Life Reform) (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1988, p. 17).

In the beginning, there was resistance to unifying Catholic associations under one roof, and only few regional chapters were founded in the first 7 years of its existence. A sharp internal fault line persisted between theologians and practitioners fearing a move toward more clerical influence. It was World War I, rampant inflation, widespread hunger, and general need at the beginning of the 20th century in Germany that helped shape Caritas into one of the central welfare associations.

The motivation to unify under one roof was further advanced by the *Reichsjugendwohlfahrtsgesetz* in 1922 (Federal Youth Welfare Law), which was the first attempt to homogenize and regulate youth welfare in Germany, and the *Reichsfürsorgepflichtverordnung* in 1924 (Federal Public Assistance Order). Article 9 of the Weimar Constitution of 1919 had entrusted the responsibility for welfare to the state. The laws on youth welfare and public assistance were amended again in 1924 with the *Reichsgrundsätze über die Voraussetzungen, Art und Maß der öffentlichen Fürsorge* (Federal Principles on Conditions, Type and Level of Public Welfare) – which was, however, not judicially enforceable. Caritas profited from state attention to the issue as well as close ties to the *Reichsarbeitsministerium* (Federal Ministry of Labor). While in 1918 the association had not received any state support, this quickly grew to 45% (1925) and 64% (1932) of their income (Frie, 1997).

Despite these advances the problematic relationship between the Church and Caritas was far from resolved¹³, financing was not secure, and regional growth was slow (Eder, 2010, p. 133). Werthmann needed to bring the organization closer to the Church, which could offer both financial support and access to all dioceses. However, the Church was still quite skeptical of the lay organization. The Bishop Conference accepted Caritas as a legitimate association for Catholic Germany in 1916, but only at the cost of the autonomy of Werthmann as its leader.¹⁴ The trade-off allowed the bishops to gain more influence over the organization and Caritas to acquire more resources and access.¹⁵

The principles of subsidiarity and federalism were central to the debates on restructuring. According to Thomas Nörber, Archbishop of Freiburg: The main work must always be carried out in the periphery, i.e. by the individual associations, which therefore should not be disturbed in their idiosyncrasy. On the other hand, the task of the Central Union is to ensure that everything is done in order and in the right spirit, that no needs are overlooked, and that no work is done twice (Eder, 2010, p. 134).

The *Reichsfürsorgepflichtverordnung* (Federal Public Assistance Order) in 1924 increased the recognition of free welfare and the idea of subsidiarity in accordance with Catholic social teachings (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1988, p. 152). The encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pope Pius XI puts it as follows:

“79. As history abundantly proves, it is true that on account of changed conditions many things which were done by small associations in former times cannot be done now save by large associations. Still, that most weighty principle, which cannot be set aside or changed, remains fixed and unshaken in social philosophy: Just as it is gravely wrong to take from individuals what they can accomplish by their own initiative and industry and give it to the community, so also it is an injustice and at the same time a grave evil and disturbance of right order to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do. For every social activity ought of its very nature to furnish

¹³ It had been rocky from the beginning, when Joseph Schmitz, auxiliary bishop of Cologne – where the Caritas was to be founded at the church congress – declined the honorary chairmanship and called the Caritas unfeasible. (Eder, 2010, p. 131)

¹⁴ This included such aspects as budget control or the approval of salaries.

¹⁵ Caritas in Bavaria resisted centralization until 1921, when they finally joined the central association and Caritas was re-named Deutscher Caritasverband.

help to the members of the body social, and never destroy and absorb them.” –
(Pope Pius XI, 1931)

The new focus on free welfare away from the pure hierarchical assignment of tasks now also included the protection of smaller organizations. This was driven by Catholic social teachings and the need to restructure to address the new challenges of post-War times.

4.5.2.2 The Paritätischer

The increase in welfare provision after World War I also led to a scattered organizational landscape. Many providers sprung up all over Germany, but there was little coordination. Wilhelm Polligkeit, later one of the (controversial)¹⁶ re-founders of the *Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband* after World War II, was one of the first to spur the re-organization of welfare provision in Germany, specifically within the *Deutscher Verein* (German Association) (1919/20). The German Association became much more involved in shaping social provision laws and was renamed *Deutscher Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge* (German Association for Public and Private Welfare), now under the chairmanship of Polligkeit (Krug von Nidda, 1961). The emergence of the Paritätischer, which originated at least partly out of a secular Jewish environment, also fits to an enlightenment movement within the Jewish community at the time (Haskala) (Gotzmann, 1997).

In contrast to the establishment of Caritas, the founding of the Paritätischer was not religiously driven. External institutional demands for gathering finances and getting together to gain a stronger position were of greater relevance (Merchel, 1989, p. 148). It was important to become politically active to rebuff ideas about a less free form of social welfare provision and to maintain the current structure (Langstein, 1927, p. 1).

The lack of a codified ideology other than the straightforward desire to maintain the free nature of the welfare system helped associations bind together more quickly (Merchel, 1989, p. 149), and to bring together a more diverse group of member or-

¹⁶ Even though not a member of NSDAP, he wrote favorably about compulsory sterilization, which formed part of Nazi eugenics, described vagrants as parasites on the people's body, and called for a cleansing of the streets of old and frail vagabonds. (Klee, 2015, p. 468) The *Wilhelm-Polligkeit-Institut* in Frankfurt, founded in 1960, was renamed to "*Haus der Parität*" after the dissertation by Anne-Dore Stein (2009) had sparked a discussion about Polligkeit's role in Nazi Germany.

ganizations. Rather than being united in a single cause, the association was supposed to be a disposition community (Langstein & Holbeck, 1927, p. 8). This, however, was a double-edged sword for the organization, which wanted to grow, but had difficulties to explain to the public what the association actually stood for (Langstein, 1927, p. 12).

The Weimar Republic was overall a time of re-organization. For the welfare sector, this meant that associations adopted lobbyism, became centralized, and formed syndicates. Many associations vanished during this time. Sachße and Tennstedt call the years up to the world economic crisis at the end of the 1920s the founding years of a welfare industrial complex (1988, p. 166). Of several individual *Deutscher Verein* (German Association) in these years, only the one under the leadership of Polligkeit survived (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1988, p. 160). This also proved to be the breeding ground for the founding of the youngest of the six central welfare associations, which today is called *Der Deutsche Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband – Gesamtverband*.

The Paritätischer started out in 1919 as an association of hospitals and other healthcare facilities in Frankfurt under the name *Verband der Frankfurter Krankenanstalten* (Association of Frankfurt Hospitals). In 1920 its headquarter was moved to Berlin, now as the *Vereinigung der freien privaten gemeinnützigen Kranken- und Pflegeanstalten Deutschlands* (Association of Free Private Non-Profit Hospitals and Nursing Homes in Germany) (Holbeck, 1925, p. 12). In 1924, the *Vereinigung der freien privaten gemeinnützigen Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen Deutschlands* (Association of Free Private Charitable Welfare Institutions of Germany) was founded, incorporating the former medical association as a member. A year later, the name was changed again in an effort to shorten it, this time to *Fünfter Wohlfahrtsverband* (Fifth Welfare Association) – after the organization ranking fifth among the central welfare associations in the *Liga* (Langstein, 1927, p. 221). This was also a pointed way of demonstrating their otherness, as they saw themselves as a collecting basin for organizations, which did not quite fit in with any of the other welfare associations, or did not want to. Since 1932, the organization has been called *Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband*. Merchel also sees in this name change the attempt to provide a more unifying frame to the association, to offer a better self-definition of what the organization stands for, and to strengthen its identity (1989, p. 161).

In its founding charter, the association in all but the actual word puts plurality and independence from the state as its foundational principles:

Its purpose is to connect facilities and institutions of free welfare work and at the same time to promote their common interests in social and economic terms. It only pursues welfare purposes under exclusion of religious and political questions. [...] Every charity which is not run by the empire, the state, or the municipality, and has no commercial ambitions can become a member of the association, if it has its headquarter in Germany and by its nature should not be a member of one of the other central welfare associations. – The Paritätischer (Fünfter Wohlfahrtsverband, 1925, p. 1)

The association clearly positioned itself as unaffiliated with any ideology, other than the broader commitment to being free of intervention and accepting members of all creeds. This is emphasized in a position paper in 1926:

The facilities and institutions developed from this ground unite in the fifth welfare association while keeping their individuality to work together in the service of charity. – The Paritätischer (Fünfter Wohlfahrtsverband, 1926, p. 1)

4.5.3 Consolidating the German Welfare System

The end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century saw a surge in entrepreneurship and the welfare associations put it to their advantage. The *Wirtschaftsbund gemeinnütziger Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen Deutschlands* (Economic Association of Charitable Welfare Organizations in Germany) – founded in 1921 – was a buying syndicate to reduce costs for medical equipment. In 1923, a welfare bank (*Hilfskasse gemeinnütziger Wohlfahrtseinrichtungen Deutschlands*, Emergency Fund of Charitable Welfare Institutions in Germany) was founded by the welfare associations to administer public funds provided to those welfare associations (Deutsches Historisches Museum & Diakonisches Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland, 2007, p. 201). However, the funds were not exclusively used for welfare provision, but also to make investments – in some cases with quite risky prospects (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1988, p. 165). Ruin could only be averted by redirecting money from publicly funded projects to the bank. Public spending increased fivefold between 1913 and 1929 (Abelshausen, 1987, p. 18).

In 1924, the *Deutsche Liga der freien Wohlfahrtspflege* (German League of Free Welfare) was founded as a forum for the central welfare associations. Its contemporary successor is the Federal Working Group of Free Social Welfare. The two large denominational organizations, the Catholic Caritas and the Protestant *Innere Mission* were the biggest contributors to the league. Some viewed this enlargement as problematic. Early on, the “welfare industrial complex” was criticized as moving too far away from the people it was supposed to help. When the subsidiarity principle was put into law, together with protection guarantees, this signified a further strengthening of the welfare industry in favor of communal welfare provision.

In sum, the growth of the sector, the increasing interweaving of free welfare and public structures, and the subsidiarity principle during the Weimar Republic are what made the German welfare sector what it is today. This was based on the professionalization of the whole sector at the end of the 19th century away from a voluntary system to provide help for the deserving poor. World War I was fundamental to this change, as it spread the demand for welfare more equally around.¹⁷

4.5.4 Changes in Welfare Provision During Nazi-Germany (1933-1945)

The two associations under consideration experienced the time of the Third Reich differently. The Paritätischer became part of the *Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt* (National Socialist People’s Welfare, NSV), willfully and with flying colors as one of the current employees of the Paritätischer puts it – thus ceasing to exist as a separate organization. This willingness stands in strong contrast to the organization’s previous commitment to plurality and free structure. Before dissolving itself on 26 June 1934, the Paritätischer had already become affiliated with the NSV (July 1933). The protocol of the membership meeting during which the Paritätischer dissolved itself is full of references to “the Führer” and “us National Socialists”. The session opened with “*Heil Hitler*” and closed by singing the propagandistic Horst Wessel song (Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband, 1934).

The literature shows disagreement in its assessment of the actual proceedings and the degree to which change had been voluntary. Many of the official documents of the organization were burned, making it difficult to reconstruct what actually happened outside the final meeting. However, most writers entering the debate point to

¹⁷ For a more extensive discussion of war as a way to level the playing field, see Scheidel (2017).

the apparently cooperative nature of the Paritätischer joining the NSV (Schoen, 1986, p. 200; Tennstedt, 1981, p. 95). Despite the dissolution, the connection with previous colleagues endured, according to its former chief executive (Stauss, 1963, p. 66), which arguably helped make possible the re-founding in the Federal Republic of Germany. After the fall of the Third Reich, the Paritätischer positioned itself as among the most severely damaged victims of the time of National Socialism (NS), comparing itself to the AWO and the ZWST (Merchel, 1989, p. 166).

In contrast, Caritas was seen as opposed to Third Reich policy and a potential disruptive factor, as Kaiser puts it (1991, p. 99). Still, Caritas tried to find a way to work within the system (Frie, 1997). State payments dried up and regulations increased, pushing members towards the Church, from where money and solidarity could still be gotten. Caritas became the center for charitable Catholicism, thus it was much closer to the Church after the Third Reich than before, more focused on parishes and the church, more organized, more hierarchical (Frie, 1997). Despite not being banned like the AWO and having co-existed as part of the Third Reich system, the anti-church policies of the Nazi regime instilled the organization with the sense of having been an enemy of the system and embodiment of a victorious ideological alternative (Frie, 1997).

4.5.5 Re-Founding of Free Welfare and Stabilization (since 1949)

Today's predominance of the welfare associations is also a result of their strong involvement during the rebuilding phase of Germany after World War II (Frie, 1997). After the fall of the Third Reich, Caritas played a strong role in reintroducing morality through Christianity to Germany¹⁸ and in providing for people and rebuilding.¹⁹ In the eyes of the association, those endeavors became one. The re-found freedom once again stirred up the call for less authority within the association. When the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Federal Republic of Germany, BRD) was founded in 1949, the Paritätischer had been re-founded just one year earlier.²⁰

¹⁸ One can of course argue about the inherent morality in Christianity being reintroduced by a former part of the Third Reich. Other analyses suggest that religious organizations played a huge role in rebuilding after World War II all over the world, putting the amount of post-war relief as high as 90%. (Nichols, 1988, p. 68)

¹⁹ Especially food provision was essential in the immediate aftermath of WWII. (Hostombe, 1992, p. 98)

²⁰ Two years prior, in 1946, the Workers' Welfare Association had been the first of the three banned welfare associations to be re-founded. The ZWST followed in 1951.

What followed is often called the golden age of the welfare state from the 1950s until 1970 (Kuhlmann, Schubert, & de Villota, 2016)²¹, with their dominance being first called into question by four powerful developments: the new social movements and self-help movement in the 1970s and 1980s, the introduction of social insurance and reduction in the preferential treatment of welfare organizations in the 1990s, German reunification, and the current demands for social innovation. Starting from 1949, the following chapters of this study aim at comparing the further development of Caritas and the Paritätischer, particularly in terms of how they dealt with the four distinct major episodes within their sector outlined above, and what role their pre-1949-imprinted value systems have played.

4.6 Value Systems in the German Welfare System

After detailing the historical context in which Caritas and the Paritätischer evolved, the two organizations are examined here in terms of their implicit and explicit value systems. The Catholic religion's impact on German ideas of welfare originates in the Middle Ages. In the writings of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), an immensely influential Catholic theologian and *doctor ecclesiae*²² (doctor of the church), poor defines a person who does not own property and who is unable to support himself through labor. This is the idea on which the late medieval notion of the poor was founded. In practice, however, there were no clear standards or guidelines to measure someone's level of poverty and indigence. Support was mostly given in the form of alms. The Church had a near-monopoly on receiving donations for the poor and then distributing them, not only with the goal of reducing poverty, but also with the sub-goal of elevating the soul of the donor (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1980, p. 29).

Admittedly, the influence of religious organizations on welfare provision has decreased since the end of the Middle Ages. With the strengthening of cities in the 15th and 16th century, welfare provision slowly shifted from churches to regional civil institutions. This is the origin of the concept of welfare provision born out of a civil impulse in Germany (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1980, p. 23). Foundations became a way for citizens to establish welfare provision in their own name outside of the churches. Civil

²¹ The idea of epochal thinking is, however, not without controversy, with Wincott (2013) being one of the more recent authors calling it into question.

²² A title bestowed upon by the Pope of a Council for authorities who have significantly contributed to Catholic theology and teaching – particularly Thomas Aquinas who carries the more specific title of *doctor angelicus*. (Campenhouse, Dinkler, Gloege, & Logstrup, 1958)

institutions were established to distribute money based on neediness, according to social logics. A social bureaucracy emerged.

Social welfare began focusing on the *Bedürftige* (deserving poor), and yet mainly provided by the two churches, Catholic and Protestant, and their respective welfare associations. However, the idea of citizen-run organizations contributing to public welfare grew and spawned many associations. To think of this in modern terms, one could almost draw a comparison to the rush of start-ups we see in certain areas today. In fact, Münsterberg's description of the cycle of founding these associations could have been written about some (social-) start-up (Münsterberg, 1897).

The academization of normative aims was a movement initiated in the bourgeois center of society to advance their norms. A number of welfare associations at the time were founded with this aim in mind. This constituted a shift away from the religiously motivated actors towards politically minded organizations. There was, however, no clear rift between those two sides, as organizations such as the *Evangelisch-Socialer Kongress* (Protestant Social Congress) and the Catholic *Verband für sociale Kultur- und Wohlfahrtspflege* (Association for Social Culture and Welfare) illustrate, which were part of the scientifically oriented social reform movement despite their religious affiliations (Sachße & Tennstedt, 1988). From the beginning, Caritas also had a strong focus on providing services rooted in scientifically proven ways, as the title of their magazine demonstrates: *Zeitschrift für Caritasarbeit und Caritaswissenschaft* (Journal of Caritas Work and Caritas Science).

Cities tried to reconcile private and public welfare and rationalize their actions. Public welfare provision was given the task of steady and reliable welfare provision, whereas private organizations were tasked with trying more experimental ways of providing welfare.²³ Voluntary organizations were to supplement the services provided by public organizations (Kramer, 1981, p. 39).

As Möhle (2001) demonstrates, there is a wide range of values and normative principles at work within the German welfare system, which constitute the normative background the welfare sector has and what is being seen as just and appropriate in providing welfare. Discussions around reform of and crises in the welfare system,

²³ In a sense one could argue that this partly reflects the current debate between social entrepreneurs and established welfare associations. The argument of being more suited for experimental areas the welfare associations are not covering has, for example, been made by the representative of a social start-up at a panel at the *Sozialkongress* 2016.

which have been apparent at least since the 1970s until today, have been linked to a crisis in those principles (Lampert, 2000, 2003; Sachße, 1990). Karic and Ehlke (2015) address the issue of religion being tied to those values. This thesis notices this research, demonstrating that even pluralistic organizations such as the Paritätischer have a constant, underlying level of religiousness in their language, due to the strong connection religion has to the way welfare provision developed, and is still being thought of and organized in Germany today. The present analysis will also answer the call by Möhle (2001), as it contributes a case study that empirically tests the prevalence of self-proclaimed and imprinted value systems of welfare associations.

4.6.1 Catholic Social Teachings and Their Impact on the Welfare Sector

The concept of *caritas* is a manifestation of the Christian social ethic, practiced in the work of Caritas. This ethic is built on the four principles of the universal dignity of man, freedom and liberation, greater justice, and the primacy of the poor and vulnerable (Gabriel, 2007, pp. 42–44). Caritas is ecclesial basic enforcement of the Church (Manderscheid & Hake, 2006, p. 8). Liturgy and the practice of *caritas* are one, following the example of Jesus (O. Fuchs, 1990).

Catholic social teachings are central to many aspects of what the Church and affiliated organizations do. These are understood as the entire body of socio-ethical Christian knowledge in relation to civil problems. Both Caritas and Catholic social teachings emerged in the 19th century, but the social teachings are in fact a product of Caritas itself (Hilpert, 1997, p. 35). This was officially recognized in the social encyclical *Rerum Novarum* by Pope Leo XIII (1891), even though the ideas date back further. The later encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (Pope Pius XI, 1931) built on *Rerum Novarum* and introduced the principle of subsidiarity, which is still a vital component of the German welfare system. Together with the following encyclicals *Mater et Magistra* (Pope John XXIII, 1961), *Pacem in Terris* (Pope John XXIII, 1963), *Populorum Progressio* (Pope Paul VI, 1967), *Laborem Exercens* (Pope John Paul II, 1981), *Centesimus Annus* (Pope John Paul II, 1991), *Deus Caritas Est* (Pope Benedict XVI, 2005), and *Laudato Si'* (Pope Francis, 2015), they constitute the core of Catholic so-

cial teachings (Corman & Rudolph, 1968, pp. 18–58; Pfürtner & Heierle, 1980, pp. 1–45; Weber, 1979, pp. 240–245)²⁴.

Catholic social teachings can be subsumed under the overarching principle of *Agape* (Christian love), beneath which are found the three social principles of the common good, solidarity, and subsidiarity. The Second Vatican Council (1965) defined the common good as “the sum total of social conditions which allow people, either as groups or as individuals, to reach their fulfillment more fully and more easily” (Part Three, Section One, Chapter Two, Article 2, II, 1906). It consists of respect for the individual person, well-being of the group, and peace.

The solidarity principle was developed by Heinrich Pesch (1905), originally under the name solidarism. It postulates a mutual commitment to mutual respect among people, an interdependence of people, and a fair political and socioeconomic framework for all people to thrive in. The intention was to balance the needs of the individual with the needs of society and forge a mutual commitment between the individual and its society (Baumgartner, 2000, p. 708). Pesch, a Jesuit, put the concept of martial welfare at the center of his concept of solidarity (Ebner, 2006).

The subsidiarity principle is probably the most relevant and best known in the context of social welfare provision, which is why it will be treated here in greater detail: “The principle of subsidiarity forms the economic and political bedrock of Germany’s non-profit sector [...]” (Anheier & Seibel, 2001, p. 4). It says that actions should be taken at the most local level possible. The principle is not only essential to understanding the organizational structures of the welfare associations – which are organized more or less loosely with strong individual members – it is also seen as an ethical principle (Dölken, 2013). For the German welfare sector the principle is of high importance and has shaped the self-image of the welfare associations and the sector through Catholic social teachings (Schmid, 1996).

The principle was developed for the Catholic context²⁵ by the two Jesuits Oswald von Nell-Breuning, who called it the basic principle of helpful assistance (1976, p.7), and Gustav Grundlach for the social encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. Pope Benedict XVI referred to it as well in *Deus Caritas Est*. This principle has been an important cor-

²⁴ This does not mean however that these social teachings only underpin the way Caritas provides welfare. Their impact can be felt, for example, in the Church’s approach to another civic issue, the Foreign and Peace Policy of the Holy See. (Chu, 2013, p. 59; Rotte, 2007)

²⁵ Losinger argues that the subsidiarity principle entered into the Catholic social teachings relatively late. (1999, p. 39)

nerstone of the development of the welfare associations as we see them today. The social welfare principles stand in the tradition of *pia corpora* (pious foundations), derived from Roman canon law (Fowler, 1902, p. 11; Reicke, 1933, p. 251).

This history demonstrates how the subsidiarity principle is rooted in explicitly Roman Catholic social teachings²⁶ (Gabriel, 2014), but it is also accepted by the Protestant church in Germany as important for the provision of welfare (Goos, 2014). It is not surprising that the formulation of this principle in the context of German welfare provision comes from Nell-Breuning (1976), a Catholic theologian who is widely acclaimed to have been one of the leading early thinkers who shaped Caritas (Hilpert, 1997, pp. 150–162). This is just one example, which emphasizes the strong impact of religion on the German welfare system as a whole. Yet a narrow religious understanding of subsidiarity has not been without resistance: “[T]he self-help movements of the 1980s and the new social movements of the 1970s were first developments towards a wider interpretation of subsidiarity.” (Anheier & Seibel, 2001, p. 6).

Today, the subsidiarity principle is proving difficult to implement on a European scale (Borries & Hauschild, 1999). This marks a shift away from the time when it was argued that this principle could be placed at the very center of European integration (M. Spieker, 1999, p. 52). Welfare associations continue to defend this principle, especially in the context of increasing influence from the EU (Bauer, 2000, pp. 171–173), which does not always want to uphold this ideal in social welfare. Welfare associations see an infringement of this principle as interference into Germany’s welfare system and an attack on the free aspect of Free Social Welfare Associations.

Besides Catholic social teachings, pastoral theology has been very influential in Caritas (Hilpert, 1997, p. 33). Hilpert even identifies a connection between the self-image of Caritas and the prophetic mission of biblical prophets, as has emerged during the debate concerning the organization’s mission statement of putting the theory of the gospels into practice (1997, p. 54).

4.6.2 Pluralism in the Welfare Sector: the Case of the Paritätischer

Rather than becoming a unified association like other welfare associations, the Paritätischer aimed at becoming a *Gesinnungsgemeinschaft* (community of convic-

²⁶ With its origin being the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* by Pope Pius XI (1931).

tions), excluding confessional or political questions and only focusing on providing welfare (Fünfter Wohlfahrtsverband, 1926, p. 1). Dünner and Schott characterize the Fifth as uniting those organizations outside the central associations on a basis of humanitarian work and charity while preserving their individual characteristics (Langstein, 1927, p. 225).

The vagueness this openness brings with it has not always been helpful in advancing the organization's reputation and work. In the early years, the Paritätischer had to work harder than other organizations to be noticed, partly due to a lack of understanding as to what the Fifth actually was and which tendencies were to be found in the association (Langstein, 1927, p. 230). This problem still exists in the Paritätischer today, as its members are often better known under their respective names than the umbrella organization itself – in contrast to the situation in most of the other welfare associations.

In Hollweg und Franke we find a discussion of the development of the values within the Paritätischer, with equality, plurality, humanity, tolerance, and openness providing the ideological foundation of the organization (2000, pp. 32–41). Pluralism, in particular, has been very important for the development of the organization, especially in uniting a range of member organizations under one common roof.

Additionally, the Paritätischer is almost exclusively an interest group. While there was a time when the organization also tried to build its own social service provision, this was not very successful (Merchel, 1989, pp. 218–219). Caritas and other welfare associations are themselves not only interest groups, but also *Trägerverbände* (sponsoring associations) – which means they also operate organizations that provide services on their own.

4.7 Comparing Caritas and the Paritätischer

As the examples of Caritas and the Paritätischer illustrate, the value systems of the two can be quite different, despite them both being large organizations, *Spitzenverbände*, within the welfare system, and both serving as umbrella organizations with many members. Their distinct value systems led them to cater to different constituencies from the start, and grow in different geographical areas. Moreover, imprinted with certain value systems, the organizations were put in different positions to incorporate external institutional demands.

What Caritas and the Paritätischer have in common is their mission of representing the poor. What differs between them is their ideological foundation for doing so (Lüttkenhorst, 2004, p. 199). Caritas comes from a Catholic background, whereas the Paritätischer incorporates the ideals of enlightenment, civil society, democracy with its core principles being openness, plurality, and tolerance (Lüttkenhorst, 2004, pp. 204–205).

When comparing Caritas and the Paritätischer, it is also important to remember that the two organizations are different on a structural level. Caritas organizations, on the one hand, are easily recognizable as such. Caritas has one logo, one brand, and every member organization uses it. The Paritätischer, on the other, lets the member organizations use their own logo and keep their own identity. This can result in outsiders not knowing if an organization is a member of the Paritätischer. Additionally, the logo of the Paritätischer itself has changed several times. Five versions have been used between 1924 and 2007 (Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband, 2007). It is in fact this very pluralistic nature of the Paritätischer which has sometimes called into question whether the organization fulfills the requirements for a central welfare association (Dörrie, 1965, p. 9).

Since the German welfare associations were founded, a great deal has changed – due to the impact of two world wars, as well as industrialization and other episodes that significantly altered the institutional external environment in which welfare associations operate. It can be argued that German society has moved through several episodes of change. At the founding phase when the sector of civil society in Germany – and to a certain extent Germany itself – emerged, the welfare sector initially grew out of social movements (collective conflict), with a consensus growing over time. In order to understand how changes in their external institutional environment influenced these organizations, one first has to get a better understanding of some major social events and shifts.

Lüttkenhorst, for example, observed how many of the organizations, which grew out of the new social movement in the 1970s and 1980s, later became members of the Paritätischer, even though they originated in opposition to established welfare structures, impacting the organization and giving it a stronger focus on poverty (Lüttkenhorst, 2004, p. 201). Caritas, on the other hand, initially aimed its appeal to richer Catholic laymen (Kaiser, 1998, p. 27), but now caters to a far wider variety of

sections of the population. This illustrates organizational change over time in these two associations.

Since the introduction of compulsory long-term health care insurance in 1995 and the abolition of legal preferential treatment for the welfare associations during the same period, there has been an increase of private, for-profit actors entering the market of providing nursing care or nurseries for children and other fields traditionally almost exclusively dominated by the welfare associations. The resulting pressure on welfare associations can be seen as a push for more commercialization of the social sector. This commercialization represents one of the episodes, which exemplify changes in the external institutional environment of the organizations. Chapter 6 looks at these changes more closely by giving a detailed account of four selected episodes in the external environment of the welfare associations, which have made claims on the associations.

5 Research Procedures, Data Collection, and Data

The two previous chapters have provided definitions and concepts of the thesis (chapter 3) and introduced the history of the German welfare sector and specifically of Caritas and the Paritätischer (chapter 4). Particularly the concept of value systems as imprints was developed and the external institutional environment in which they were imprinted into the welfare associations, and how the value systems differ from each other. The history of the sector gives an important understanding of the sector today and highlights both the embeddedness of the welfare associations in German welfare provision, and the strong role value systems have played in the development of the organizations as well as the sector.

It was established that the organizations of Caritas and the Paritätischer represent two different kinds of value systems. Catholicism in the case of Caritas, which draws on Christian/Catholic values emerging from religious tradition; pluralism for the Paritätischer, which draws more on Humanism and ideas of inclusiveness regardless of religious or political affiliation. The differing, potentially contrary, types of value systems now tie in to the questions initially raises in this theses: how do the imprinted value systems of Caritas and Paritätischer, established several decades ago, persist under external institutional demands of a changing environment, and do the two different types of value systems influence the way organizations engage with emerging external institutional demands. In the analysis (chapter 6) these questions will be answered with the tools laid out here.

The following chapter thus introduces the method of content and corpus analysis, lays out the data gathering, generation and nature of the corpus, which consists of the membership magazines of the two welfare associations from 1949-2016 and offers a way of consistently measuring the development of the imprinted value systems in the organizations under external institutional demands from selected episodes. Furthermore, it describes the coding process and finally the validation of the generated codes with a proprietary dictionary – which already yields initial analytical insights and bridges into what the data analysis in chapter 6 will have to consider more specifically and in much greater depth.

Coding, analysis, and the theoretical framework, were all developed through the process of inductive iteration. Instead of starting with one or more hypotheses to be tested, this method consists of deeply immersing oneself in the field under investigation,

and moving back and forth between the literature, observations in the field, and findings in the data (Eisenhardt, 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yom, 2014).

This approach is fairly common in comparative research to present findings which emerge out of the data itself and not through “data mining and selective reporting [...] cover[ing] behind the language of deductive proceduralism” (Yom, 2014, p. 1). Yom emphasizes that the process of inductive iteration lends itself particularly well to comparative-historical work, to which this thesis has some significant parallels, even though it does not follow a strictly historical scientific approach.

5.1 Content and Corpus Analysis

At least since Humboldt (1836), researchers have looked at the relationship between the words people use to express themselves and the underlying characteristics of these words. According to one of the earliest definitions, content analysis “attempts to characterize the meanings in a given body of discourse in a systematic and quantitative fashion” (Kaplan, 1943, p. 230). Since its beginning, content analysis has moved away from a “shallow counting game” (Krippendorff, 2013, p. xii) to a very powerful social science research method. It was particularly suitable for this analysis since it is applicable on large amounts of text, allows for both quantitative and qualitative operations, and offers “invaluable tools for teasing out meaning from texts” (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2004, p. 189). It is employed here “in order to understand what they [=data] mean to people, what they enable or prevent, and what the information conveyed by them does” (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 2).

The focus of this analysis is the content of the membership magazines (corpus) of two of the central welfare associations in Germany: Caritas and the Paritätischer. The aim is to use these texts as a way to look into the organizations, and how they internally as well as externally presented themselves and framed certain episodes. The bulk of the readership consists of members or persons at least within the atmosphere of those organizations. It is reasonable to consider the magazines to be directed more at existing members than to the public at large. Interviews confirmed that the targeted readership is mainly those already working in the associations, and more specifically their leadership. As such, the magazines offer a consistent way of tracking themes, topics, or trends within the respective organizations, and assessing how

they react towards demands from without and how they choose to communicate their issues internally.

Other reasons for using the membership magazines as the main source of data were their availability in the archives, and the generous time span they cover relatively coherently. Roberts demonstrates that particularly the tracking of themes is a strength of quantitative text analysis, making it a good fit for the questions this study set out to answer (2000, p. 270). As Krüger (2015) shows, the amount of good an organization tries to do and then presents to the world can have a significant impact on how it is perceived by people with a stake in the organization. This connection with organizations striving to do good works and presenting themselves as such further supports the idea of using these magazines as a reliable source of data to measure organizational positioning and framing.

In their “content analysis of the content analysis literature”, Duriau et al. establish the wide applicability of content analysis, including “longitudinal research designs [...] because of the availability of comparable corporate information through time, such as annual reports or trade magazines.” (2007, p. 7).

Standing in the hermeneutical tradition, Klafki (2001) develops four core principles relevant for content analysis (following Kuckartz, 2014, pp. 31–33):

- consideration of the origin conditions (context, interactions, social desirability);
- hermeneutical circle/spiral (understanding the whole from the individual, and the individual from the whole, preunderstanding, openness);
- hermeneutical difference (problem of understanding through interpretation);
- appropriateness and accuracy (keeping in mind that interpretation does not lead to absolute right or wrong results).

In the case of the present study, the method of content analysis is a non-reactive analysis method. The researcher cannot influence the main type of data, membership magazines. As is the nature of research, the analysis can be influenced, but the data here cannot (although the selection of the magazines as sources of data might constitute influence). Of course, this does not hold true for the additional data under consideration, whether in the form of interviews or conference notes (see Appendix II and III), where there is a much stronger possibility of researcher bias.

Krippendorff (2013) names the two most distinguishing features of content analysis:

- Applicable to large numbers of data
- Unobtrusive (replicable and reliable)

Given the amount of text (ca. 57,000 pages) and the way in which they are coded, this analysis has taken advantage of the capability of the method to deal with large amounts of data, and to uphold the importance of producing replicable results in a transparent fashion.

The analysis of the corpus was based on two steps. First, the qualitative coding of the texts based on leading articles until saturation was reached. The second step was the extrapolation of the generated code to use for an automated analysis of the rest of the text. The results of the code were then also contextualized qualitatively by selecting passages from the magazines to illustrate what the coding results mean and to better understand the usage of the selected words within the context of the texts.

A quantitative corpus analysis is not only frequently used in the context of social sciences and content analysis, but has been widely applied in other areas, such as literary discourse analysis (Bubenhofer & Scharloth, 2012). While the method has many advantages, there are some drawbacks. As several authors point out (Bubenhofer & Scharloth, 2012; Niehr, 2017), there is a problem of staying very much on the surface of what is being said.

Discourse analysis for example has the advantage of looking deeper into the text, but is then often limited to a sample (e.g. Serrano-Velarde, 2011). Even though that sample is then better understood, it is difficult to use the approach on a larger amount of text or to extrapolate from such a sample to the larger corpus. Bubenhof & Scharloth (2012) concede however that the quantitative method can offer a great deal of value depending on the question being analyzed. In this analysis, for a) dealing with a large amount of text and b) as a question that stretches over more than six decades, the quantitative dictionary approach is both feasible and appropriate.

5.2 The Corpus

The source for the corpus analysis is a set of membership magazines from Caritas and the Paritätischer:

	Caritas	The Paritätischer
Founded (org.)	1897	1924
First issue	1895 <i>(Charitas)</i>	1921 <i>(Mitteilungen des Reichsverbandes der privaten gemeinnützigen Kranken- und Pflegeanstalten Deutschlands)</i>
Analyzed magazines (corpus)	Caritas (1949–1999) neue caritas (1999–2016)	DPWV-Nachrichten (1951–2003) Parität Aktuell (1969–1997) Im Blick (1997–1998) Der Paritätische (2010–2016)
Writers	Editor Staff Selected employees Experts Researchers	Editor Staff Selected employees Experts
Format	Magazine	Magazine (DPWV-Nachrichten, Der Paritätische) Newspaper (Parität Aktuell, Im Blick)

Readership	Members	Members
	Higher employees	Higher employees
	Management	Management
	Directors	Directors
	Operatives	Operatives
	Heads of divisions	Heads of divisions
Content and foci	Welfare sector	Welfare sector
	Research on/concerning welfare provision	New developments from the members
	Employee rights	Regional developments
Size of corpus	39,348 pages in total (raw)	17,246 pages in total (raw)
	16,614,335 words (cleaned)	11,154,621 words (cleaned)

Table 8: Overview of Membership Magazine Corpus by Welfare Association

These magazines represent one instance of reactions to, and framing of, themes, topics, and episodes in their institutional external environment in the organization. Availability and access influenced the selection of those magazines on the practical side. Both organizations granted access through their archivists / organizational historians.

In many cases for Caritas the material was not available in digital form. For the sake of this analysis, these materials had to be digitized manually. Since the archived magazines could not be cut open, scanning had to be done with the book scanner zeta²⁷. The machine was able to scan from above, reducing time for the digitization process. However, the procedure was not as clean as it could have been had the books been cut open, leaving more artifacts in the scans than a direct scan with only sheets of paper would have. This reduced the accuracy of text recognition with OCR (optical character recognition) software afterwards.

²⁷ <http://www.zeutschel.de/de/produkte/scanner/farbscanner/zeta.html>

Text recognition was conducted using two OCR software programs: ABBYY FineReader 14 and Omnipage Ultimate. Both programs contain learning algorithms to adjust their recognition accuracy with increasing amounts of text. The results were then compared and complemented for the most accurate final result. Still, certain passages or words are not perfectly recognized. There is also the issue of OCR programs adding certain letters, which are not easily recognized by analysis programs. As far as possible, those letters, artifacts, and other impurities were removed with care. However, the process does not guarantee perfect text recognition over the entire corpus – especially with longer and more complicated words. A careful selective examination of parts of the text revealed that the existing accuracy could be considered sufficiently high for subsequent analysis.

5.3 Cleaning the Data

For the Caritas membership magazines, initial cleaning removed advertisements, obituaries, birthday wishes, book discussions and recommendations, as well as indices.²⁸ The reduction in volume is mostly due to the elimination of obituaries, personal messages and book discussions, particularly in the earlier decades. This demonstrates that the magazine used to be quite personal and connected to the individual members, and at the same time committed to distributing professional information on the state of the literature on welfare and care giving. This is also reflected in the nature of many articles, which are professional in nature. Over time, the amount of such personal notes decreased. In the 1950s, there are several pages of people being celebrated for their 65th birthday or a jubilee or something of that order. By the 1990s, this had significantly decreased.

The magazines of the Paritätischer were cleaned of the same elements. However, there were much fewer of these, and sections such as book discussions and reading recommendations were added only in later decades. The need for cleaning in the different material from the Paritätischer was thus much less intense and the reduction from the raw corpus much lower.

²⁸ While potentially interesting for an analysis on their own, in the context of this analysis these parts of the magazines were considered to be more distractive than helpful when answering the research question.

5.3.1 Insights from the Cleaning Procedure – Caritas

While the Caritas magazine had undergone several changes over time, the biggest one came in 1999, when it was completely overhauled and fittingly renamed *neue caritas* (new caritas). The layout was changed completely, with the addition of more advertisements, strongly increasing the proportion of visual elements within the magazine. Several new aspects were also added, such as a large legal section on social and employee rights. The change in layout and its graphic nature made the content analysis more difficult for this part of the corpus. Cleaning was carried out as consistently as possible with the way it was conducted for the Caritas magazine issues from the years 1949 to 1999.

What also became apparent with the change to *neue caritas* is that the magazine became less personal. This was the continuation of a trend, which was visible through earlier, smaller changes in the magazine. Nevertheless, the move away from the very personal nature of the earlier magazines had never been that strong before. It went hand in hand with a significant increase in advertisement. In a way, this shift illustrates the commercialization of the welfare sector, which had been ushered in with the privatization episode in the 1990s.

What can be seen are three general phases of the Caritas publication: The time from 1949–1989, 1989–1999, and 1999 until 2016. Every step has come with a significant increase in the volume of the magazines. With the last switch, a lot more pages have been added with advertisement, job placements, and so on – leading to a much higher need for cleaning than in the issues of the previous years.

5.3.2 Insights from the Cleaning Procedure – the Paritätischer

What became immediately apparent when first looking at the magazines of the Paritätischer is that in their earliest issues Christian values featured relatively prominently in the magazines, which is illustrated for example by Bible quotes on the front pages. This reflects the relevance of Christian values throughout the whole welfare sector in Germany, as well as their prevalence during the early years of the Federal Republic of Germany.

What is also interesting is a section in the Paritätischer that deals with news from the regional organizations. They also report their new members much more prominently

than Caritas, whose magazine does not seem to pay much attention to the specific issue of member organizations. In every issue of the *DPWV-Nachrichten*, they feature one member organization, which is presented with pictures and a text – thus giving the readership a much better understanding of the pluralistic nature of the organization than Caritas does. In contrast, Caritas has always presented a more homogeneous organizational front.

Changes occurred within the *DPWV-Nachrichten* as well, but not as substantive as the switch from *Caritas* to *neue caritas*. The biggest change in the magazine took place in 2000, when some of the regional parts of the organization were given individual sections in the magazine. In the later version of the magazine, these became individual newsletters. The *Paritätischer* was also quicker to adapt to the presence of online resources, and amended their literature review section by also recommending them.

The structures of both magazines mirror the structures of the organizations: the magazines for Caritas highlight unity under a common theme, whereas that of the *Paritätischer* presents plurality, not yet demonstrated by the topics selected or the way they are covered, but in the way the magazine is laid out and structured.

5.4 Contextual Variables of the Text

Following Roberts' contextual variables for text analysis to describe the corpus are presented in the following (2000, p. 267):

5.4.1 Characteristics of the Source

By definition, the organizational documents in the corpus have an affiliation and carry this as a bias – which is the whole point of selecting them to gain an insight into the organizations. In organizations, other biases come into play than is the case with individuals. Generally, there are more male writers than female ones, due to the historical nature of the magazines and the career development within the organizations.²⁹

²⁹ A headcount of the participants of the Social Congress 2015 reveals a 68% male / 32% female split, with a 79% male / 21% female ratio amongst speakers – both giving an indication of the career development as mainly people of the (middle) leadership level attend the Congress.

The membership magazines in both organizations mainly take their direction from headquarters or the respective departments therein. The central affiliation sets a topic for the main magazines, and the regional affiliations will either contribute their point of view to the larger issue under discussion, or bring in their own regional focus.

It is an honor to write for one of the magazines. Usually they will ask you to contribute if they know you are an expert on a certain issue or high up in the organization. – Leading employee of the Paritätischer, interviewed on 11 June 2017

5.4.2 Characteristics of the Message

Both sets of organizational publications also include an amount of international news, where development aid, rescue operations, migration, and other matters, which affect the German people or constitute a call to action. As magazines of the national umbrella associations, there is a balance between local and national affairs. It appears that the corpus of the Paritätischer includes more local affairs, as it has a section specifically for the individual members and new member organizations. Its pluralistic nature makes this almost mandatory.

Both set of publications focus on the welfare sector, the member organizations, and societal affairs outside their immediate range of activities. They also offer an overview of the general organization, and practical advice on care giving, legal advice, and so on. Caritas devotes a larger section of their magazines to dealing with developments in the practice of caregiving, legal analysis, book recommendations, etc.

In the case of the Paritätischer, the material used here was mostly issued by the *Gesamtverband* (national association), with some of the regional affiliations adding their sections. Generally, the larger regional affiliations produce their own magazines, as they are likely to have more employees and capacities than the national association or the smaller affiliations. The smaller ones are more likely to simply prepare an addendum to the general publication. Within their own regional magazines, the regional affiliations determine which local issues are discussed. Examples of large regional affiliations are located in North Rhine-Westphalia or Berlin.

In the case of Caritas, the situation is quite similar. While there is no regional section within the magazines *Caritas* or *neue caritas*, the regional affiliations also produce their own magazines. The writers are mostly from the editorial department or leader-

ship, or individuals specifically asked to contribute due to their familiarity with an issue.

5.4.3 Characteristics of the Channel

The channel is very specific: membership magazines in paper form for employees and members of the organizations, as well as those interested in affairs related to the organizations. Recently the publications of Caritas have also become available online and in the form of an app. Publications of the Paritätischer before 2010 are still only available in archives. As of 2010, they have become available on the website of the national association, with sections on the general organizations as well as separate sections by region.

Interestingly, the magazine *Caritas* was first published before the association was actually founded (Wollasch, 2008), underlining the importance publishing had for the organization. The founder of the organization had always seen scientific research on welfare work as a cornerstone of what should be published, and one of the subtitles in the magazine's long history was magazine for *caritas* science and *caritas* work. It was by no means the first of its kind. A very similar magazine had previously failed to stay in print, due to lack of support. Werthmann believed his idealism was strong enough to succeed where the other had failed. The aim of this new magazine was the representation of the whole widespread activity of Christian charity, first in Catholic Germany (Liese, 1929, p. 114). The printing agency was specifically founded for the magazine (Liese, 1929, p. 178).

In 1932, its first non-theologian editor headed the magazine. In 1941, the NS regime banned the magazine, and publishing resumed in 1946. The shift from the original *Caritas* magazine to *neue caritas* was motivated by embracing a new design with a much larger amount of pictures and shorter, more journalistic articles as opposed to the earlier, more academic contributions. Wollasch called these changes in the layout adjusting the make-up to fashion trends (2008, p. 116). The *neue caritas* now also included the previously independent journals *Jugendwohl* and *Caritas-Korrespondenz*.

5.4.4 Characteristics of the Audience

The target audience is specifically the employees and members of the organizations, with a focus on those higher up in the hierarchy: management, directors, operatives, or heads of divisions. However, it can be assumed that the magazines are also used as advertisement to a certain degree and can be sent for example to interested individuals or opinion leaders.

5.5 Initial Quantitative Text Analysis – Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count

Initial quantitative analysis was conducted using Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC). The software was developed by Pennebaker et al. (2001) as a dictionary based automatic quantitative text analysis tool. Originally designed for the analysis of expressive writing essays in social psychology, LIWC has become an effective tool for the analysis of “stylistic aspects of language use” and applicable to a wide array of text sources to track social processes outside of pure psychological research (Mehl, 2006, p. 151). The original (English) dictionary contains about 2300 words and word stems, for which the text is being scanned.

Wolf et al. (2008) demonstrated that, in most categories, the German dictionary³⁰ is just as reliable as the original English one, making the software a valid choice for this analysis. The aim of this study’s initial text analysis is to give insight into the feel of the text, to reveal some social-psychological dimensions. Differences in the way certain aspects of language are used can already show how underlying biases/ preferences/ organizational characteristics by the writers of the two organizations come to bear.

The advantages of a pre-defined and well-tested dictionary are ease, speed, comparability, and reliance. The disadvantage is that a pre-defined dictionary does not allow for flexibility or adjustment to the nuances of an individual researcher’s questions. This is why an initial analysis of the corpus with LIWC is suitable for yielding preliminary insights, which will serve as a basis for the following in-depth analysis. Moreover, it can be used as a benchmark to test the validity of overlapping coding.

³⁰ German LIWC2001 Dictionary by Markus Wolf based on the LIWC2001 English Dictionary. A newer version is being developed but is still unfinished.

5.5.1 Comparison of Language Variables

When comparing the language variables between the two organizations, some striking similarities and differences become apparent. On average, sentences are equally long (in terms of words per sentence), but the writers of Caritas have a tendency to use longer words (on average 35.3 words with six or more letters per issue, compared with 31.9 in the texts of the Paritätischer). As a rule, longer words have a tendency to be used in more professional environments with a stronger focus on theoretical knowledge, and correlate with education and social class (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010, p. 39).

In terms of expressed emotions, we see that both organizations are quite similar in terms of positive emotions expressed in writing (measured in the three variables *positive emotions*, *positive feelings*, and *optimism*). The same is true for *negative emotions*, *anxiety*, *anger*, and *sadness*. It is not surprising that positive emotions expressed in the magazines are more prevalent than negative ones. The aim of the magazines is to inform its members of problems in the welfare area, but also to inspire them by shining a light on outstanding examples, highlight progress and give the readers a good feeling about the work they are doing. The tone of the corpus distinguishes these magazines from newspapers, for example, which at least partly use negative news to attract readers (Trussler & Soroka, 2014).

Variable	Caritas	The Paritätischer
Word Per Sentence (WPS)	18.4	18.6
Words with 6+ letters (Sixltr)	35.3%	31.9%
Positive emotions (Posemo)	2.2%	2.3%
Positive feelings (Posfeel)	0.2%	0.1%
Optimism (Optim)	0.6%	0.5%
Negative emotions (Negemo)	1.3%	1.4%
Anxiety (Anx)	0.2%	0.2%
Anger (Anger)	0.2%	0.4%

Sadness (Sad)	0.4%	0.3%
Social processes (Social)	6.8%	6.7%
Communication (Comm)	1.2%	1.4%
Friends	0.3%	0.3%
Family	0.7%	0.8%
Humans	1.0%	1.1%
Time	3.3%	3.7%
Past	2.0%	2.4%
Present	3.6%	3.2%
Future	1.0%	1.0%
Inclusive (Incl)	7.0%	6.5%
Exclusive (Excl)	1.6%	1.7%
Occupation (Occup)	6.9%	8.0%
School	1.6%	2.2%
Job	3.8%	4.3%
Achievement (Achiev)	2.6%	3.0%
Money	1.2%	1.3%
Metaphysics (Metaph)	1.3%	0.4%
Religion (Relig)	1.2%	0.3%

Percentage values are shares of the organization's corpus; only a selection of all the available LIWC-variables was used.

Table 9: LIWC-Variable Averages in the Corpus

5.5.2 Significance of Differences

Two real differences stand out when comparing the two sets of publications according to the selected LIWC-dimensions. Those are length of the words, and metaphysics / religion. The application of a t-test to check for significance in these differences revealed that the difference in word length could be considered significant, as can the differences in the usage of metaphysical and religious language.

T-test of the Paritätischer-Sixltr Average Against the Caritas-sample

Test value = 31.9

	T	df	Sig. (2- sided)	Mean dif- ference	95% confidence interval of the difference	
					Lower	Upper
Words with six letters or more in the Caritas' corpus	12.114	68	.000	3.41551	2.8529	3.9781

Table 10: T-test of the Paritätischer-Sixltr Average Against the Caritas-sample

T-test of the Caritas-Sixltr Average Against the Paritätischer-sample

Test value = 35.3

	T	df	Sig. (2- sided)	Mean dif- ference	95% confidence inter- val of the difference	
					Lower	Upper
Words with six letters or more in the Paritätischer corpus	-27.278	60	.000	-3.35820	-3.6045	-3.1119

Table 11: T-test of the Caritas-Sixltr Average against the Paritätischer-sample

T-test of the Paritätischer-Metaph Average Against the Caritas-sample

Test value = 0.4

	T	df	Sig. (2-sided)	Mean difference	95% confidence interval of the difference	
					Lower	Upper
LIWC-metaphysics measurement in the Caritas' corpus	14.260	68	.000	.85043	.7314	.9694

Table 12: T-test of the Paritätischer-Metaph Average Against the Caritas-sample

T-test of the Paritätischer-Relig Average Against the Caritas-sample

Test value = 0.3

	T	df	Sig. (2-sided)	Mean difference	95% confidence interval of the difference	
					Lower	Upper
LIWC-religious measurement in the Caritas' corpus	15.065	68	.000	.85493	.7417	.9682

Table 13: T-test of the Paritätischer-Relig Average Against the Caritas-sample

5.5.3 LIWC – Social Processes in the Corpus

On average, both organizations are quite similar in how often the organizations address social processes. For the most part, social processes in the context of the LIWC coding mean direct human interaction, with friends, family, and others. It is not to be seen as dealing with overarching processes in society. Still, this variable can offer some insight into how the organizations talk about human interaction, which in

turn can serve as a proxy for how outward-oriented the organization is, as the focus there is on other people as opposed to members of the organizations themselves.

While Caritas started out writing a lot about social processes, this was reduced over time. The opposite is true for the Paritätischer. This can indicate a tendency of Caritas to reduce outward focus, whereas the Paritätischer had first to deal more with their re-founding in the beginning of the newly founded Federal Republic before looking outward. This could mean that a society less and less in tune with Catholic values pushed Caritas to turn its gaze inwards, where it found its own values firmly represented. In contrast, the Paritätischer found a more open society appealing and increasingly fitting to its own ideals of equality and plurality.

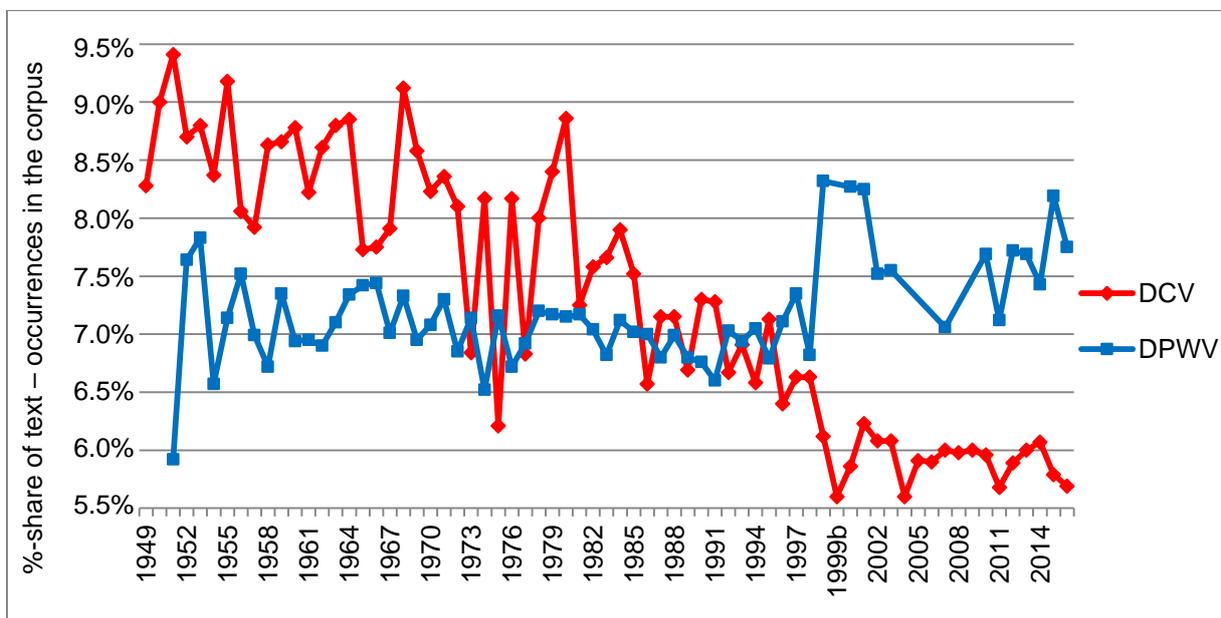


Figure 1: LIWC – Social Processes in the Corpus

The shift in 1998 is very interesting, as it marks the turning point of when the Paritätischer truly overtakes Caritas in terms of being oriented towards social processes. The restructuring of the Caritas magazine was probably more effect than cause, as the trend had started earlier.

5.5.4 LIWC – Exclusive and Inclusive Language in the Corpus

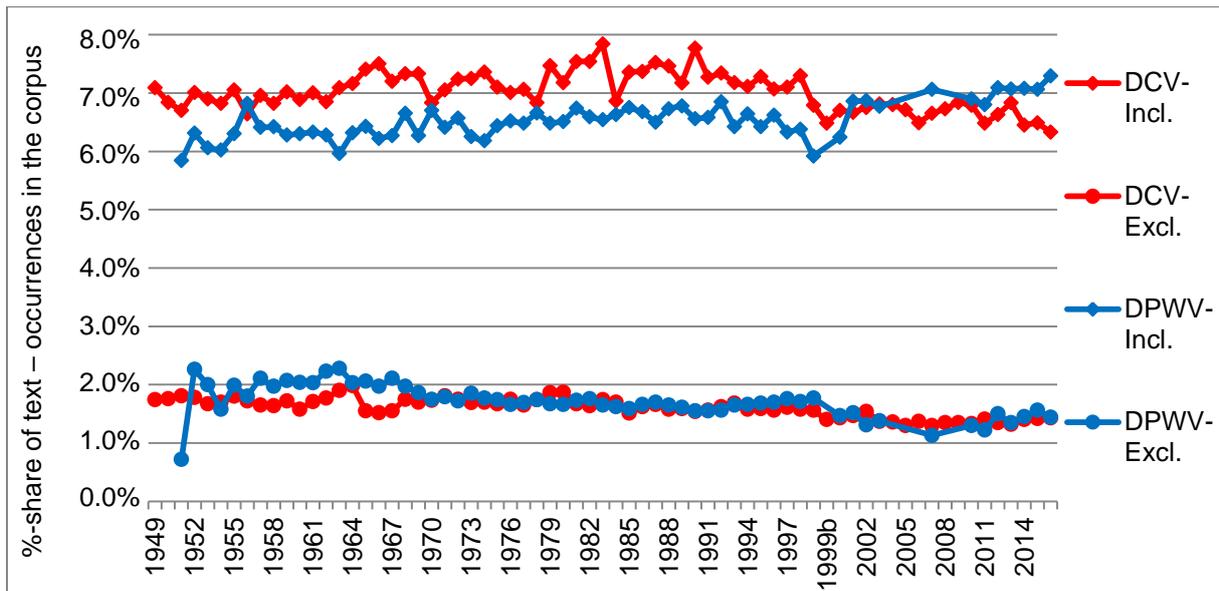


Figure 2: LIWC – Exclusive and Inclusive Language in the Corpus

As the graph shows, the development of exclusiveness is quite similar in both organizations. Two changes can be observed: 1) Starting with the 1970s, the previously more exclusive Paritätischer reaches the level of Caritas. This is particularly interesting. As one of the aspects of the Paritätischer is its otherness, the idea of being the fifth welfare association, it is fitting that the level of exclusiveness is higher here. 2) There is a slow downward trend for both organizations over the decades, indicating a general, slow societal shift away from exclusiveness over time. It should be noted that the slow pace of this development was not affected by German reunification.

Inclusive language, on the other hand, shows more differences between the two organizations. In Caritas, the most significant change was the re-branding of the magazine in 1999. Again, a drop the same year can be seen. However, in this case this constitutes the continuation of a trend already begun that year. What is interesting here is that Caritas is visibly reducing its inclusive language at almost the same time as the Paritätischer is increasing its inclusiveness. Further analysis will be needed to provide a closer look at this development in order to attain a better understanding of this shift.

5.5.5 LIWC – Occupation, School, and Job in the Corpus

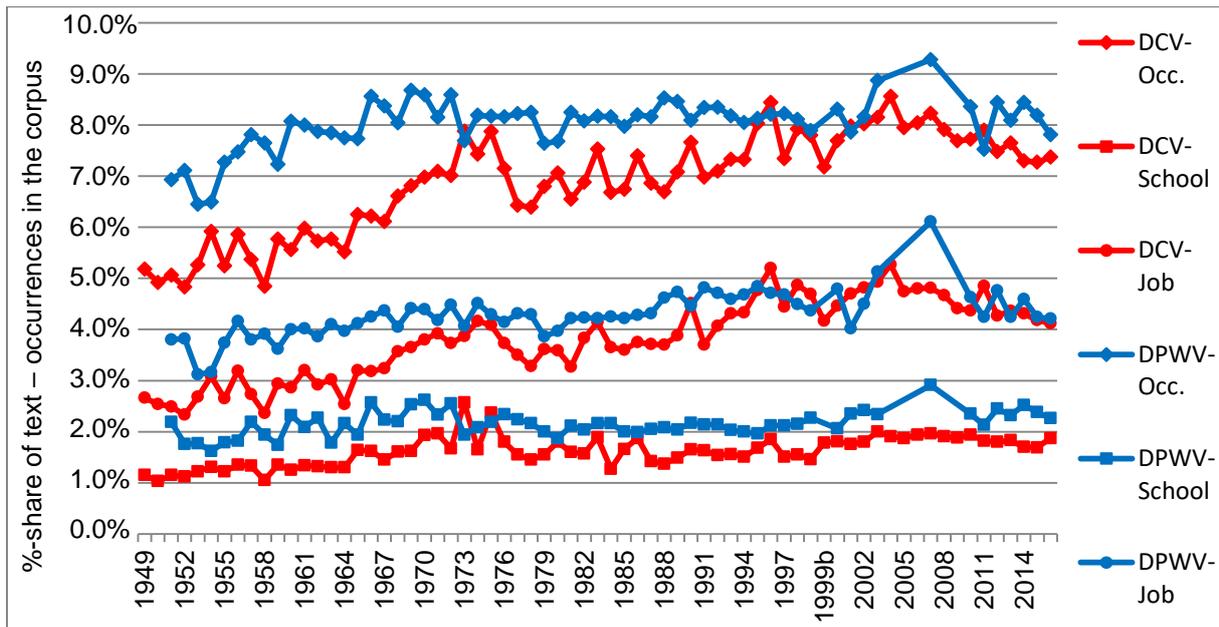


Figure 3: LIWC – Occupation, School, and Job in the Corpus

Comparing the variables of occupation, school, and job in the corpus, the different levels of the three variables become apparent. The distribution is not surprising. With a stronger focus of both organizations on either their own employees or employment overall, the issue of occupation in general and jobs more specifically could be expected to exceed the topic of school. Nevertheless, school is still a vital issue throughout the corpus for both organizations, even though the Paritätischer seems to be more invested in it than Caritas. For jobs, it is interesting that once again Caritas moves closer to the Paritätischer in the 1970s, and again around 1990. Indeed, precisely in 1990 at the time of reunification we see a peak in Caritas' focus on jobs, fittingly taking into account the needs, the interests, and, potentially, the language of the former GDR. Following this decisive event, there are several spikes, all resulting in Caritas and the Paritätischer moving closer together.

5.5.6 LIWC – Money and Achievement in the Corpus

In terms of money playing a role, we see that overall there is not a strong difference on average. The same is true for the aspect of achievement. However, there is an interesting difference in the development of the prevalence of those two themes.

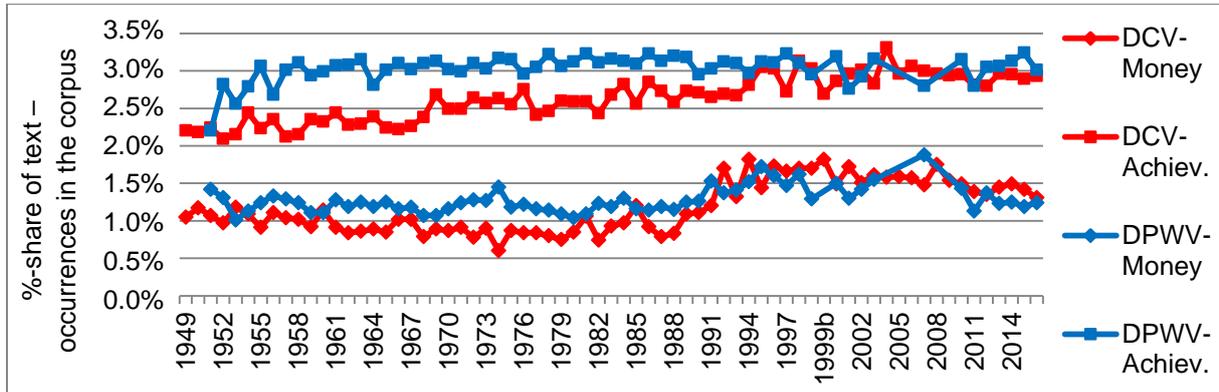


Figure 4: LIWC – Money and Achievement in the Corpus

Up until 1990, money is much more an issue in the Paritätischer. This is not surprising, considering that, it is the smaller and less financially endowed organization. However, starting in 1990, the issue is more prevalent for Caritas, while increasing only slightly for the Paritätischer. It has since been an important issue for both of them, but Caritas has already overtaken the Paritätischer. The introduction of nursing-care insurance in 1995 interestingly marks this turning point quite nicely, after which the issue of money becomes less important overall for the Paritätischer. The same is true for the aspect of achievement. Up until 1994/1995, Caritas does not use language that highlights achievement as much as the Paritätischer does. Later they both reach a similar level.

One explanation might be that the Paritätischer was more agile and better adapted to the changing institutional external environment. Caritas, having to adjust more to the changing institutional external environment that requires welfare associations to deal more with market-based competition has had to adapt its language and mindset to the new conditions.

5.5.7 LIWC – Metaphysics and Religion in the Corpus

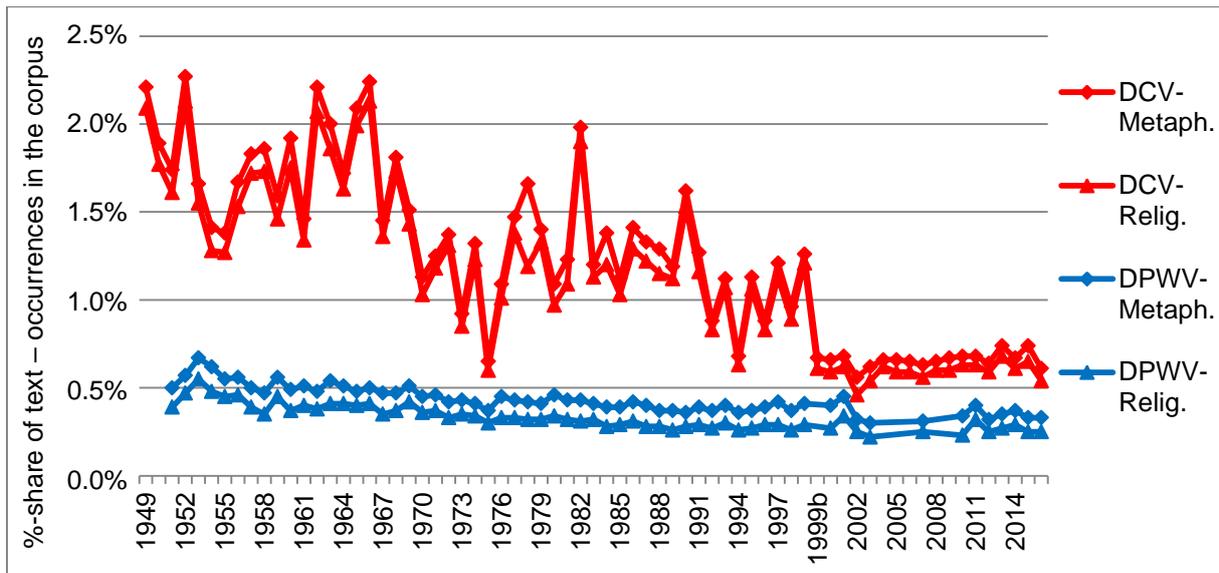


Figure 5: LIWC – Metaphysics and Religion in the Corpus

It is no surprise that religion plays a much greater role in an explicitly Catholic organization than in a pluralistic one. We can observe the spike in 1968, and its drop, which trends until the mid-1970s. The spike in Caritas in 1990 marks the year of reunification, when Caritas possibly tries to use their Catholic profile to demonstrate what they stood for. This is the last time the religious-value falls above 1.5 (with 1.52). The following years show a significant drop. The correlation of this significant change to a specific year is not likely to be a coincidence. The drop in 1999 is connected to the switch from the magazine *Caritas* to the new *neue caritas*. The remake apparently also marks a shift to toning down their religiousness.

Interestingly, years with new popes do not register particularly high on the graph. There is a small peak (0.68) in 2013 (Pope Francis), but within line and not much different from 2015 (0.65). 2005 (Pope Benedict XVI – a German pope) does not even stand out. 1978 (Popes John Paul I and John Paul II) does register as a regional peak on metaphysics, but a lower point on religion. 1963 (Pope Paul VI) is in the middle of a downward trend, and 1958 (Pope John XXIII) is in line with the previous year. Overall, the election of popes does not have much of an impact on the amount of religious language used in the Caritas magazines. What this demonstrates is that in its wording, the German Caritas association, although Catholic, is closer to that of German society than to that of the wider world of the Roman Catholic Church.

Even in the *Paritätischer*, there is a decline of generally religious language, from a peak of 0.62 in 1952 to 0.25 in 2016, the latest point of time for data analyzed in this study. This illustrates a change in society, which is generally moving away from organized Christianity. This trend can even be shown in non-religious organizations. What cannot be recognized in the graph alone is the prominent position in which the recently re-founded *Paritätischer* engaged with Christianity. On the opening page of several of the *DPWV-Nachrichten* from the years 1952 to 1956, there are prayers or Christian sayings – meant to wish the reader well. Not just for Christmas or a religious holiday, but throughout the year. One interpretation could be a general dominance in German society of religion as a mechanism to help make sense of it all after the end of National Socialism in the late 1940s and in the ensuing years, especially when it came to welfare provision. This would be mirrored in the active role the churches took after World War II – not just in Germany but all over Western Europe (Warner, 2003).

5.5.8 Summary of the LIWC Analysis

The preliminary analysis of religion in the two selected welfare associations can be seen as a good starting point for a more detailed analysis of their value systems and the way these hold up under external institutional demands. In both organizations, despite the more general quality of the LIWC analysis, several trends were shown where external institutional changes and demands manifest within the organizations.

Beyond that, the LIWC analysis illustrates the nature of the magazines and gives further insights into the way the organizations address and talk about issues. The trends shown above demonstrate that there are times during which changes in the institutional external environment have an impact on certain aspects of the organizations, the language they use, and how intensely the organization deals with a topic.

What was shown using a generally developed and applicable dictionary so far, will be looked into in detail in the following analysis, using a dictionary specifically developed for this corpus and the German welfare sector.

5.6 Generating a Dictionary for a Quantitative Text Analysis

To generate a dictionary for a large text analysis, the dictionary was defined “by allocating words to these categories using a combination of *a priori* and empirical criteria” (Laver & Garry, 2000, p. 626). Initial coding was based on readings of articles in the corpus, and, importantly, with a mindset attuned to what the literature on imprinting and value systems had suggested. Coding was conducted until saturation was reached. Hand-coding is associated with an in-depth knowledge of the content and a high validity of measurement (Klüver, 2009, p. 546). Codes were validated with a second coder, thus reducing individual biases by the author. Codes were only kept if both coders were in “complete agreement” (Powell & Sandholtz, 2012, p. 104). Therefore, an intercoder reliability score (ICR) was not calculated.

Using a dictionary content analysis approach is a common tool when it comes to examining membership magazines (e.g. Jagers & Walgrave, 2007; Mudde, 2007; Pauwels, 2011). The decision to generate a dictionary specific to this analysis rather than to use a previously defined and tested one accords with the aim of taking the context of the words that make up the dictionary as closely into consideration as possible.

Significantly, the use of a dictionary not built for a specific analysis can be one of the pitfalls in the dictionary approach of content analysis: “For dictionary methods to work well, the scores attached to words must closely align with how the words are used in a particular context. If a dictionary is developed for a specific application, then this assumption should be easy to justify. But when dictionaries are created in one substantive area and then applied to another problem, serious errors can occur.” (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013, p. 274).

Pauwels names four main drawbacks of quantitative text analysis: insufficient reliability, labor intensive work resulting in lowered comparability over time and space, subjectivity of coders, and a lack of consensus regarding data sources (2011, p. 102). To address the question of reliability, certain sections of the coding are compared to the tried and tested LIWC-codes. The subjectivity of the author is addressed by having a second coder. The sources are clearly selected due to availability and suitability for a long-term analysis. Unfortunately, nothing can be done to reduce the labor intensity for generating the dictionary. It is, however, faster and less open to errors than coding the entire corpus by hand. It is also more systematic and transparent.

5.6.1 Coding the Dictionary

Tables of contents and glossaries were used as the initial starting point, where available, for developing categories of the dictionary and filling these with words. Next, again starting with the earliest texts, one leading article per year was read and the most prominent words or concepts surrounding them were put into the categories. The categories were adjusted throughout the process. This was done until saturation was reached and the categories as well as their terms were stable. To further increase the robustness of the dictionary, a second coder was used to validate the developed dictionary. The general idea behind this type of coding is the one expressed by an empirically driven topic frequency analysis (Früh, 2015, pp. 141–200). Afterwards, by process of elimination, these codes were constantly slimmed down and rid of words not sufficient for tracking the development of either the value systems or the episodes, as they were used in many other contexts as well. This was done to ensure as much as possible the measurement of that which was intended to be measured.

5.6.2 Reliability of the Dictionary

To achieve a sufficiently high level of reliability in coding the dictionary, the codes were validated by a second coder, thus reducing individual biases / research artifacts on the part of the author (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004, p. 25). Codes were only kept if both coders were in “complete agreement” over the individual code, its inclusion in a certain category, and the categorization itself (Powell & Sandholtz, 2012, p. 104). There was a time gap of several weeks between the initial coding and the validation round, reducing the attachment of the initial coder to its assessment and increasing the likelihood of change in the coding. A second validation round was done one week after the first, to further increase reliability (Mair, Wolf, & Seelos, 2016, p. 2019). Admittedly, this does not make for a perfect level of reliability, but following the re-test quality criterion by Mayring on reliability in content analysis it does achieve a significant improvement over individual coding as seen in much qualitative coding work (2015, p. 123).

The rule of “complete agreement” eliminated the necessity of calculating the commonly used Krippendorff’s Alpha for intercoder reliability (Swert, 2012). This approach is chosen due to its practicability, speed, and the need to be very familiar with the context of the subject matter, ruling out the “split-half technique” (Krippendorff,

2013, p. 272). Additionally, the time-evolving nature of the data would likely result in two very different sets of coding, both valid for their time period but not directly comparable to each other, as the shift in time is part of what is interesting (Mayring, 2015, p. 124). Complexity and length of the material thus made it impractical to code the dictionary in a way that would fit to an ICR approach.

The level of emergence necessary for this analysis of organizational value systems (Fougère & Skålén, 2013) from an outside coder who would completely code the whole text again would have been impractical and too difficult to achieve outside of a research project involving several researchers. Lisch and Kritz (1978) call into question the whole concept of intercoder reliability, as it brings homogeneity and endangers interpretational depth. Their strong criticism has been considered for re-testing the coding, as the second validation-coder was different from the author in gender, as well as field of research and cultural background (Mayring, 2015, p. 125). Future research may use the developed coding here as a basis to dive deeper into the coding and use larger amounts of resources for a large multi-wave coding. The rule of “complete agreement” as used in prominent research was more applicable here (Powell & Sandholtz, 2012, p. 104).

Another level of validity for part of the coding was made possible by comparing the measurement for the Catholic value system in Caritas with the measurement of religion by the LIWC dictionary. By looking at the correlation between the LIWC-measurement and the self-developed coding, we find that these correlate with each other:

Correlation between LIWC-religion and Catholicism in Caritas		
		Catholicism in Caritas
LIWC-religion in Caritas	Correlation according to Pearson	.948**
	Significance (2-sided)	0.000
	N	69

**** The correlation is significant at the α -level of 0.05 (2-sided)**

Table 14: Correlation Between LIWC-religion and Catholicism in Caritas

There is a strong relationship between the two. This makes it likely that the other self-coded aspects, which cannot be validated with an established external measurement, but have gone through the same coding process, can be considered well coded.

5.7 Reducing Complexity

In generating a dictionary, several simplifying assumptions are made, following Grimmer and Stewart (2013, pp. 272–273). One is that the vocabulary is simplified by stemming. This reduces the text dimensions by removing the ends of words in the dictionary, thus shortening them into their stems (Jurafsky & Martin, 2008). Caumanns (1999) offers a “Fast and Simple Stemming Algorithm for German Words” – a version of which was used in the creation of this dictionary. This is a cruder but faster way than lemmatization, where words are reduced to their basic form. Lemmatization is often used in linguistic analysis, for example corpus linguistic discourse analysis (Bubenhofer & Scharloth, 2012).

5.8 Reliability of the Following Analysis

As Grimmer and Stewart (2013) show, automated text analysis offers a way to tap into large amounts of text, previously not possible due to the size of the text and the work necessary to do this if done manually. They give an overview of the many pitfalls involved when applying quantitative measures to texts. The analysis here has addressed these pitfalls by triangulating the results with observations and interviews (see Appendix II and III), as well as by offering an additional qualitative assessment of the corpus. This fulfills the parallel-test quality criterion by Mayring on reliability in content analysis (2015, p. 123).

6 Analysis of Institutional Demands on Imprinted Value Systems

The purpose of this chapter is to a) demonstrate the embeddedness and prevalence of value systems in the organizations examined here, b) show how the organizational value systems correlate with the prevailing value system in the regional social environment, and c) chart how often and in which way episodes appear in the organizations' corpus. It includes many excerpts from written source materials as well as interviews with leading figures in the organizations (see Appendix II). These have been translated into English by the author.

Of the six existing central welfare associations, there are three denominational (DCV, DDEB, ZWST) and three non-denominational associations. Two out of the three non-denominational associations can be linked to a political (AWO) or a social movement (DRK). Only the Paritätischer appears to be mostly unaffiliated with a political or denominational value system, and has adopted pluralism as its value system.

When looking at how these value systems are expressed, the choice of words is of paramount importance. Kress and Hodge (1979) stress the special role language plays in ideology and how the author shapes the truth in the way he writes. Therefore, to highlight the origin of the imprints in the two welfare organizations examined in this study, their founding charters are looked at closely. In so doing, the two different value systems, which this analysis initially posited, Catholicism and pluralism, are confirmed.

The level of analysis is always the share of codes occurring in the respective year, as measured in individual words (occurrences) per coding category (value system or episode). These are always controlled for different sizes of text per year and sizes of coding categories. For a full overview of the size of the coding categories, please see the Appendix.

6.1 Imprinted Value Systems in Caritas and the Paritätischer

Dörrie (1973) admits that there is great disparity between the German welfare associations, especially with regard to their identity – despite them often having been seen as a uniform block. Niedrig (1987), focusing on the field of association research, also emphasizes their differences. When analyzing the Paritätischer, Merchel further

points to the importance of considering the welfare associations in the context of their specific individual histories and value systems (1989, p. 6).

When talking about value systems in welfare associations, two dimensions have to be distinguished: the common ideology shared throughout the group of central welfare associations regarding their fundamental role of free welfare provision, and the value systems specific to each individual association. While there can be an overlap between the two dimensions, the focus in this study is on the value systems specific to two selected associations, namely Catholicism in Caritas and pluralism in the Paritätischer.

Borgmann (1967, p. 372), quoting Liese (1929, p. 142), emphasizes the importance of an association's charter as its backbone. Borgmann goes on to say how changing charters reflect a changing organization, with all its internal and external developments. Both selected welfare associations present their respective value system in their names as well as in their guiding principles. To provide a comparison of the value systems within these organizations, their founding charters as well as their current charters/guiding principles/fundamentals are compared and contrasted. The aim is to point out how the value systems are phrased and show that they were imprinted into the core of the two organizations from the very beginning – and still survive in their essential documents to this day. This analysis then serves as the basis for measuring the development of the value systems in the more day-to-day documents of the membership magazines in order to differentiate between their guiding principles (founding charters and fundamental positions) on the one hand and the more practical and regular usage of the value systems on the other.

6.1.1 Caritas and Catholicism

Looking at Caritas' founding charter (Charitas-Verband, 1897), there are, perhaps not surprisingly, multiple references to Catholicism. Besides the name (*Charitas-Verband für das katholische Deutschland* – Charitas Association for Catholic Germany), the word Catholic appears seven times in a document not even two pages long. There are also three references that firmly place the organization under the authority of the Church (§2b, §6, and §10). This illustrates both a strong commitment to Catholicism and the wish to be a church-affiliated organization right from the start.

Catholic references (original)	Catholic references (translation)
§1 “schließen die römisch-katholischen Caritasfreunde in Deutschland einen Verband”	§1 the Roman Catholic Caritas friends in Germany form an association
§2 “zur Gründung von Local- und Diöcesan-Charitas-Comités”	§2 for the establishment of local and diocesan Caritas committees
§2 “in den einzelnen Orten und Diöcesen unter Guttheißung der kirchlichen Autorität”	§2 in the individual places and dioceses subject to approval of ecclesiastical authority
§2 “über die Werke der katholischen Charitas”	§2 on the works of Catholic charity
§2 “Beförderung historischer Studien über die katholische Charitas”	§2 Promotion of historical studies on Catholic charity
§3 “führt den Namen ‘Charitas-Verband für das katholische Deutschland’”	§3 carries the name ‘Charitas-Associations for Catholic Germany’
§4 “sowohl katholische Caritasfreunde wie auch katholische Corporationen”	§4 both Catholic Caritas friends and Catholic corporations
§6 “stellt sich unter den Schutz der hochwürdigsten römisch-katholischen Bischöfe”	§6 puts itself under the protection of the most revered Roman Catholic bishops
§10 “sollen unter Guttheißung der kirchlichen Autorität”	§10 should be subject to the approval of ecclesiastical authority

Table 15: Catholic References in Caritas’ Founding Charter
Source: Caritas-Verband (1897)

This selection clearly shows that the organization is not only close to Catholicism, but sees itself also in direct connection with the Church and subject to its authority. To this day, that affiliation has not changed.

Looking at the current version of their charter (Deutscher Caritasverband, 2005), the enduring commitment to the organization founded in 1897 and the DCV's official recognition by the bishops can be seen in the first sentence of the charter's preamble, which proclaims the organization to be the Catholic faith put into practice in Germany:

Preamble (original)	Preamble (translation)
<p>“Der Deutsche Caritasverband wurde unter dem Namen ‘Charitasverband für das katholische Deutschland’ am 9. November 1897 gegründet und am 31. August 1903 ins Vereinsregister des Amtsgerichtes Freiburg i. Br. eingetragen.”</p>	<p>The German Caritas Association was founded under the name ‘Charitas Association for Catholic Germany’ on November 9, 1897 and was registered in the association registry of the district court Freiburg i.Br. on August 21, 1903.</p>
<p>“Er trägt heute den Namen ‘Deutscher Caritasverband e.V.’ und ist die von den deutschen Bischöfen anerkannte institutionelle Zusammenfassung und Vertretung der katholischen Caritas in Deutschland.”</p>	<p>Today it bears the name ‘German Caritas Association’ and is the institutional union and representation of Catholic charity in Germany recognized by the German bishops.</p>

Table 16: First Two Sentences of the Preamble of Caritas’ Current Charter
Source: Deutscher Caritasverband (2005, p. 3)

In this short passage, two things can be recognized: a continuous connection to the founding phase of the association and explicit ties to the Catholic Church in Germany. This is demonstrated most strongly in §2 of the current charter:

§2 Canonical position (original)	§2 Canonical position (translation)
<p>(1) “Der Deutsche Caritasverband ist die von den deutschen Bischöfen anerkannte institutionelle Zusammenfassung und Vertretung der katholischen Caritas in Deutschland.”</p>	<p>(1) The German Caritas Association is the institutional union and representation of Catholic charity in Germany recognized by the German bishops.</p>
<p>(2) “Er ist ein privater Verein von Gläubi-</p>	<p>(2) It is a private association of believers</p>

gen im Sinne der Canones 299, 321 – 326 des Codex Iuris Canonici (Codex des kanonischen Rechts).”	in accordance with Canones 299, 321 – 326 of the Codex Iuris Canonici (Code of Canon Law).
(3) “Der Verband steht unter der nach dem Codex Iuris Canonici sich bestimmenden Aufsicht der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz.”	(3) The association is under the supervision of the German Bishops’ Conference, which is determined according to the Codex Iuris Canonici.
(4) “Der Vorsitzende der für die Caritas zuständigen Bischöflichen Kommission hat das Recht, an den Sitzungen der Verbandsorgane teilzunehmen.”	(4) The chairman of the episcopal commission responsible for Caritas has the right to attend the meetings of the association bodies.
(5) “Die Grundordnung des kirchlichen Dienstes im Rahmen kirchlicher Arbeitsverhältnisse findet in ihrer jeweiligen im Amtsblatt der Erzdiözese Freiburg veröffentlichten Fassung Anwendung.”	(5) The basic order of ecclesial service in the context of ecclesiastical employment relationships shall apply in its respective version published in the official register of the Archdiocese Freiburg.

Table 17: Canonical Position of Caritas According to §2 of Its Current Charter
Source: Deutscher Caritasverband (2005, p. 4)

This clear commitment to continuity, in terms of the basic principles of Catholicism as well as adherence to decisions and opinions provided by episcopal supervision for both practical and religious challenges, is demonstrated throughout the rest of the text.³¹ What it shows is that the value system, which was imprinted into the organization at the time of its founding, has been deliberately upheld in the current charter and remains the current guiding principle of Caritas.

The commitment to Catholic charity can be found in these texts – not just to Catholicism in general, but proscribing an active role of putting the example of Christ into action. As will be shown later, there is an inbuilt resistance to independent change on an organizational level, potentially because Catholicism itself has not fundamentally changed that much and many social issues cannot be addressed without ideas being

³¹ Another example is the *Grundordnung des kirchlichen Dienstes im Rahmen kirchlicher Arbeitsverhältnisse* (Basic order of the church service in the context of ecclesiastical employment) (Verband der Diözesen Deutschlands, 2015), which is set by the Bishops and applicable to Caritas (among others).

proposed, filtered, or rejected by the supervising bishops or sketched out in Papal encyclicals.

Caritas and the German Bishop Conference further exemplify the relationship to the German Catholic Church. For the 100th anniversary of Caritas and the upcoming turn of the millennium, the German Bishop Conference published a paper on Christian charity (caritas) in action and the works of the organization Caritas. The Conference looked at the recent profile process Caritas had undergone since 1997 and highlighted the reaffirmed connection to Christian brotherly love in the work of Caritas, the culture of helping others, and the intimate connection between the two (Die deutschen Bischöfe – Kommission für caritative Fragen, 1999).

6.1.2 Paritätischer and Pluralism

In the case of the founding charter of the Paritätischer (Fünfter Wohlfahrtsverband, 1925), something strikingly different can be seen. Starting with the name, *Fünfter Verband* (Fifth Association), the association's otherness is put forward as they chose this designation to distance themselves from the previously established welfare associations with their religious or political value systems. This is made explicit in §2 of the founding charter where it is stated that every organization can become a member of the Fifth Association unless they are public entities or businesses or would better fit into one of the existing welfare associations based on their nature. §1 makes the same case even stronger, emphasizing that the organization wants to preserve its members' individual characters and explicitly distances itself from denominational or political questions.

Pluralistic references (original)	Pluralistic references (translation)
§1 "unter Wahrung ihrer Eigenart"	§1 while preserving their individual character
§1 "verfolgt Wohlfahrtszwecke unter Ausschluß der konfessionellen und politischen Fragen"	§1 pursues welfare purposes excluding denominational and political issues
§2 "jede nicht von Reich, den Ländern"	§2 any welfare institution not operated by

oder Gemeinden betriebene und keinen wirtschaftlichen Geschäftsbetrieb bezweckende Wohlfahrtseinrichtung [...] und ihrem Wesen nach keinem anderen Spitzenverband der freien Wohlfahrtspflege [...] anzugehören hat”	the Reich, federal states or municipalities and not intended for economic business [...] and by its nature not belonging to any other leading association of free welfare
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Table 18: References to Pluralism in the Paritätischer Founding Charter
Source: Fünfter Wohlfahrtsverband (1925)

These references reveal two things: First, while pluralism is not mentioned by name, it is expressed through certain phrases as a concept. Without explicitly stating it in the founding charter, the sentiment is expressed nonetheless. Second, there are far fewer references to the value system in the Paritätischer charter than in that of Caritas. The former will change; the latter will stay the same, as the following analysis shows.

An interesting development can be identified by looking now at documents that are more contemporary, such as the current version of the charter and position papers on the organization’s fundamental values:

Pluralistic references (original)	Pluralistic references (translation)
§1 (3) “Die Verbundenheit und die Zusammenarbeit im Verband heben die Eigenständigkeit der Mitglieder nicht auf. Die Vielfältigkeit ihrer Beweggründe und Aufgaben verpflichtet sie und die von ihnen getragenen Einrichtungen jedoch zu gegenseitiger Rücksichtnahme, Förderung und Ergänzung.”	§1 (3) The solidarity and the cooperation in the association do not undermine the independence of the members. However, the diversity of their motives and tasks obliges them and the institutions they support to mutual consideration, promotion and complementary efforts.
§1 (4) “Er führt die Tradition des 1934 aufgelösten Deutschen Paritätischen Wohlfahrtsverbandes fort.”	§1 (4) It continues the tradition of the German Parity Welfare Association that was dissolved in 1934.
§2 (3) g) “Neben der Verwirklichung von Funktionen eines Dachverbandes kann	§2 (3) g) In addition to implementing functions of an umbrella organization, the

der Verband auch selbst unmittelbar gemeinnützige und mildtätige Aufgaben wahrnehmen und fördern, soweit er dadurch nicht in Konkurrenz zu seinen Mitgliedsorganisationen tritt, sowie gemeinnützige Zwecke anderer Institutionen fördern.”	association can also directly perform and promote non-profit and benevolent tasks, insofar as it does not compete with its affiliates, and promote the charitable purposes of other institutions.
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§4 (3) “Mitglied [...] kann jede als mildtätig oder gemeinnützig anerkannte Wohlfahrtsorganisation werden [...] sofern sie keinem anderen Spitzenverband [...] angehört oder ihrem Selbstverständnis nach angehören sollte.”	§4 (3) Any organization recognized as a charitable or non-profit welfare organization can become a member, as long as it does not belong to any other central association or should not belong to another one based on its self-image.
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Table 19: References to Pluralism in the Paritätischer Current Charter
Source: Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband (2010a)

It becomes apparent that the issue of pluralism has been toned down compared to the original charter, for example, a reference to preserving their individual character is no longer included. In contrast to the case of Caritas, an explicit value system cannot be easily found in the original charter. In the more recent charter, the implicit value system is further reduced, although the previous organization is referenced and some phrases remain similar to the text and spirit of the original charter.

While Caritas has one guiding principle (Catholic charity), which is written into constituting documents and accepted throughout the organization, the Paritätischer has no such thing. Instead, it has *Grundsätze* – fundamentals for the association, and the regional associations have their own individual guiding principles – expressing a de facto pluralism without stating it. Looking at the fundamentals applicable to the central association, we find a very different sentiment than the one of continuity as seen in Caritas.

Grundsätze der Verbandspolitik (original)	Fundamentals of association politics (translation)
“Der Paritätische ist ein Wohlfahrtsver-	The Paritätischer is a welfare association

band von eigenständigen Organisationen, Einrichtungen und Gruppierungen der Wohlfahrtspflege, die soziale Arbeit für andere oder als Selbsthilfe leisten.”

of independent organizations, institutions and groups of charities, which provide social work for others or in the form of self-help.

“Getragen von der Idee der Parität, d. h. der Gleichheit aller in ihrem Ansehen und ihren Möglichkeiten, getragen von den Prinzipien der Toleranz, Offenheit und Vielfalt, will der Paritätische Mittler sein zwischen Generationen und zwischen Weltanschauungen, zwischen Ansätzen und Methoden sozialer Arbeit, auch zwischen seinen Mitgliedsorganisationen.”

Carried by the idea of parity, i.e. the equality of all in terms of prestige and possibilities, supported by the principles of tolerance, openness and diversity, the Paritätischer want to be a mediator between generations and between worldviews, between approaches and methods of social work, also between its member organizations.

“Angesichts des steten Wandels unserer Gesellschaft sieht der Paritätische die Notwendigkeit, soziale Not und dementsprechend 'Wohlfahrt' immer wieder neu zu definieren. Wohlfahrtspflege ist ihrem Charakter nach für den Paritätischen dynamisch. Sie fordert eine jeweils zeitgemäße Beschreibung sozialer Probleme und eine unablässige Suche nach Antworten durch soziale Arbeit.”

In the face of constant change in our society, the Paritätischer sees the necessity of constantly redefining social distress and, accordingly, 'welfare'. Welfare is by its very nature dynamic in the eyes of the Paritätischer. It requires up-to-date descriptions of social problems and an unremitting search for answers through social work.

“Im Paritätischen stehen verschiedene Ansätze und Methoden der sozialen Arbeit gleichberechtigt nebeneinander. Bereits Bewährtes steht neben Neuem, Ehrenamt neben Professionalität, Selbsthilfe neben Fremdhilfe und ambulante neben stationärer Hilfe – getragen von paritätischer Toleranz, die Gegenseitigkeit, konstruktive Kritik, Ergänzung und Koopera-

In the Paritätischer, different approaches and methods of social work stand side by side on an equal footing. Tried and true co-exists with the new, volunteers with professionals, self-help with outside help and outpatient care with inpatient care – supported by egalitarian tolerance, which includes reciprocity, constructive criticism, complementary efforts and cooper-

tion einschließt.”	ation.
“Er fördert die Eigenständigkeit seiner Mitgliedsorganisationen und strebt einen Verband an, der von Solidarität und Toleranz sowie von der Bereitschaft und Fähigkeit seiner Mitglieder zu einem dialogischen Lernen geprägt wird. Er will aus der Vielfalt eine starke vielfältige Einheit entstehen lassen.”	It promotes the autonomy of its member organizations and strives to be an association characterized by solidarity and tolerance as well as by the willingness and ability of its members to engage in a learning dialogue. It wants to turn diversity into a powerful, diverse unity.
“Der Paritätische wirbt für soziale Lösungen in einer Gesellschaft, die von den Gedanken der Toleranz und Vielfalt geprägt ist.”	The Paritätischer promotes social solutions in a society characterized by the ideas of tolerance and diversity.
“Handlungsprinzipien des Paritätischen: Toleranz, Offenheit, Vielfalt”	Action principles of the Paritätischer: tolerance, openness, diversity

Table 20: References to Pluralism in the Fundamentals of the Paritätischer
Source: Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband (1989)

What can be found here, but not in the charter, is a strong commitment to the pluralistic value system of the Paritätischer. Not only does the central organization invite institutions of markedly different character invited in to co-exist as equals, but also mentions diversity and tolerance specifically, and calls for the cooperation and solidarity needed to bridge such diversity. As opposed to emphasizing strong continuity, as in the case of Caritas, the Paritätischer embraces adaptability and recognizes the necessity to update social services to address changing social needs. This list of statements is not exhaustive, but the overview should suffice to demonstrate that despite the only subtle reference to pluralism in its charter, the commitment to pluralism is indisputably strong within the organization. This makes sense for the Paritätischer from the point of view of its original intent and nature. Presumably, to keep the organizational charter as open as possible, the phrasing was deliberately vague. An organization can change its fundamental principle documents easier over time, allowing the organization to stay more adaptable.

Merchel argues that one of the strongest differences between the Paritätischer and the other leading welfare associations, with the possible exception of the Red Cross, is the lack of a connection to an ideological organization, such as a party or a church (1989, p. 79). It has further been argued that due to the absence of an explicitly mentioned coherent value system, openness and plurality were added later to give the organization at least some semblance of a value system. While this study agrees that the Paritätischer was founded without a programmatic value system, it does not agree that openness and plurality were merely an afterthought. Even though the trinity of pluralism, parity, and tolerance were developed in 1986 in North Rhine-Westphalia and then added to the national level in 1989, this does not mean that these values were previously not active in the organization.

As has been shown in the previous section, the practice of pluralism can be traced back to the very founding of the organization. Openness and plurality were the necessary starting point for deliberately creating an organization different from the other established welfare associations. It was a way of bringing together members from different backgrounds and uniting them under one roof, while maintaining their individual character – which was a concern from the beginning, as the founding charter demonstrates. Rock also argues that putting openness and plurality front and center when communicating the values of the Paritätischer was not born out of necessity, but a true effort of conviction to push for the concept of pluralism with different methods and approaches in social work (2010, p. 49). What we find in the case of the Paritätischer, therefore, is a more organically developed original imprint instead of a programmatically imprinted value system.

While the membership of an organization in Caritas ultimately also means pursuit of the overarching ideal of Christian charity in the spirit of Jesus Christ, membership in the Paritätischer does not mean an active pursuit of pluralism in a similar fashion. Pluralism is the point of departure, which is needed in order to be able to unify different and sometimes opposing organizations under one roof. It is an intrinsic and functional aspect of the organization, and, while still value based, not a message to propagate in the same fashion as a religious message. Members can benefit from the services the Paritätischer provides, but act far more independently than members of Caritas (Merchel, 1989, p. 216).

There are also different ways of expressing value systems. The two dimensions, which have become apparent, are frequency and explicitness. The codified and clearly expressible value system of Catholicism is easier to recognize and can be more explicitly expressed. Pluralism on the other hand is less tangible, harder to pin down, and is often paraphrased or expressed as desired effects rather than stated as a value – at least in the beginning stages of the Paritätischer. Starting in 1989, pluralism, parity, and tolerance appear together, specifically identified as fundamentals of the Paritätischer. This suggests that there was a period of finding pluralism as a defining value system – at least explicitly, even though the spirit of pluralism was already identified in the founding charter of the Paritätischer. Based on these insights, the following characteristics of the two value systems within the context of the selected welfare associations can be summarized as follows:

	Catholicism in Caritas	Pluralism in the Paritätischer
Characteristics	Explicit	Open
	Firmly expressed in the charter	Paraphrased in charter
	Frequently mentioned	Explicitly mentioned in position papers on organizational principles
	Connected to outside organization	Independent of outside organization
	Strong guidance on self-image of members	Strong influence on relationship with members

Table 21: Characteristics of Value Systems within Caritas and the Paritätischer

Building on these findings, the development of the value systems within the corpus is now looked at. Instead of showing how these value systems have been described in a sort of ideal situation, as in the case of principle papers, this part of the study exposes how they have manifested in more every-day texts. The nature of the membership magazines is such that they are less theoretical and fundamental than position papers, and they deal mostly with daily business, and topics and issues affecting society and specifically the social sector. By coding the corpus for the value systems, it is shown how the commitment of the associations to their imprinted value systems

is expressed in such practical texts. Importantly, their development over time is tracked in an effort to show how the usage of the imprinted value system evolved over a longer period and, potentially, in correlation to episodes.

6.1.3 Operationalizing the Value Systems in the Welfare Associations

Based on the close reading of charters and value positions, as well as deep immersion in the corpus, the following coding for measuring the presence of the respective value systems in the corpus was generated:

	Catholicism in Caritas	Pluralism in the Paritätischer
Coding	Jesus Christus (Jesus Christ) Barmherzigkeit (compassion) Katholisch (Catholic) Nächstenliebe (charity)	Gleichheit (equality) Offenheit (openness) Vielfalt (plurality) Toleranz (tolerance)
Type of value system	Religious / church affiliated	Open / pluralistic

Table 22: Coding for Value Systems in the Welfare Associations

For the international reader it is important to point out here that for example charity only moderately captures the concept of *Nächstenliebe*, which has a strong religious connotation in German. The same is true for *Barmherzigkeit*, which cannot be used without invoking religious images, such as that of the Good Samaritan (The “good” for example in the German name of the parable is *barmherzig*). As has been described in chapter 4, welfare provision in Germany – in both words and deeds – is heavily influenced by religious ideas. The specific connotations for the words are thus crucial for the conducted analysis. The translations given are, like all translations, approximations by the author.

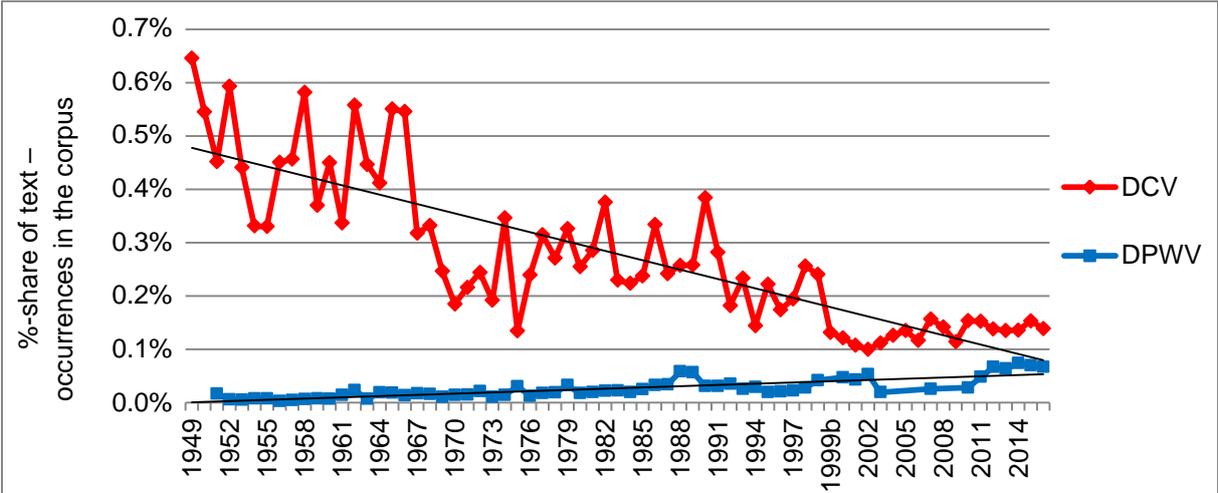
Additionally, the religious nature of the coding for Catholicism in Caritas has been compared to the measurement of the dimension of religiousness as measured by LIWC (see methodology in chapter 5). A comparison between the two ways of meas-

uring shows a strong correlation when measuring religiousness and Catholicism based on the self-developed coding. This is not surprising, but speaks for the accuracy of the coding.

6.1.4 Presence of the Value Systems in the Welfare Associations

Based on the previous coding, the development of the usage of these words in the corpus is tracked. Every data point per year is the aggregated usage of the words in the coding with regard to the respective value system, corrected for the amount of text in that year.

When looking at the development of the presence of the value systems in the organizations, an interesting opposing trend can be observed. While Caritas is dialing down the usage of Catholic words in their texts, the Paritätischer is increasing the usage of words associated with pluralism:



Share of value system references of the total organizational text by year
 Figure 6: Developing Presence of Respective Value System in the Corpus

Overall, the usage of value system words in the Paritätischer increases slightly over time. One explanation for this could be that being open and more willing to incorporate societal trends (or being more in tune with society) serves as a positive internal enforcement – assuming a society that develops more in the direction of pluralism and away from other value systems like religion. However, even though there is a slight upward trend, this all happens at a very low level. The following sections take a closer look at developments within the social sector and consider how the trajectories of the value systems in the corpus correlate with external institutional environmental changes.

What the previous graph also shows is that in terms of proportion of the total text, value system relevant shares of the text remain clearly below 1%:

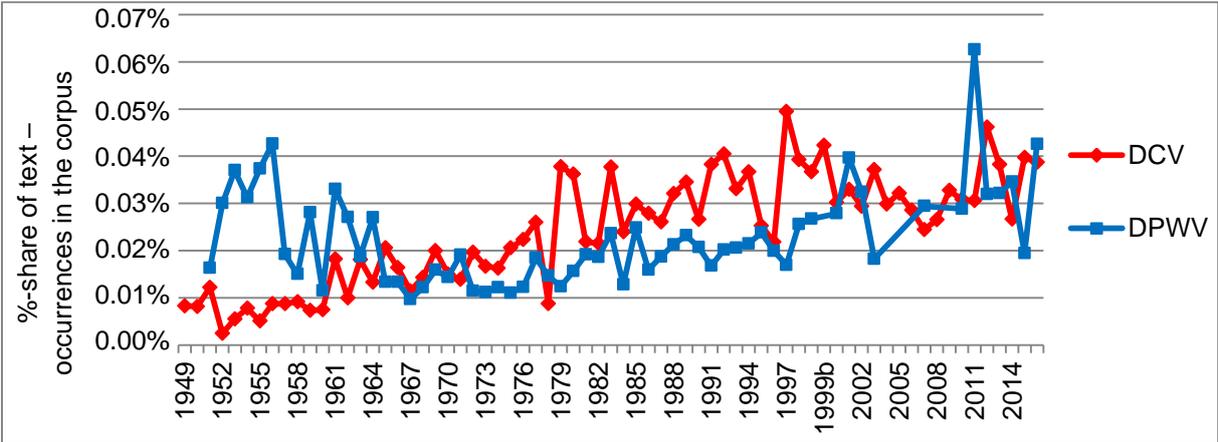
Measurements	Caritas	Paritätischer
Highest level (max)	0.646%	0.074%
Median level	0.244%	0.02%
Lowest level (min)	0.1%	0.003%

Table 23: Change in Prevalence of Value Systems

Clearly, the Catholic value system plays a bigger role in Caritas than the issue of pluralism explicitly plays in the Paritätischer. This is not surprising, as the concept of pluralism is more difficult to grasp. The less explicit usage is also congruent with the usage in the charter and the principle documents.

6.1.5 Presence of the Other Value System in the Welfare Associations

To get a better understanding of how the value systems developed overall, this graph demonstrates the reverse of what was shown before: the presence and development of the two value systems in the alternative organization: Catholicism in the Paritätischer and pluralism in Caritas.



Share of value system references of the total organizational text by year
 Figure 7: Developing Presence of Other Value System in the Corpus

What can be seen is that neither of the value systems has played a large role in the other association. This is in line with the usage of its own value system language. Interestingly, the more the Paritätischer engages with its own value system, the more

it uses the language of other value systems – in this case Catholicism. This shows how the flexible imprinted value system does not block out other value systems, but lets them enter the corpus as well.

For Caritas, a relatively consistent increase of pluralistic language can be observed. This is in line with a decrease of Catholic word usage over time and hints at the organization becoming explicitly less Catholic and more pluralistic in its word-usage.

Correlation between pluralism and Catholicism in the Paritätischer

		Catholicism in the Paritätischer
Pluralism in the Paritätischer	Correlation according to Pearson	.341**
	Significance (2-sided)	0.007
N		61

*** The correlation is significant at the α -level of 0.01 (2-sided)*

Table 24: Correlation between Pluralism and Catholicism in the Paritätischer

In the case of the Paritätischer, the use of Catholic words is due more to references to individual events. For Caritas, however, a trend can be seen: an increase of pluralistic language in the corpus of the association while the usage of Catholic language decreases.

Correlation between Catholicism and pluralism in Caritas

		Pluralism in Caritas
Catholicism in Caritas	Correlation according to Pearson	-.678**
	Significance (2-sided)	0.000
N		69

*** The correlation is significant at the α -level of 0.01 (2-sided).*

Table 25: Correlation between Catholicism and Pluralism in Caritas

6.1.6 Observing the Value Systems in the Welfare Associations

	Catholicism in Caritas	Pluralism in the Paritätischer
Coding	Jesus Christus (Jesus Christ) Barmherzigkeit (compassion) Katholisch (Catholic) Nächstenliebe (charity)	Gleichheit (equality) Offenheit (openness) Vielfalt (plurality) Toleranz (tolerance)
Type of value system	Religious / church affiliated	Open / secular
Overall tendency in the organization of own value system	↓ Decreasing presence in the corpus	↑ Increasing presence in the corpus
Overall tendency in the organization of the other value system	↑ Increasing presence in the corpus	No clear trend visible

Table 26: Coding for Value Systems and their Development in the Corpus

This overall decline of explicitly mentioning the Catholic value system mirrors a trend in society. People have been leaving the Church or stopped attending mass (Sekretariat der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz, 2017), and the legal interpretation of Church privileges is under question. For example, the Court of Justice of the European Union (2018) decided that religious organizations cannot by default require applicants for any position to be of a certain religious denomination. This potentially affects both Christian welfare associations in Germany, of which Caritas is one. The reduction in explicitly engaging with the imprinted value system could thus be a reaction to outside demands from a changing society that appears to be moving away from organized Christianity.

What becomes apparent when coding for the value systems commonly used in the language of the two selected welfare associations is that Caritas has much more of its own language, whereas the Paritätischer is more in line with the general welfare values that Möhle identified for the sector (2001, pp. 84–181). This fits to the organization's proclaimed position as not having affiliations in the same way the others have. While Caritas does uphold most of these values as well, it does not always use the terms as explicitly and often gives preference to specifically Catholic / religious language.³²

6.2 Value Systems in the Welfare Associations and Society

The value systems the welfare associations were imprinted with at founding still very much influence them today, even though these organizations have grown and developed over decades. The previous section demonstrated how this has unfolded in language usage over close to 70 years. To show the relationship between these value systems and the institutional external environment, geographical strength of the two selected welfare associations, Caritas and the Paritätischer, is shown in relation to the strength of the value system present in the federal state they operate in. Afterwards, an analysis of four episodes in the welfare sector will put this idea to the test in a time-sensitive manner and demonstrate the reaction to demands from the external institutional environment.

When looking at how the two welfare associations and their value systems are connected to the institutional external environment, the relationship between the religious distribution in a federal state (presence of value system), and the prevalence of the organization as measured in number of employees in that state (geographic strength) is looked at here. This is to test if in practice there is a clear connection between value system and external institutional environment.

³² This might also be an indicator as to why the self-help movement caught on better in the case of the Paritätischer. The very idea of self-help relies more on individualism than being helped by others. Compared to the Catholic principle of taking care of the sick, there might have required an extra step in thinking to imagine the sick as taking care of themselves to a certain extent.

6.2.1 Regional Prevalence of Value Systems

When looking at religious affiliation by federal state, a relatively clear division between former West and East Germany can be seen. The former GDR states are much less religious than the Western states, *Berlin* and *Hamburg* follow quite closely in being unaffiliated. Some areas with a clear dominance of Catholics (such as *Bayern* or *Saarland*) and states with a majority of Protestants (such as *Niedersachsen* or *Schleswig-Holstein*) become apparent.

Federal state	Catholics	Protestants	Muslims	Unaffiliated/Other
Baden-Württemberg	37%	33%	6%	24%
Bayern	55%	21%	4%	20%
Berlin	9%	19%	8%	63%
Brandenburg*	3%	17%	-	80%
Bremen	12%	41%	10%	36%
Hamburg	10%	30%	8%	52%
Hessen	25%	40%	7%	29%
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*	3%	18%	-	79%
Niedersachsen	18%	50%	3%	30%
Nordrhein-Westfalen	42%	28%	8%	23%
Rheinland-Pfalz	45%	31%	4%	20%
Saarland	63%	19%	3%	14%
Sachsen*	4%	21%	-	75%

Sachsen-Anhalt*	4%	14%	-	81%
Schleswig-Holstein	6%	53%	3%	38%
Thüringen*	8%	24%	-	68%

* Former GDR

Table 27: Share of Religious Affiliations per German Federal State
Source: Statista (2011)

As Anheier & Seibel point out, there is a big difference between West and East Germany when it comes to the importance of religion: “In contrast to West Germany, where Catholics and Protestants make up close to 85 per cent of the population, only about one-quarter of Eastern Germans are members of a church. In fact, East Germany is the most secular part of the Western world, at least in terms of religious affiliation. This puts limits on the strong policy connection between established religion and the German version of the subsidiarity principle.” (2001, p. 5). Since then, affiliation with the churches has decreased overall in Germany, but the basic principle remains valid.

6.2.2 Geographical Distribution of the Welfare Associations

There are no accurate employment numbers available for the welfare organizations in Germany. The closest approximations³³ are those by the *Berufsgenossenschaft für Gesundheitsdienst und Wohlfahrtspflege* (Employers' Liability Insurance Association for Health Service and Welfare Work, BGW) – a liability insurance association for employees in the social sector in which most employees of the welfare associations are insured. They publish their figures separately by federal state, which makes it possible to compare the regional strength of the different associations as measured in number of employees.

These numbers are not exact, as not all employees of member organizations of the welfare associations are members of the BGW. Yet they are the most reliable numbers available and are therefore used from here on for this sub-analysis rather than

³³ As identified by two leading persons independently in one of the welfare associations.

the often-approximated figures reported by the welfare associations themselves. The BGW statistics have also been chosen as a basis for analysis by researchers such as the *Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln* (2004) or Rock (2010).

Based on the BGW, the number of organizations and employees per federal state for the years 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2013 can be found. For this analysis, focus is put on the number of employees. The reason for choosing the headcount instead of the number of organizations is the current trend that can be observed over the last decades: While the number of employees has been steadily increasing across the organizations (Figure 8), the number of organizations has been steadily decreasing since 2000 (Figure 9). This suggests that organizations are either merging, or that more successful organizations are taking over larger shares of the work. Either way, the number of employees gives a better understanding of the concentration of an organization in a federal state than the number of organizations.

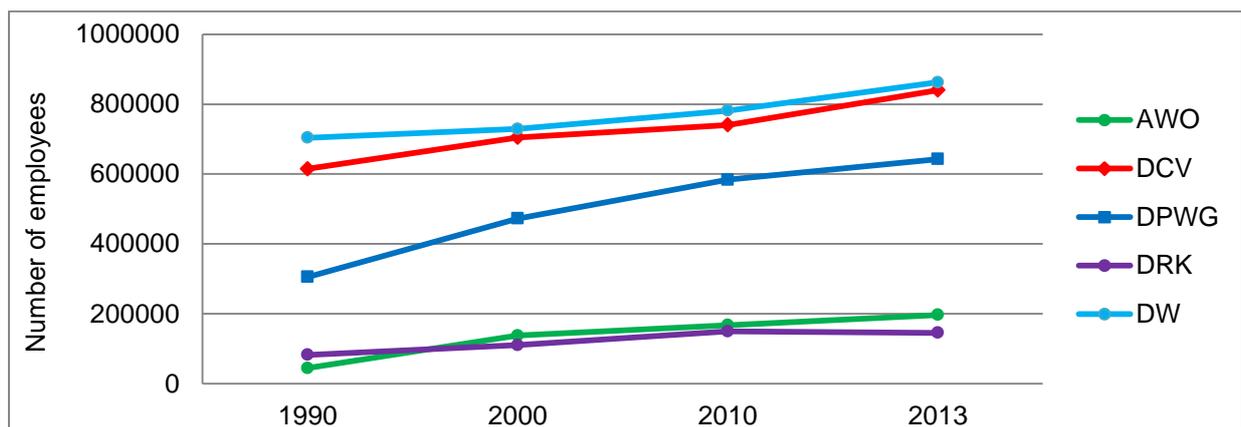


Figure 8: Employees in the Welfare Associations (1990-2013)

Sources: Berufsgenossenschaft für Gesundheitsdienst und Wohlfahrtspflege (2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d)

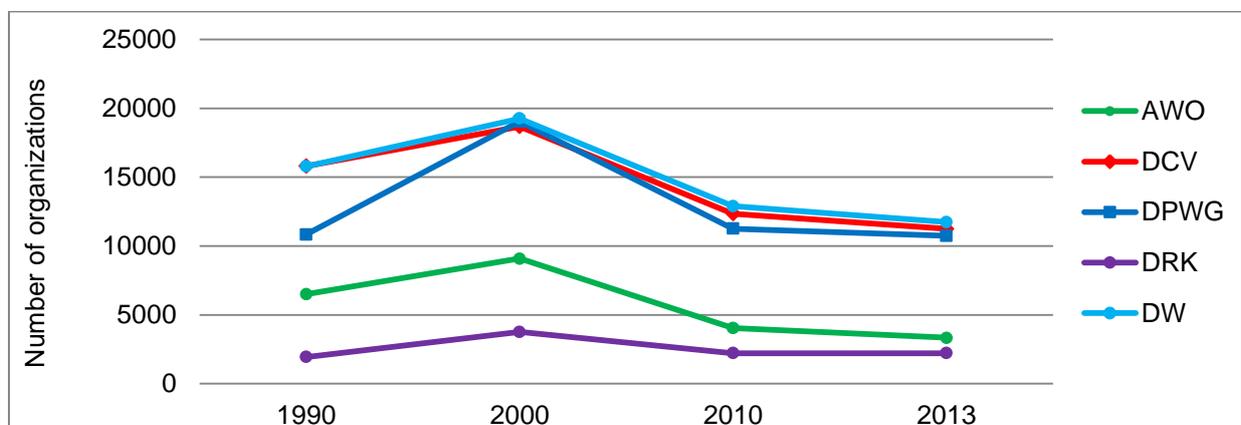


Figure 9: Organizations in the Welfare Associations (1990-2013)

Source: Berufsgenossenschaft für Gesundheitsdienst und Wohlfahrtspflege (2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d)

Just focusing on the two selected organizations of Caritas and the Paritätischer, the following distribution of employees across the federal states is shown:

Federal state	Caritas	Paritätischer
Baden-Württemberg	949	707
Bayern	1246	435
Berlin	351	1371
Brandenburg*	85	793
Bremen	247	1410
Hamburg	307	939
Hessen	565	916
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*	93	994
Niedersachsen	732	967
Nordrhein-Westfalen	1985	724
Rheinland-Pfalz	1860	691
Saarland	1763	1510
Sachsen*	204	876
Sachsen-Anhalt*	399	986
Schleswig-Holstein	127	914
Thüringen*	319	965

Employees per 100,000 citizens in 2013, rounded to full numbers

Table 28: Strength of Organization per Federal State

Source: Berufsgenossenschaft für Gesundheitsdienst und Wohlfahrtspflege (2015d)

If the value systems have a connection to the regional strength of the welfare associations, one would expect Caritas to be relatively strong in those federal states with a

high proportion of Catholics, and the Paritätischer relatively strong in those federal states with a high proportion of unaffiliated people. One would thus expect Caritas to be much stronger in former West Germany and the Paritätischer to be stronger in the former GDR.

Comparing the regional strength of an organization with the strength of the corresponding value system in the federal state is to suggest a connection between the two factors. Organizational strength is defined here as the number of employees per 100,000 members of the population in a federal state. Strength of value system is defined as the reported percentage of the population affiliated with that value system. It is assumed that unaffiliated people, those who have chosen not to be affiliated with a religious group, will have an intrinsic preference for the Paritätischer between the two organizations.

6.2.3 Caritas and Catholicism – Regional Strength

Correlations between Regional Organizational Strength of Caritas and Regional Value Systems

		Protestant	Catholics	Muslims	Unaffiliated
Organizational strength of Caritas in the federal state <i>(employees per citizen)</i>	Correlation according to Pearson	-0.046	.910**	-0.309	-.753**
	Significance (2-sided)	0.867	0.000	0.354	0.001
	N	16	16	11	16

**** The correlation is significant at the α -level of 0.01 (2-sided)**

Table 29: Correlations between Regional Organizational Strength of Caritas and Regional Value Systems

As can be seen, there is a strong positive correlation between a region being predominantly Catholic and the strength of Caritas' presence there. There is also a strong negative correlation between the organizational strength of Caritas and the population being largely unaffiliated, which means that Caritas is significantly more

present in Catholic federal states and significantly less present in states largely unaffiliated. This is mainly due to the high number of unaffiliated people in former East Germany, and the small presence Caritas has built there.

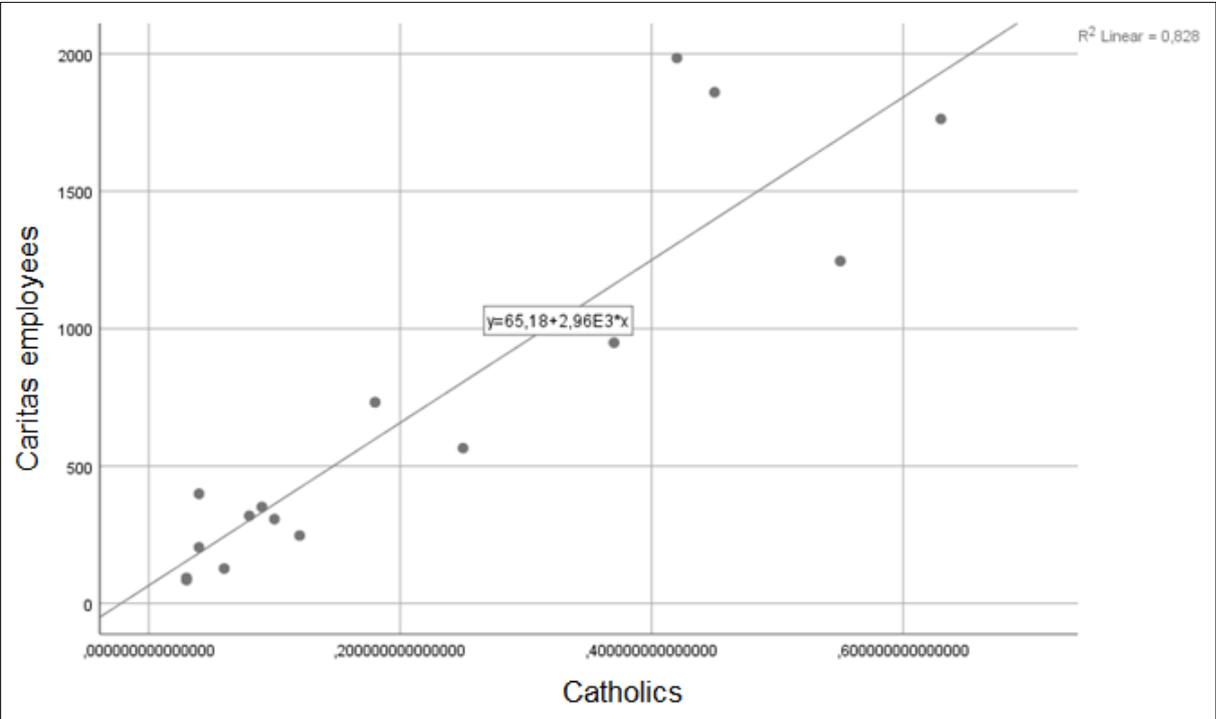


Figure 10: Regional Strength of Caritas and of Catholicism

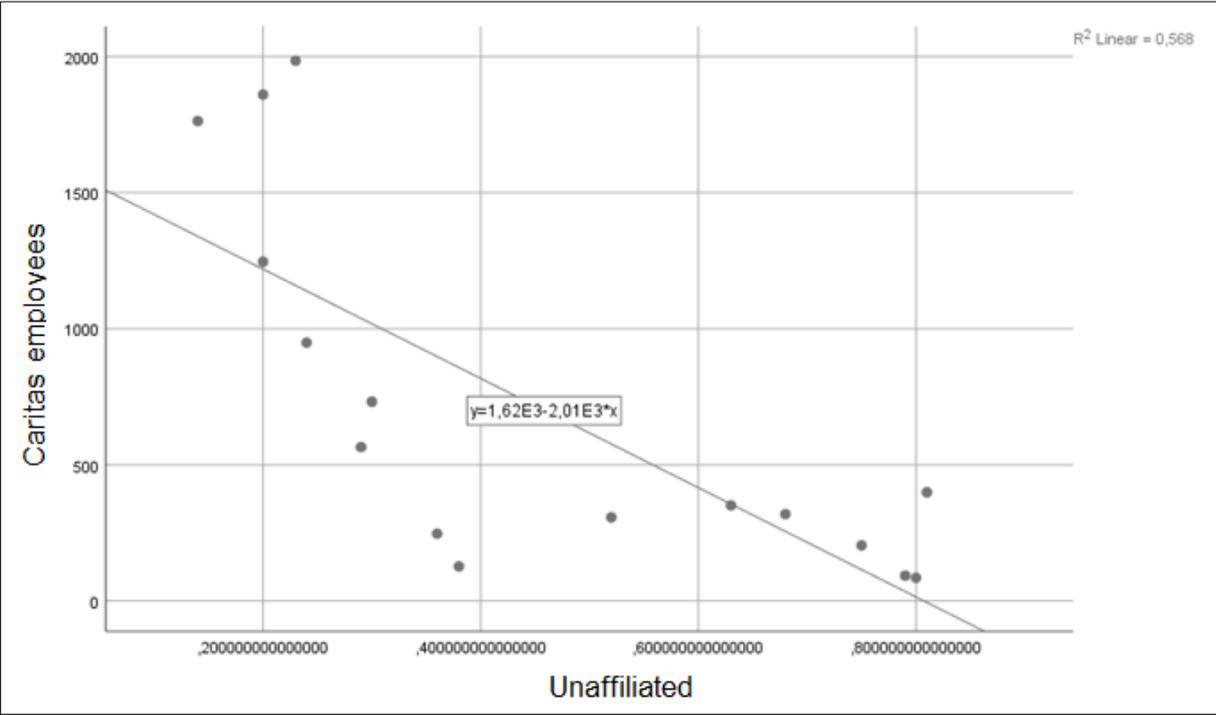


Figure 11: Regional Strength of Caritas and of Unaffiliated People

6.2.4 Paritätischer and Pluralism – Regional Strength

Correlations between Regional Organizational Strength of the Paritätischer and Regional Value Systems

		Protestant	Catholics	Muslims	Unaffiliated
Organizational strength of the Paritätischer in the federal state (employees per citizen)	Correlation according to Pearson	-0.019	-0.176	0.249	0.109
	Significance (2-sided)	0.945	0.513	0.461	0.687
	N	16	16	11	16

Table 30: Correlations between Regional Organizational Strength of the Paritätischer and Regional Value Systems

As table 30 shows, there is no significant correlation between the regional organizational strength of the Paritätischer and the prevalent religious affiliation (or lack thereof). Even though there are regional differences, there is no significant relationship between the regionally prevalent value system and the organizational strength of the Paritätischer. This highlights the application of a pluralistic value system, which can incorporate a number of different convictions.

Another possible explanation is that different types of value systems make it more or less difficult for organizations to venture outside of their core demographic. Arguably, an organization with a clearly defined and codified value system is less flexible in adapting to demands from different groups than an organization with a pluralistic value system. What has been shown above is the relationship of an organization's value system to its external institutional environment. It has further been demonstrated that value systems can have different impacts depending on their nature. This suggests that each welfare association can be expected to deal with episodes in the welfare sector differently.

6.2.5 Expected Roles of the Differing Value Systems

Due to the different natures of the two value systems, their roles are assumed to differ in terms of how they deal with external institutional demands. It can be expected that the Paritätischer with its pluralistic value system is better equipped to include external institutional demands and incorporate them within the organization, since it already has a wide variety of different and sometimes contradictory member organizations under its roof. It can also be expected that the Paritätischer will have less need to bring the demands emerging in the episodes in line with its value system. Imprinted pluralism would thus enable that organization to absorb outside demand and incorporate it more easily than Caritas. Catholicism on the other hand is expected to be more at odds with external institutional demands, pushing more aggressively against them and to act as an immune system against what it construes to be invading influences.

The following section will introduce four episodes that have affected or are still affecting the social sector: the emergence of self-help groups, reunification, privatization, and social innovation. Then the relationship between these episodes and the value system in the respective association will be analyzed.

6.3 Studying Changes in Society

Mair, Wolf and Seelos (2016) demonstrate how organizational scholars can contribute to the study of large societal challenges. Some, though not all of the following episodes happened or are still unfolding on a grand scale, and all of them have (had) an impact on the most dominant organizations in German welfare provision: the welfare associations. As Mair, Wolf and Seelos argued for what they term “the nested and interlinked relationship between social problems and social systems” (2016, p. 2027), it is here argued for the interlinked relationship between external institutional environment and organizations.

Observing the link between an organization and its external institutional environment is nothing new. Previous studies have looked at how conflict affects organizations (Mair, Mayer, & Lutz, 2015) or the organization’s field (Mair & Hehenberger, 2014). What these have not done, however, is look at how, over time, a changing society with numerous different demands has affected long-established organizations and their core imprinted value systems.

Pluralism in civil society is seen by Wolleboek and Selle as an individual, conflict-oriented approach (2008, pp. 49–50). They describe it as a “hierarchical-federated structure, linking the local and national level, [which] has enabled organizations to take policy initiatives.” Catholicism, on the other hand, has played several roles throughout history. The following analysis looks at the role these two value systems have played in the organizations Caritas and Paritätischer over the last seven decades and during different episodes in the welfare sector.

6.3.1 Episodes with an Impact on the German Welfare Sector

Four episodes within German society were selected for analysis on their impact on the imprinted value systems of the welfare associations: the self-help movement, German reunification, privatization of the sector, and the recent topic of social innovation. The following section will first describe these episodes and how the demands, which emerged with them, could have become a challenge to existing value systems in the welfare associations. This will be translated into a coding system to measure the development of the episodes in the corpus. Following their measurement, the quantitative development will be qualitatively highlighted with selected sections underlining the impact of the episodes on the development of the imprinted value systems in the organizations.

6.3.1.1 The Self-Help Movement

At the end of the 1920s, Heimann called self-help an element of social movements (Trojan, 2011, p. 87). Even though the idea of self-help dates back at least that far, the concept of solidary self-help was mostly lost again. There is no clear consensus as to when self-help initiatives began to flourish in Germany. Trojan identifies the 1970s as the starting point of the new movement of self-help in Germany (2011, p. 88). Matzat (2000), in contrast, dates the beginnings of the self-help group movement to the mid-1980s. This is interesting because at that time over 22,000 self-help groups were already members of the Paritätischer. Schott and Hornberg (2011) see self-help groups as an official part of public health provision since the 1990s.

Following Geene et al. (2009), the development of the German self-help movement can be separated into four phases: the formation of groups concerned with the issue

of addiction (until the 1960s), self-support addressing chronic illness and handicapped people (late 1960s until late 1970s), politicization of the self-help idea (late 1970s until mid-1980s), and the implementation of networks (since mid-1980s). However, it is only in the second phase of the movement that we see the (new) defining characteristic of self-determination expressed in the corpus. It is also shown that the difference between phases one and two is a shift in focus, whereas phases three and four are signs of growing strength.

Initially, groups and organizations were formed to deal with the issue of addiction, specifically to alcohol, but also to cigarettes and pills. Caritas, for example, addressed the problem of addiction in their magazines by issuing a supplement magazine attached to the original publication called *Der Helfer* (The Helper). *Der Helfer*, which had the subtitle *Werkblatt der Katholischen Suchtkrankenfürsorge* (Worksheet for Catholic Addict Care), exclusively dealt with addiction and how to help addicts from a Catholic point of view. These ambitions were an answer to the social stigma of alcohol addiction, which was insufficiently treated by the medical system (Geene et al., 2009, p. 11).

However, in terms of wording, this endeavor was described mainly from the point of view of traditional welfare support as opposed to actual self-help. Not surprisingly, it lacks the spirit of self-reliance and self-support that resonates in the phrases later used by the self-help movement:

Dear friend, all these facts call imperiously for the charitable helper; if not much mischief is bound to arise and spread among the people. But where are they, those willing to sacrifice themselves, to commit themselves in true charity, in order to wrest whole-heartedly endangered souls from the powers of darkness? – That you yourself, dear friend, would like to make your time and energy available I suppose to be so certain that I do not want to speak another word about it. But where can the others who are needed to oppose the enemy with an 'acies bene ordinata', a well-ordered army, be found? – Caritas, 1949

This appeal to form an army to wrest souls from the powers of darkness is highly emotional and equipped with Catholic phrases. It also does not put the addicts themselves in an active position, as the later self-help movement did. In this very traditional view, the helpers who care for and assist the addicts assume the active part. While there are similarities to the later phases of the self-help movement, such as the wish

to care for those previously overlooked, this phase was not at odds with the traditional welfare paradigm.

The second phase brought with it a different idea. The topical focus shifted to chronic illnesses and handicapped people. This led to the founding of the *Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Hilfe für Behinderte* (Federal Working Group Help for Handicapped) in 1967. In 1970, the *Forum chronisch Kranker und behinderter Menschen* (Forum for Chronically Ill and Handicapped People) was founded within the Paritätischer. Again, this second wave was aimed at including people previously not cared for. Something had changed, however. People who wanted to do things differently conducted this second wave.

There was this break in the 1970s. This whole new area of self-help groups, day-care centers for children, de-hospitalization, and so on, they all were looking for a home, and they found it [with the Paritätischer]. All the other associations had problems with this difficult to grasp movement, had difficulties to integrate them. And then the Fifth, the fifth wheel, said, we will try this. – Leading representative of the Paritätischer, interviewed on 17 December 2014

The Paritätischer was in fact the only welfare association to give the self-help groups a home. The development of self-help group organizations in the welfare associations reflects this. Based on the report of the BAGFW, all of them are members of the Paritätischer:

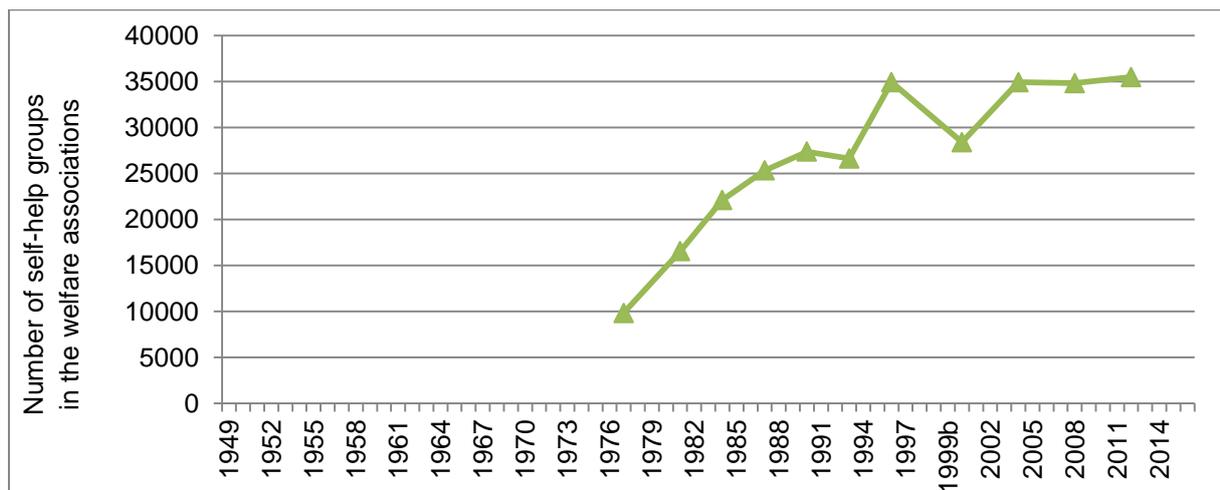


Figure 12: Development of Self-help Groups in the Welfare Associations
Source: Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege (2014)

One important aspect of this new movement and this specific wave was that it was done in a way to challenge the previous concept of welfare provision, to do things

differently, and to include those in need who had previously been left out. A hallmark was to focus more on self-reliance when bringing in people.

If you look at our regional managing directors, our managing directors of the big member organizations: 'Look at what you did during the 1970s and 80s. You came from university and were unhappy about the traditional welfare provision. [...] And then you were looking for specific structures, or to build new structures.
– Leading representative of the Paritätischer, interviewed on 3 November 2014

The organization of self-help groups, and more generally self-organized initiatives outside the established welfare associations, also marked the first (socially manifested) critical view of the welfare associations (Merchel, 1989, p. 11). Going even further, Lüers (1977) argues that the welfare associations were themselves perceived as cartels trying to hinder new ways of carrying out social work – which sparked a challenge to their position by organizations initially founded outside their structures in the form of self-help groups, which represented a manifested criticism to the inflexibility of the existing organizations. This criticism was in fact not new at the time. Wex was already reminded of cartels when describing welfare associations (1929, p. 52). Merchel argues how the emergence of self-help groups put pressure on the welfare associations to legitimize their position (1989, p. 43). He identifies two lines of conflict: competition between established and emerging organizations for legitimacy, and the relationship between the organizations.

Especially Catholic organizations appear to have been opposed to introducing new approaches (Schultz, 1981). Fuchs calls for Caritas to be more engaged with the self-help groups and to support them, which illustrates the low level of engagement that had been seen up until then (1992, p. 63). He also emphasizes that it was not good only to let one of the welfare associations strongly engage with these organizations – by which he means the Paritätischer.

According to Braun, Kettler, and Becker (1997), the concept of self-help was very successful in East Germany after reunification. Demand for it was comparable in both parts of Germany. The same WHO concepts were used, leading to comparable results – despite the different problems East Germany faced after reunification.

Ultimately, a large portion of the self-help groups was absorbed by the Paritätischer – thus, in Bauer's view, de-politicizing them (1978, p. 94). Connected to that was a sense that the established welfare associations were incapable of innovation

(Engelhardt, 1989). Bauer's assessment of de-politicization of the movement historically falls at the beginning of the third wave, which Geene et al. (2009) identify as the politicization of the movement. Merchel, on the other hand, argues that the support the Paritätischer gave the self-help movement put them in a position to stabilize and to articulate their arguments/positions more strongly (1989, p. 77).

For the Paritätischer, this episode also demonstrates the strength that became apparent in the pluralistic idea of being the welfare association for the rest (Lüers, 1977, p. 254). As the rest, meaning those who intrinsically did not belong to any of the other welfare associations, became bigger and bigger in number, the legitimacy of the Paritätischer as a player in civil society and representing civil society likewise grew. Incorporating this new trend in the social sector meant also accepting change from outside the organization into the organization fit to the plural value system, which made it easier for the Paritätischer to bring these new organizations in under one roof. That the self-help groups only became members of the Paritätischer is a case in point.³⁴

In the Catholic magazine *Jugendhilfe* (Help for adolescents), Junge emphasizes the importance of the specific association's background and self-image when supporting alternative projects (1986, p. 2). Generally, existing welfare associations mostly regarded the emerging self-help movements as difficult to integrate (Institut für Sozialarbeit und Sozialpädagogik, 1985).

The skepticism of Caritas towards the newly emerging self-help groups was explicitly expressed to be due to the fact that they were lacking, in their words, the ecumenical dimension of Christian salvation (Deutscher Caritasverband, 1986, p. 196). Only self-help groups with an explicitly Catholic self-understanding, which are looking for a connection to the Church, should be at the center of support by Caritas (Deutscher Caritasverband, 1986, p. 201). Self-help groups engaged with Caritas would also have been forbidden to speak out on issues not directly about themselves and beyond their specific cause. In practice, this meant the exclusion of self-help groups as members of Caritas.

³⁴ Another example of this is found in Muslim welfare organizations, which have been established in Germany since the 1960s. (Aksel, 2015; Ceylan & Kiefer, 2016) Not many of them have joined a welfare association, but for those organizations which want to join one there is no alternative but the Paritätischer. – Leading representative of the Paritätischer, interviewed on 21 January 2015

This description of the development of the self-help movement in Germany shows that several aspects of the movement made collaboration with the established welfare associations difficult. It also shows that although the outside movement posed a threat to the status quo of the welfare associations, the Paritätischer engaged with self-help groups and gave them a home within the welfare associations – virtually as the only one. One of the reasons numerous self-help initiatives sought entry into the Paritätischer was the specific structure of the Paritätischer, including its pluralistic value system, which enabled the new members to keep their character and their new approaches of providing welfare services.

6.3.1.2 Operationalizing the Episode – Self-help

When coding for the self-help movement, the focus was kept simple. As the concept is difficult to grasp, the text was specifically searched for indications of the development of the central ideas of *Selbsthilfe* (self-help) and *Selbstbestimmung* (self-determination).

Self-help	
Demands	Self-reliance / self-determination “Do things differently” Include those people previously not cared for
Institutions and processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Groups concerned with addiction were formed (until the 1960s) ▪ Self-support addressing chronic illnesses and handicapped people (late 1960s until late 1970s) ▪ Politicization of the self-help idea (late 1970s until mid1980s) ▪ Implementation of networks (since mid1980s)
Coding for the episode	Selbsthilfe (self-help) Selbstbestimmung (self-determination)

Connection to the value system of the welfare association	<p>DCV: Focus on traditional welfare provision in first phase, afterwards threat to relationship of helper and helpee, as well as traditional structures</p> <p>DPWV: Incorporated second wave with new approach, despite being threatened themselves, inclusion of self-help groups and setting of new structures</p>
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Table 31: Characteristics of the Self-help Episode

6.3.1.3 German Reunification

Reunification was arguably the most important episode in recent German history. The faltering of the East German government at the beginning of 1989 started it, and the fall of the Berlin wall on 9 November 1989 made it most visible. Reunification was formally completed on 3 October 1990. This was, however, only the start of the ongoing process of bringing the two geographic sides of East and West Germany together again.

At German reunification, the *Einigungsvertrag* (Unification Treaty) ensured that the social welfare system of the *Bundesrepublik* would be extended to the GDR. As article 32 of the treaty states:

The Free Welfare Associations and the providers of Free Youth Help make an indispensable contribution with their facilities and services to the socially oriented state of our Basic Law. The establishment and expansion of free welfare and free youth help to the territory specified in Article 3 is to be promoted within the framework of constitutional responsibilities. – Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz (1990)

The opening up of East Germany to organizations from the West was the starting shot. All types of ventures rushed in to take advantage of the new opportunities that the former GDR presented. The same was true for welfare associations, because the Western welfare system was to be brought over as well.

The biggest name in welfare provision in East Germany was the *Volkssolidarität* (People's Solidarity), which can be seen as the GDR's welfare association. During

reunification, one of the questions this organization was facing was how to best integrate itself into the Western system:

[The Volkssolidarität] was a pretty big shop. And there were reservations against them in the association, due to their closeness to the SED³⁵. You could not become district manager without being a member of the party. [...] The AWO made connections to the Volkssolidarität and said: 'We are social democrats, you were social democrats once. You just developed differently, but we are of one spirit. Times have changed. You dissolve yourselves and tell your members to join the AWO.' The Volkssolidarität was pretty important in the East. Many employees and many services, for which they were responsible. This did not fit to their self-image. And then they came to us [= the Paritätischer], because they had seen that that is an association which supports us, where we can be members without giving ourselves up, where we can keep our mission statement, our logo, our name, our way of working, and so forth. – Leading representative of the Paritätischer, interviewed on 21 January 2015

What we find again is that an open and flexible value system was conducive to incorporating an organization whose basic values were at odds with other existing organizations. This allowed the *Volkssolidarität* to become one of the very few East German organizations which did not have to merge with a West German partner organization, but could integrate itself into an organization (Angerhausen, 2003, p. 305). At the same time, the *Volkssolidarität* already had an extensive infrastructure in East Germany, which all the West German organizations were lacking (Angerhausen, Backhaus-Maul, Offe, Olk, & Schiebel, 1998). This was of immense value to the Paritätischer when developing in East Germany:

The Volkssolidarität was very, very helpful for us, because the Volkssolidarität was present in every area. They had a car, a driver, and, very importantly, a telephone in every region. A telephone was no matter of course in the GDR. [...] And that was very helpful for us, for the development of our structures with the other member organizations. – Leading representative of the Paritätischer, interviewed on 21 January 2015

³⁵ *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, SED) – the governing Marxist-Leninist party of the GDR.

This type of cooperation and assimilation was in some ways parallel to how the Paritätischer quite positively engaged with National Socialism when the situation presented itself and even dissolved itself to join the NSV. After reunification, they were also open to engage with the SED baggage of the *Volkssolidarität* – once again illustrating the double-edged nature of plurality.

It was more difficult for Caritas to enter East Germany, and ultimately they were less successful. Initially, they were seen as sought-after partners (Weiß, 1992, p. 8) – especially considering that churches were “one of the few expressions of civil society” in Central and Eastern Europe (Ferris, 2005, p. 318), which would also have been true for East Germany at the time. One way of developing at that time could have been a rush to churches by people eager to express further their newfound freedom. Ultimately, however, Caritas could never develop a presence as strong as in those areas where the local population was Catholic and thus more in line with its value system. Since about 5 percent of Catholics and 25 percent of Protestant Christians live among 70 percent of non-Christians in the new federal states, then charitable work can be done in no area comprehensively, but only emblematically in certain areas (Hostombe, 1992, p. 109). This can also be seen as an appeal to stay true to Caritas’ fundamental Christianity, and not expand just for the sake of expansion. It again underscores Caritas’ view that true charitable work is connected to Christianity.

In the aftermath of reunification, Church events such as the Catholic synod in the GDR in 1975 were seen as an especially important orientation (Lehmann, 1992, p. 90), even though more recent analysis concludes that there was far less impact (Pilvousek, 2011). Cardinal Lehmann emphasized how every community has to fulfill the mission of the Lord in all dimensions of the gospel, and how challenging this would be especially in the (former) GDR (1992, p. 78). Despite the impressive Caritas work in our Church in the communities of the former GDR, Caritas could not establish a strong presence in East Germany (Lehmann, 1992, p. 83).

The East German Catholic Church had retained a certain amount of distance to the state. From the point of view of Caritas, the Church there had been true to Catholic values (Feiereis, 1992, p. 16). Caritas expected resistance to religious organizations from the beginning – at least for a while (Feiereis, 1992, p. 22). However, if Caritas’ failure to establish itself in the former GDR was only based on an organization being religious, then the Diakonie as the other church-affiliated welfare association should

also have a very limited presence in East Germany. That, however, is not the case. In fact, the Diakonie is one of the two most prominent welfare associations in East Germany today – together with the Paritätischer. How could that be?

Since the early 1990s, we [Diakonie] have been in a self-finding process. For a while, we had almost abandoned theology in our daily work altogether. Meaning, theologians were not present on all boards. For the whole organization, this meant that we were officially church-affiliated, but only in name, not in spirit. However, this has left us a bit stranded. After all, if we are not Protestant, then what are we? Only in recent years is religion making its way back into the organization. However, to me this is now more as a front than actually lived faith.
– Regional managing director of the Diakonie, interviewed on 16 April 2015

This shows that the more firmly Caritas stayed true to its own value system, the more difficult it was for them to connect to people in the prevailing system in the former GDR. The problem was not the label church-affiliated. It was the active usage of the religious value system.

It is clear that former East Germany is still a very areligious region today, as was demonstrated by the comparison of the regional strength of the two welfare associations and the value systems regionally present. This is not surprising, considering the minimal role churches were allowed to play there, or the environment, as Fuchs describes it: 40 years of centrally steered atheistic socialism (1992, p. 57). In the early years of reunification, Fuchs called for Caritas and Diakonie as the two Christian associations to play a particular role to fight old SED structures, specifically in the social sector (1992, p. 62). At least concerning the general presence in the former GDR, Diakonie was quite successful.

Unlike the Paritätischer, it was important for Caritas to have an ideological connection with the people they employed and especially those that were taken over from existing GDR welfare organizations. Bishop Dr. Joachim Wanke writes:

In the current situation of our local churches in Thuringia, I have given as a guideline: In the area of Caritas, we only take over former state institutions if we are able to shape them in a Christian fashion through our women and men. Western voices sometimes criticize us ... But I think that this is not our mission as a church in Germany to be everywhere – and nowhere right. Caritas would not necessarily have to be the largest welfare association in Germany – it would

be better if it pioneered the combination of professionalism of social service with the inner belief motivating all of its employees and their willingness to take on socially neglected social services. – Hostombe (1992, p. 112)

Reinelt agrees and emphasizes the importance of having a necessary immersion in Christian motivation, besides the professional qualification (1992, p. 117). However, he also recognizes the importance of acts of Christian charity, which non-baptized employees could carry out, as long as they felt connected to the spirit of the gospel.

Neumann expects that more than half and up to 75 percent of Caritas' facilities will not last (1992, p. 123). Much of this is due to Western regulation and the sense of Western Caritas-Catholicism, as previously most of the work was done by non-baptized people, or for example remarried divorced Catholics (Neumann, 1992, p. 123). Angela Merkel, later Chancellor of Germany, recognized the difficulties of bringing Christian values into an atheist state, and was thankful for all the good Caritas brought into the East (1992, p. 126).

6.3.1.4 Operationalizing the Episode – Reunification

When coding for the episode of German reunification, a broader approach was taken than for self-help. The reason is that there are more expressions specifically used with regard to this episode, and it can be defined a bit clearer.

Reunification	
Demands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bring Germany together Use the new opportunity area of the former GDR Establish a presence in the former GDR Deal with the requirements of the new clients
Institutions and processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fall of the Berlin wall Unification treaty Moving east into the new federal states Establishing the West German welfare concept in the East

Coding for the episode	Ostdeutschland (East Germany) Wiedervereinigung (Reunification) Volkssolidarität (People's Solidarity) DDR (GDR) Solidaritätszuschlag (solidarity surcharge)
Connection to the value system of the welfare association	DCV: Dealing with the prevalent socialism and atheism in the new area, venturing into an opportunity area that is contrary to the organization's value system DPWV: Tolerance for their demands, inclusion of the <i>Volkssolidarität</i> (as opposed to the AWO)

Table 32: Characteristics of the Reunification Episode

6.3.1.5 Privatization

The debate surrounding modernizing the public bureaucracy had been a constant issue since the 1970s, when there was generally a push to do things differently and adjusting to a different institutional external environment with different demands. In the face of growing demands, the reduction of tax revenue flowing into the municipalities made a new approach necessary. The aim was to become more efficient and effective and introduce a stronger sense of customer orientation and service mentality (Richter, 2002, p. 102).

Privatization in the welfare sector saw a number of different reforms and changes. A number of different reforms and changes marked the privatization of the sector. The most significant changes in the legal environment were:

- Long-term care insurance does not distinguish between free welfare associations and private companies (1994)
- Primacy of free welfare associations is taken out of the Federal Social Aid Law (1996)
- Primacy of free welfare organizations is taken out of the Federal Children and Youth Aid Law (1998)
- Federal Social Code is changed to reflect the changes in the sector (2005)

Another area was the introduction of new management systems since the 1990s. The combination of all these changes led to the breakdown of historical privileges that had put up entry barriers to keep non-welfare associations from becoming active in the welfare sector.³⁶ Heinze and Schneiders (2013) highlight this as one of the two main issues for the sector.³⁷ They also emphasize the loss of the traditional image of welfare associations as charitable institutions, as they are increasingly seen as business actors.

Heinze and Schneiders (2013) see this as the potential beginning of a downward spiral for welfare associations. The more they are seen as businesses, the more they lose their non-profit image, and the more the public will ask for competition in the welfare sector, leading the associations to act like businesses to preserve their position.³⁸ Richter associates a neoliberal social ideology with these changes (2002, pp. 13–16) – coupled with the challenge for welfare associations to rethink their self-image and redefine their basis of legitimacy.

Productivity and success were called ugly principles in the early phase of the privatization episode, which were connected to expedience in the social area (Reinelt, 1992, p. 114). Calculating the economic feasibility should not be the only aspect when judging a facility, according to this school of thought. Rather, competition in the welfare sector would attack the dignity of the people being helped.

Using the picture of Christ washing the feet of the Apostles on Maundy Thursday, Reinelt argues for the traditional view of having one person who helps and one person who receives help. This champions the idea that there is also a celebratory aspect inherent to the act of helping, which can run the risk of becoming muted through economization (1992, p. 115). This again underlines the importance of the traditional welfare paradigm of helper and helpee to Caritas, which was already important for the organization's position on the self-help movement.

³⁶ Rock (2010) emphasizes that European Law has played only a minor role at best in inducing these changes. While there has been pressure on the image and operation of welfare associations, this was the result of national political changes. He shows that there does not have to be a conflict between welfare and competition, and that in the aftermath of national changes in legislation, the member organizations had to adapt to market forces. One of the aims of this episode from the side of the legislator was the switch from an input oriented system towards an output oriented system. (Richter, 2002, p. 48)

³⁷ Next to secularization, especially affecting the two big religious associations.

³⁸ Interestingly, the economic pressure that is always mentioned did not result in lower welfare spending. (Pierson, 2011) However, the author does not address the question of whether this constant amount of spending benefits a comparable number of people or more people.

Richter also compares the changes enacted during the time of privatization to those made during the emergence of self-help groups, which had already challenged the position of welfare associations (2002, p. 116), and which he deems the first wave of pluralization of the sector, with privatization being the second. However, he also sees the risk that the changes made in welfare associations as they become more like businesses might leave the sector poorer on the whole (Richter, 2002, p. 117).

Tellingly, moving into the 1990s there was also a process of reflecting on and adjusting the mission statements in the welfare associations. The Paritätischer published its new fundamental principles in 1989 and Caritas adopted its adjusted charter in 1997. The timing suggests that at least in the case of Caritas the aforementioned legal changes in the social code in the previous years might have influenced this.

The changes of this episode also go hand in hand with the aspect of the associations' being value-based organizations. As such, especially the two large religious associations have special rights when it comes to labor law. Their employees, for example, do not have the right to strike, and they can be fired on religious grounds. The more these organizations react like businesses to a market environment, the more these special conditions come under attack by unions and the public in general. Even though the umbrella organizations are associations, not all of their members are. This can blur the lines between different types of member organizations.

Heinze et al. (2013) even speak of a hybridization of the whole sector (see also the next episode Social Innovation). Heinze and Scheider (2013) see a loss of legitimacy of the umbrella associations resulting from this economization. Where the Paritätischer is concerned, there is presumably less chance of confusing the public with its combination of business members and charitable members, as its members often do not use the logo of the umbrella association and are usually seen on their own.

These changes could also mean that organizations in the welfare sector, particularly the welfare associations themselves, begin to focus more on projects and initiatives, which are economic. This behavior would ensure the continuing existence of the organizations (Richter, 2002, p. 152). It would also leave open those areas, which are more difficult to cater to. Down the road, this could then leave an opportunity space for those not satisfied with how things are done, who could then challenge the position, approach, and legitimacy of the established organizations.

Generally, this phase of privatization brought with it a paradigm shift towards reducing the dominant position of the welfare associations, and introducing more market-based approaches into the sector (Boeßenecker & Vilain, 2013, p. 24). However, it also represents a continuation of the self-help episode, which lay the foundation for challenging the position of the welfare associations, as well as the basis for the emergence of social entrepreneurship in Germany.

6.3.1.6 Operationalizing the Episode – Privatization

When coding for privatization in the German welfare sector, a broader approach was taken again. The reason is that there are more expressions specifically used with regard to this episode, and it can be defined more clearly.

Privatization	
Demands	<p>Open the welfare market to private market forces</p> <p>Increase efficiency</p> <p>Provide services under reduced public budgets</p>
Institutions and processes	<p>Long-term care insurance does not distinguish between free welfare associations and private companies (1994)</p> <p>Primacy of free welfare associations is taken out of the Federal Social Aid Law (1996)</p> <p>Primacy of free welfare organizations is taken out of the Federal Children and Youth Aid Law (1998)</p> <p>Federal Social Code is changed to reflect the changes in the sector (2005)</p>
Coding for the episode	<p>Einsparung (saving)</p> <p>Wirtschaftlichkeit (economy)</p> <p>Rentabilität (profitability)</p> <p>Effizienz (efficiency)</p> <p>Ökonomisierung (economization)</p>

Kostendruck (cost pressures)	
Connection to the value system of the welfare association	<p>DCV: Position is being threatened by new players in the sector, moral basis / legitimacy could be called into question, organization could be seen more as a business</p> <p>DPWV: position is being threatened by new players in the sector, moral basis / legitimacy could be called into question, members could be more seen as businesses</p>

Table 33: Characteristics of the Privatization Episode

6.3.1.7 Social Innovation

Internationally, social innovation and entrepreneurship has developed in different ways – both as a concept and as organizational legal forms available for social enterprises (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Galera & Borzaga, 2009; Kerlin, 2006, 2009). Considering the extensive network of welfare associations in Germany, one might assume that there is little room for new emerging organizations. As their day-to-day work already covers such a broad spectrum of social welfare provision, would it not seem logical that social innovation in the form of intrapreneurship grow out of the very organizations, which already know the sector so well?

Viewed from the outside, social entrepreneurs often see the welfare associations as dinosaurs or tankers – big, clunky, and difficult to change course (S. Spieker, 2014). A view many of the employees in the welfare associations share – which is in part why the emergence of social entrepreneurship could potentially be disruptive for the sector. Not because the new organizations pose the threat of overtaking the market of the welfare associations. That battle already started in the 1990s with privatization and the opening of the market to private companies. What could be worrisome for the established organizations is the normative challenge that social entrepreneurs represent. At a time when welfare associations appear to have lost at least in part their identity and legitimacy (Jüster, 2015, p. 480), external social innovators could pose a challenge to the existing value systems and self-images of the associations.

When dealing with social innovation, the German welfare associations see themselves as the result of innovations building on innovations (Bundesarbeitsgemein-

schaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege, 2012; Nock, Kriev, & Mildenerger, 2013). They also make clear that the welfare associations themselves do not have much room to act, and can develop innovation only within complex constraints – which they are very open to doing. What appears to be a bigger problem is engagement with newcomers.

At a conference of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) in 2013, Angela Ullrich from the betterplace lab observed how the welfare associations were hesitant to accept social innovation from the outside and to spread it (Ullrich, 2013). The German welfare associations, including Caritas and the Paritätischer, do in fact bring social entrepreneurs into their networks. However, in both of these organizations there seems to be a tendency to think that the welfare associations are already doing the type of work these social entrepreneurs are doing.

And we noticed that there was a hype out of this corner, this Social Entrepreneurship, which in the first instance is lacking the distance between Profit/Non-Profit. That was all one. Then we noticed that many things have a lot in common with what we are doing. I told my board: 'They are doing the exact same thing you were doing when you were young.' [...] And then they said 'Yes, you are right. This is exactly like us in the 1970s and 80s.' Excluding the profit aspect. They [social entrepreneurs] are looking for ways to connect. – Leading representative of the Paritätischer, interviewed on 3 November 2014

Social entrepreneurs in Germany have started to cooperate with established players. Ashoka Germany, for example, has initiated an engagement accelerator with the Malteser Werke, the German relief organization of the Catholic Order of Malta, for the distribution of social innovation (Ashoka Deutschland, 2014). Grohs et al. (2017) explain how cooperation between the established players and the newcomers can work. Due to their size, the authors argue that the more convincing developments come from the welfare associations themselves through intrapreneurship (Grohs et al., 2017, p. 2588). Even though it only plays a small role in terms of actual welfare provision, the idea of fusing market efficiency with social morality has intrigued the imagination of the German sector.³⁹

³⁹“Exaggeration of worthiness” (Tilly, 2001a, p. 584), however, might be a factor, since they have an interest in portraying themselves in this way to set themselves apart.

It can be argued that the current social entrepreneurs are at an early stage, when comparing the development of the social innovation movement with the emergence of self-help groups. They have not organized in the same numbers as the self-help groups did in the 1980s, also because there are far fewer of them. They are putting pressure on the established organizations by their presence outside the welfare associations, with their new ways of doing things and demands made up of non-traditional ideas, concepts, and claims. Engelhardt also suggests this relationship between the earlier self-help movement and the more recent concept of social innovation (2011, p. 238).

To scale their innovations, social entrepreneurs could make use of the vast networks the welfare associations have already built over decades. The welfare associations, however, seem to be more interested in intrapreneurship, developing innovation within the associations.

In a position paper by the BAGFW on social innovation, the working group for all the welfare associations stresses how the current situation of welfare associations is the result of constant social innovation enacted over the decades of their existence (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege, 2012). With the Federal Government and the EU expressing interest in the topic, the BAGFW makes it clear how committed they are to the issue – and always have been. In fact, the group was working with a special task force of the European Commission to give input on how enterprises, which are already members of welfare associations, could be included as social enterprises.

In that paper, the BAGFW mainly looked at the issue of social innovation, but did not widely consider the aspect of social entrepreneurship with its hybrid nature. This might also be seen as indicative of connecting with the principle, which puts fewer demands on the existing structures and ideas of social work. When describing the processes of social innovation connected to the welfare associations, this position paper also always first mentions internal innovation and cooperation among the free welfare organizations. Still, they reach out to organizations outside their immediate environment. Free Welfare, they explain, expressly welcomes “cooperative cooperation” with other suitable (social) entrepreneurs to develop, evaluate and disseminate social innovations with them (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege, 2012, p. 5).

A study commissioned by the BAGFW and conducted by the CSI at the University of Heidelberg concludes that seeing the long tradition of free welfare in Germany as sole evidence of their innovative power is too narrow, but that they are indeed the result of countless innovators (Nock et al., 2013). The study also identified the two main aims of social entrepreneurs in Germany: to bring new and better solutions to social problems and to do so more cost-efficiently. In its introduction, the director of the BAGFW quotes parts of the phrasing of the social innovation position paper of the BAGFW (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege, 2012) verbatim. The study was also explicitly not designed to measure the innovativeness of the welfare associations, as that was already proven by their history (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege, 2012, p. 5).

One of the aspects the study illuminates is how the welfare associations think about social innovation in terms of their own value systems:

It [the innovation] must be compatible with our association, with our principles. The second thing is: there must be a need somewhere. Someone needs to want it. And the third thing is: There has to be a financial concept, for all of us, there has to be security. If all three factors are met, than any idea can be implemented in my area. – Nock et al. (2013, p. 12)

This is the only place in the study where something close to the value systems of the welfare associations is mentioned. This could be an indicator that the connection to value systems between social entrepreneurs and the welfare associations is not as important as it was during the time of the self-help groups.

In a position paper by Caritas, the association emphasizes their commitment to innovation (Deutscher Caritasverband, 2012). They also point to the privatization in recent years and the market forces, which have entered the social sector during this episode – increasing pressure to innovate. This is consistent with the findings in Caritas' corpus, where an increasing discussion of innovation can be seen in general since the opening of the sector, and to a higher degree than in the Paritätischer. It was not until the mid-2000s that the Paritätischer became more engaged in social innovation.

Caritas further points out that innovation and competition are good in principle, but should be conducted within a suitable regulation framework (Deutscher Caritasverband, 2012, p. 3). They also emphasize the importance of Caritas to become more

markedly engaged in order to fulfill its religious and societal mission. For Caritas, innovation should be conducted within their member organizations, but also in exchange with other welfare associations and potentially with actors from the private and public sector. Cooperation with external actors is only vaguely described, however. When it comes to social entrepreneurs, Caritas is, in their words, open for cooperation with these actors and claims to offer dialogue and an exchange of experiences for the dissemination and (further) development of good ideas and innovative approaches (Deutscher Caritasverband, 2012, p. 6). In contrast to how innovation management for internal development is treated, no specific ways of engaging or channels for social entrepreneurs are mentioned.

Similar to its reaction to the self-help movement, Caritas points out how its organizational philosophy has to be maintained even when applying innovation management. Changes in the innovating organizations can take place within the frame of their Christian values. Generally, however, there is not much talk of Christian values or Caritas' guiding principles – which is also in line with the diminished public exposure of its value system in Caritas' corpus.

On the website of the Paritätischer, an account is given of the association's engagement in social innovation. The account starts by talking about specific engagements and organizations they have cooperated with. It emphasizes the plurality of ways to help people and bring solutions forward. It also points to social intrapreneurs as a way of innovating in existing organizations, which, according to them, is happening on a much greater scale. Once again the theme of how the founding of the welfare associations was itself an innovative act and how innovation has been with them for decades is being invoked (Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Gesamtverband, 2014). The literature mirrors this and points to intrapreneurship as an important factor of social innovation within the German context:

The innovative projects identified by us only correspond in small numbers to the philanthropic entrepreneurial type celebrated in the social entrepreneurship literature, which breaks with established structures, creates something new, largely dispenses with public funding and, through the diffusion of its approach, transforms the German welfare state. Instead, these are usually projects that develop out of existing structures (intrapreneurship) and are triggered by concrete problems. Instead, innovation occurs where established actors work to-

gether and find common, often hybrid solutions. – Grohs, Schneiders, & Heinze (2014, p. 179)

In general, social entrepreneurs seem to have a stronger social focus than an economical one (Mair, Wolf, & Ioan, 2016, p. 5). This should make them ideal partners for welfare associations, which have had to consider economic aspects more in recent years, but which still mostly view themselves as social organizations. Yet, only 12.14% of social enterprises seem to be working with the welfare associations (Mair, Wolf, & Ioan, 2016, p. 31). However, this number might underestimate cooperation with the Paritätischer, which is less prominent in its exposure as its members keep their individual corporate identity. Social entrepreneurs thus might be working with a member of one of the welfare associations without realizing and reporting it.

The innovation idea behind the social innovation movement in Germany emerged at least partly out of a technical/digital/IT environment, but goes beyond that (Grohs et al., 2014, p. 151). What is most valuable about the social entrepreneurship discourse is the pressure it puts on established actors (Grohs et al., 2014, p. 180). The powerful presence of welfare associations leaves little room for individual social entrepreneurs to make a strong individual impact. The discourse rekindles existing criticism levelled against the welfare associations and makes demands both on an ideological and an executive basis. Their newness and un-stuffiness may offer a new way of getting engaged at a time when the traditional form of volunteering is declining and more people are looking for other, increasingly temporary and unaffiliated ways of contributing to society (Grohs et al., 2014, p. 182).

What the emergence of the social entrepreneurship debate brings with it are similarities to two of the previous episodes. Similar to the self-help groups, the newcomers are challenging the established structures and calling into question the way welfare associations are providing services and particularly their basis of legitimacy. The other is the connection to a trend that has already grasped the social sector for the past decades. At least since the privatization episode, the welfare associations have had to increasingly deal with issues of profitability and operating in an environment largely affected by market forces. This, too, has called into question their basis of legitimacy.

Social entrepreneurs emerged in the middle of these two aspects of doing things differently and applying market mechanisms to the social sector: They come from the outside, and (try/claim to) harmonize non-profit/social engagement with economic,

profit-generating activity. In a sense, they are now doing what has often been demanded from welfare associations from different sides. This puts additional pressure on the existing organizations, which are already struggling to adjust decades of ways of doing things to contemporary demands. By demonstrating this hybridity, social entrepreneurs are emphasizing the challenges with which the welfare associations are currently engaging.

6.3.1.8 Operationalizing the Episode – Social Innovation

When coding social innovation in the German welfare sector, a broader approach could again be taken. The reason is that there are more expressions specifically used with regard to this episode, and several aspects can be connected to the emergence of these issues within the associations.

Social Innovation	
Demands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bridge gap between social services and businesses Use business models to solve social issues Provide services under reduced public budgets “Do things differently”
Institutions and processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New hybrid organizations are being founded Some of them organize in hubs or interest groups
Coding for the episode	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Innovation Soziale Innovation (social innovation) Social Entrepreneur Entrepreneurship Intrapreneur Sozialunternehmer (social entrepreneur) Sozialunternehmen (social enterprise)

Connection to the value system of the welfare association	<p>DCV: Skepticism, since there are few explicitly Catholic organizations being founded externally under the label of social entrepreneurship</p> <p>DPWV: Some openness to / engagement with the new organizations</p> <p>Generally, focus on intrapreneurship rather than cooperation.</p>
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Table 34: Characteristics of the Social Innovation Episode

6.3.1.9 Episodization of the German Welfare Sector – Summary

For a summary of the information from the previous descriptions of the four individual episodes in the German welfare sector, please see table 35. What this shows us is how in each episode, demands emerged out of their specific context and put pressure on existing institutions.

As the previous section shows, all the episodes have been coded for certain aspects, which should be seen with regard to the value systems. The following table gives a summary of the individual coding and expected connections of those episodes with the welfare associations.

Based on the descriptions of the episodes, coding for measuring the presence of these episodes in the corpus of Caritas and the Paritätischer was generated. The coding was based on the episodic demands and important characterizations within the episode.

	Self-help	Reunification	Privatization	Social Innovation
Demands	<p>Self-reliance / self-determination</p> <p>Include those people previously not cared for</p> <p>“Do things differently”</p>	<p>Bring Germany together</p> <p>Use the new opportunity area of the former GDR</p> <p>Establish a presence in the former GDR</p> <p>Deal with the requirements of the new clients</p>	<p>Open the welfare sector to private market forces</p> <p>Increase efficiency</p> <p>Provide services under reduced public budgets</p>	<p>Bridge gap between social and business</p> <p>Use business models to solve social issues</p> <p>Provide services under reduced public budgets</p> <p>“Do things differently”</p>
Institutions and processes	<p>Groups concerned with addiction were formed (until the 1960s)</p> <p>Self-support addressing chronic illnesses and handicapped people (late 1960s until late 1970s)</p>	<p>Fall of the Berlin wall</p> <p>Unification treaty</p> <p>“Moving east” into the new federal states</p> <p>Establishing the West German welfare concept in the East</p>	<p>Long-term care insurance does not distinguish between free welfare organizations and private companies (1994)</p> <p>Primacy of free welfare organizations is taken out of the Federal Social Aid Law (1996)</p>	<p>New hybrid organizations are being founded</p> <p>Some of them organize in hubs or interest groups</p>

Institutions and processes (cont.)	<p>Politicization of the self-help idea (late 1970s until mid1980s)</p> <p>Implementation of net-works (since mid1980s)</p>	<p>Primacy of free welfare organizations is taken out of the Federal Children and Youth Aid Law (1998)</p> <p>Federal Social Code is changed to reflect the changes in the sector (2005)</p>	
Coding for the episodes	<p>Selbsthilfe (self-help)</p> <p>Selbstbestimmung (self-determination)</p>	<p>Ostdeutschland (East Germany)</p> <p>Wiedervereinigung (Reunification)</p> <p>Volkssolidarität (People's Solidarity)</p> <p>DDR (GDR)</p> <p>Solidaritätszuschlag (solidarity surcharge)</p>	<p>Einsparung (saving)</p> <p>Wirtschaftlichkeit (economy)</p> <p>Rentabilität (profitability)</p> <p>Effizienz (efficiency)</p> <p>Ökonomisierung (economization)</p> <p>Kostendruck (cost pressures)</p> <p>Innovation</p> <p>Soziale Innovation (social innovation)</p> <p>Social Entrepreneur</p> <p>Entrepreneurship</p> <p>Intrapreneur</p> <p>Sozialunternehmer (social entrepreneur)</p> <p>Sozialunternehmen (social enterprise)</p>

Connection to the value system of the welfare association	Focus on traditional welfare provision in first phase, afterwards threat to relationship of helper and helpee, as well as traditional structures	DCV: Dealing with the prevalent socialism and atheism in the new area, venturing into an opportunity area that is contrary to the organization's value system	DCV: Position is being threatened by new players in the sector, moral basis / legitimacy could be called into question, organization could be seen more as a business	DCV: Skepticism, since there are few explicitly Catholic organizations being founded externally under the label of social entrepreneurship
DPWV: Incorporated				DPWV: Some openness
second wave with new approach, despite being threatened themselves, inclusion of self-help groups and setting of new structures		DPWV: Tolerance for their demands, inclusion of the Volkssolidarität (as opposed to the AWO)	DPWV: Position is being threatened by new players in the sector, moral basis / legitimacy could be called into question, members could be seen more as business	to / engagement with the new organizations
				Generally, focus on intra-preneurship rather than cooperation.

Table 35: Episodization of the German Welfare Sector

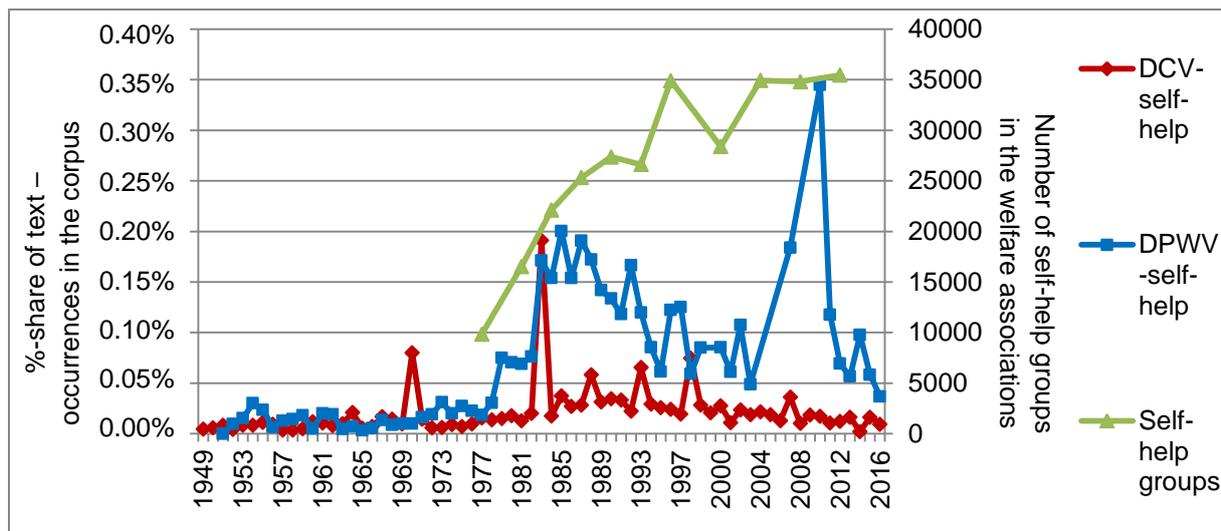
6.3.2 Prevalence of the Episodes in each of the Organizations

This section looks into the presence of an episode in the corpus as the relative share of the text that year. In looking at the prevalence of a topic, it is examined whether the topic made its way into the texts of the organizations to begin with. An absence could indicate that the issue never registered as important, or that it never passed organizational resistance to dealing with something new. A qualitative selection of text passages from the corpus will demonstrate the way each organization dealt with the demands of the four episodes, and how these demands have interplayed with the respective value system.

The analysis reveals that the self-help movement and its claim to self-determination never really made it into the corpus of Caritas, indicating that resistance was too strong for the organization to engage with the issue. The Paritätischer, on the other hand, not only welcomed self-help groups as members, but also engaged with the issue. Other issues, such as innovation, had already played a role in both associations much earlier than the current debate on social innovation, and can be linked to the issue of economization – not only recently with the issue of hybridity brought forth by social entrepreneurs, but throughout. This suggests that, on a value basis, the associations are now more prepared to engage with the current episode of social innovation than they were when faced with previous episodes – illustrating the long-term effects external institutional demands can have on imprints as opposed to only event-based change during a sensitive period.

6.3.2.1 Self-help in the Organizations

Self-help has been present in both associations, but to a much stronger degree in the Paritätischer. In fact, almost all of the self-help groups in those two welfare associations are members of the Paritätischer. The issue of self-help mostly took off there in the late 1970s, in a period that some identify as the third wave of the self-help movement in Germany.



Share of self-help coding of the total text by year.
 Figure 13: Presence of the Self-help Episode in the Corpus

What figure 13 shows is that within their own magazines, Caritas engaged to a significantly lesser extent with the new movement of self-help groups, which tried to do things differently. As explained above, Caritas seriously engaged with an issue championed by the first wave of the self-help movement, that of treating addiction. However, as the focus in treatment shifted away from the traditional helper-helpee paradigm, it was difficult for them to adjust. In their corpus, Caritas did not talk much about solving these issues in terms of self-help or self-determination. So participation in the early phase was framed differently for them. Even though this new concept proved difficult to grasp for all welfare associations, the Paritätischer included, that organization was able to embrace it nonetheless. Especially between 1983 and 1992, the issue was widely discussed in its corpus.

In total, there are 8066 mentions of self-help in the corpus of the Paritätischer as opposed to only 3264 in the much larger corpus of Caritas. Also of interest is the fact that in the Caritas corpus the term self-help movement is more prominent than that of self-help, implying that Caritas was not as much advocating self-help as referring to an outside movement, whereas the Paritätischer took it in. The Caritas outlier in 1983 was due to one very long article about the self-help movement, which analyzes the development and its claims in depth. Overall, however, the issue remained on a very low level, as Caritas did not strongly engage with it.

In the case of the Paritätischer, the issue was important while self-help groups were being founded and joining that association, but after a couple of years interest in the topic flagged. This is not surprising, as the issue had lost its edge and novelty, even

though more self-help groups were still being founded. It is striking that the increase in mentions of self-help within the corpus of the Paritätischer coincides with the time in which the self-help groups were joining the Paritätischer, and not before that as part of a larger internal discussion on the issue. This is partly due to the inclusion of the groups' names, but also because of the newly increased relevance for the organization in presenting and dealing with its new members.

With regard to the initial question, it is seen that Caritas does not appear to have been able to incorporate the demands of the movement, or even to engage with them much. While the organization had been very engaged in its membership magazine with regard to addicts, the concepts of self-help and self-determination did not enter into their corpus in a way comparable to that of the Paritätischer. The system of the Paritätischer was more open and inclusive, making it easier for them to let the new ideas in. We see this both in the number of organizations which joined the Paritätischer, and in the prevalence of the issue in the corpus.

With Caritas' value system much less open to self-determination than the pluralistic value system of the Paritätischer was, it was easier for self-help groups to join the latter, where they found an environment in which they could engage with their new ideas. A deeper look at the texts themselves and the contexts in which the organizations talk about the self-help movement on its own and in relation to themselves reveals further interesting differences.

Within the corpus of Caritas, there are some references to Christian self-help, but they are relatively scarce. Particularly the concept of self-determination is rarely brought together with a Christian view. Only in 2006 do we find a clear mention of the two belonging together:

The Christian image of mankind dictates the self-determination and sovereignty of the people as well as self-help, neighborly help... –Caritas, 2006

This can either be seen as a fluke or an outlier, but it could also be an indicator of how things have changed up until today. However, there are mentions which show that within the context of Caritas, self-determination should not be seen as a value in and of itself:

Nevertheless, self-determination, especially in a Christian house, is not an end in itself... – Caritas, 2009

As far as self-help itself was concerned, there was a much earlier time in which self-help was brought together with Christianity:

Self-help, understood in this way, corresponds to the principles of Christian social teaching. – Caritas, 1989

Generally, however, most of the references are not found within a specifically Christian/Catholic connection. Especially the term self-determination is used in a variety of contexts: self-determination for Germany (after founding the Federal Republic) for example, the right of churches to regulate themselves, sexual self-determination, and the self-determination of patients/clients, as well as the aspect of informational self-determination in later decades.

All these instances correspond to certain waves, during which the issue of self-determination was present, depending on the topic of the time. The wave in which self-help and self-determination were closely connected mainly took place during the 1970s. Overall, the most prevalent connotation for self-determination throughout the decades, especially later ones, is that of the self-determination of the Catholic Church and Catholic organizations in general, not the connection to patients and clients.

Self-help in its early years was dominated by the aftermath of the war. The issue was seen as key to building up Germany again and supporting families. Soldiers coming back from the war who had to reconnect with their families are one example of how those two aspects went together. The motto of the 1950s and early 1960s then was “Helping people help themselves” – and while this claim was probably made with sincerity, it did not hold over time. While Caritas may have engaged with it early on, this did not translate into action when put into a context that came from outside the association, and outside the Catholic value system.

From the beginning, self-determination was viewed very differently by the Paritätischer, who set it in relation to the client. The stronger uptake in the corpus starts during the late 1970s, like the self-help movement itself. Here the word self-determination is used in the context of self-help and posits the right of the client to self-determination.

Helping in order to enable self-help includes the right of the client to self-determination. Helping clients to help themselves, in a way to fulfill that right: this way it becomes an aid for life. – Paritätischer, 1959

This positive attitude also held true later on during the time when the self-help organizations had joined the Paritätischer and the theme of empowerment emerged:

Help, which is one of the main goals of self-determination and participation, will always tend towards empowerment and self-organization, encouraging those affected to change their situation themselves and to work towards changing their overall conditions. – Paritätischer, 1976

Self-help groups of elderly people realize self-determination and co-determination in their own affairs and in this way they have the same opportunities to participate in social life. – Paritätischer, 1981

The Paritätischer even saw the existence of self-help groups as an indicator of progress:

The absence of self-help groups is today regarded as an indication of the backwardness of a field of work. – Paritätischer, 1981

This illustrates how incorporating external institutional demands shaped the Paritätischer's view on this episode, as opposed to Caritas, which shielded itself from the outside development. The Paritätischer's commitment to the idea of self-determination still holds to this day:

...so that the Federal Law on Participation Act actually meets the requirement to enable participation and self-determination of persons with disabilities. – Paritätischer, 2016

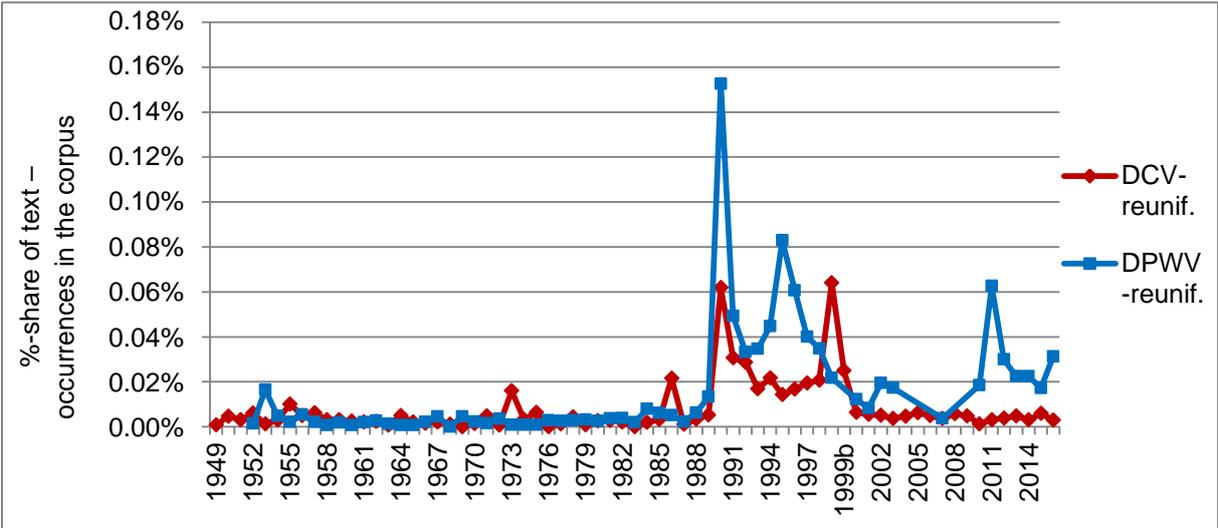
The use of the term self-help movement, as opposed to self-help alone, is very rare in the Paritätischer corpus; it occurs only 82 times in the entire body of texts. This could be explained by the fact that in this case movement can connote distance. Unlike Caritas, who watched the self-help movement from afar, the Paritätischer offered a home to many self-help organizations, thereby absorbing part of the movement and transforming the discourse into an internal dialogue.

6.3.2.2 German Reunification in the Organizations

As the coding of the episode German reunification also contains general references to East Germany and the former GDR, measurement starts before the initial event in 1989. Not surprisingly, the issue is strongest in 1990. However, it can also be seen

how the connection to East Germany is generally stronger in the Paritätischer. This is mainly due to two interrelated aspects: the inclusion of the *Volkssolidarität*, and the subsequent strong position of the Paritätischer in East Germany. This should also be seen with regard to the connection between the regional strength of the organizations and their value systems.

The spike of the focus on East Germany in the corpus of the Paritätischer in 1995 is due to the 50th anniversary of the *Volkssolidarität*. Caritas, on the other hand, used the 10th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall in 1999 to highlight the current state of welfare provision in the former East Germany. In general, the Paritätischer engages more with its member organizations through the magazines, reporting on their developments, whereas in its magazines Caritas speaks of overall trends and more generally informs the reader about issues affecting the sector and Caritas engaging with them.



Share of reunification coding of the total text by year
 Figure 14: Presence of the Reunification Episode in the Corpus

When talking about East Germany and reunification, the *Volkssolidarität* was one of the key players, which the Paritätischer was able to integrate. It is not surprising that this organization only played a minor role in the Caritas corpus. It was almost only mentioned in the years 1990 and 1992, 16 times in total. One aspect was the criticism of the organization for not opening up and accepting models of free welfare provision:

The *Volkssolidarität* was and to this day will continue to be financed largely by a corresponding title in the state budget of the GDR. Now this organization has become constituted as a free association and recognizes that other agencies

should be active in its field of work. The budget title, which is intended for the payment of the housekeepers, should now also be open to other associations that are active in this field. This is precisely what is not happening. The *Volkssolidarität* defends their financing monopoly, the old structures are preserved. It is a ray of hope that in the meantime, the Federal Government, in consultation with the East Berlin government, has decided to start pilot projects for the construction of social welfare stations in the GDR. – Caritas, 1990

Meanwhile, the formerly parastatal organizations such as the German Red Cross of the GDR or the *Volkssolidarität*, which has joined the German Paritätischen Wohlfahrtsverband, converted into free associations, and the existing Federal Republic (West) associations have established numerous new organizations in the area between the Elbe and Oder, but what free welfare represents and achieves according to Western standards must first be developed in the new federal states. – Caritas, 1990

While this could be seen as disparagement due to unattainability, there is evidence against this as an accurate representation. The value system of Caritas was strongly at odds with what the People's Solidarity stood for. This is in line with the previous description, when AWO, supposedly much closer to the values of the People's Solidarity, also felt the need to distance itself from what the organization represented. This might then not be a case specific to Catholicism, but one of strong and set principles – although it was probably stronger in the case of Caritas due to the double nature of the People's Solidarity's objectionable closeness to the old regime and its atheism.

The situation was radically different for the Paritätischer. As a member organization, the People's Solidarity plays a constant role in the Paritätischer corpus, being mentioned close to a thousand times. The focus here is on the good work the organization is doing, and how the People's Solidarity can be a familiar provider of welfare to many people in East Germany:

Among the 60-year-olds and older people, “*Volkssolidarität*” is also a well-known term in the state of Brandenburg: it stands for togetherness, security, social welfare, conviviality and communication. – Paritätischer, 1994

Generally, concerning *Volkssolidarität* in the corpus of the Paritätischer, attention is paid mostly to the work of the organization, as well as regional developments. In con-

trast to Caritas, there is no criticism of the organization. The positive feeling of belonging together seemed to be mutual:

Overall, the Volkssolidarität feels it is in good hands in the Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband der Bundesrepublik. ... With its “culture of helping”, the Volkssolidarität has convincingly contributed to the welfare work of the Federal Republic, proclaimed Prof. Dr. med. Dieter Sengling, Chairman of the Paritätischer Welfare Association, at the event in Dresden. – Paritätischer, 1995

The past of the organization is mentioned, but only somewhat camouflaged:

In the five decades of its existence, the Volkssolidarität has tirelessly performed services to man under very different conditions. [...] After the change in 1989, the old organization had to be fundamentally renewed. But the road there was cumbersome: structural changes and a new determination of identity showed the way out of the crisis. [...] Today, the Volkssolidarität is the largest charitable organization in the Paritätischer in the new federal states. [...] The Volkssolidarität was and is an association for humanity, helpfulness and charity. – Paritätischer, 1995

Both Caritas and the Paritätischer looked at the potential German reunification early on:

Then we would understand that within the framework of “German help” must call on our neighbors again and again every day to understand the 18 million Germans whom we cannot tell today how we will prepare the way for them to live with us politically in one state again, but we can prove to them every day by what we send them and how we help them that we are serious when speaking of the reunification of Germany. – Paritätischer, 1953

At the same time, however, Father Nell-Breuning⁴⁰ also emphasized that all social reforms must be undertaken under the aspect of the reunification of Germany. It would be irresponsible, he said, if we only encapsulated ourselves in the West German space. – Caritas, 1957

However, the issue only really took off in 1990/1. Before that, there were many instances where East Germany or the GDR were mentioned, but not explicitly in terms of reunification. For Caritas it is interesting to see that these phrases rarely appear in

⁴⁰ One of the fathers of Catholic social teachings and of the subsidiarity principle.

connection to Christians, although there are several mentions of the Church in the former GDR.

For more than 20 years, the Central Office for Caritas in the Catholic Church has rendered invaluable services to the GDR. – Caritas, 1992

I hope that Caritas in the new federal states will bring its own experiences of domesticity from diaspora and the German Democratic Republic into the church, but will also bring those experiences of working under reduced circumstances stronger into the discussion in the whole association. – Caritas, 1997

Caritas was very aware of the problem it faced when confronted with the atheistic area in East Germany, which was closely connected to reunification:

The most striking difference in social characteristics is found in religious affiliation. The “planned hostility to the church” of the GDR, which faces a rather gradual process of social secularization in West Germany, led to dissolution of church ties, even after unification: more than two-thirds of East Germans today belong to no religious community. – Caritas, 1999

The increase of Catholic rhetoric in relation to reunification can be seen as something that Lehmann called the courage to have your own profile – to position yourself strongly with what you truly are (1992, p. 92). He warned not to grow at the expense of that which makes Caritas what it is. Instead, it was important to keep the value-based influences of socialism at bay. As Hostembe puts it: Socialism has not made any significant breaches into Caritas’ vested rights, and the corrupting ideology of socialism has been prevented from infecting our employees (1992, p. 107).

What can be seen in the episode for Caritas is that they found it important to remain true to their Catholic ideals, not to push growth in the East at the expense of those ideals, and to incorporate Eastern employees who were or could be connected to the teachings of the gospels.

Caritas’ identity has often been discussed. In the immediate aftermath of German reunification, Junge describes it as follows: Those who come to Caritas today to find work identify as much or as little with its mission as young people now do with the Church. (1992, pp. 49–52) In addition, when discussing suggestions for how to deal with a changing society, there is no future for a Caritas in retreat. Retreat would

mean capitulating in the face of changing needs and new tasks. Junge's view that a Caritas affiliated with the Church has a mandate for political action as a counterweight to secular society is understandable and illustrates continued reluctance to change under external institutional demands. As the data shows, however, over time the institutional external environment proved stronger.

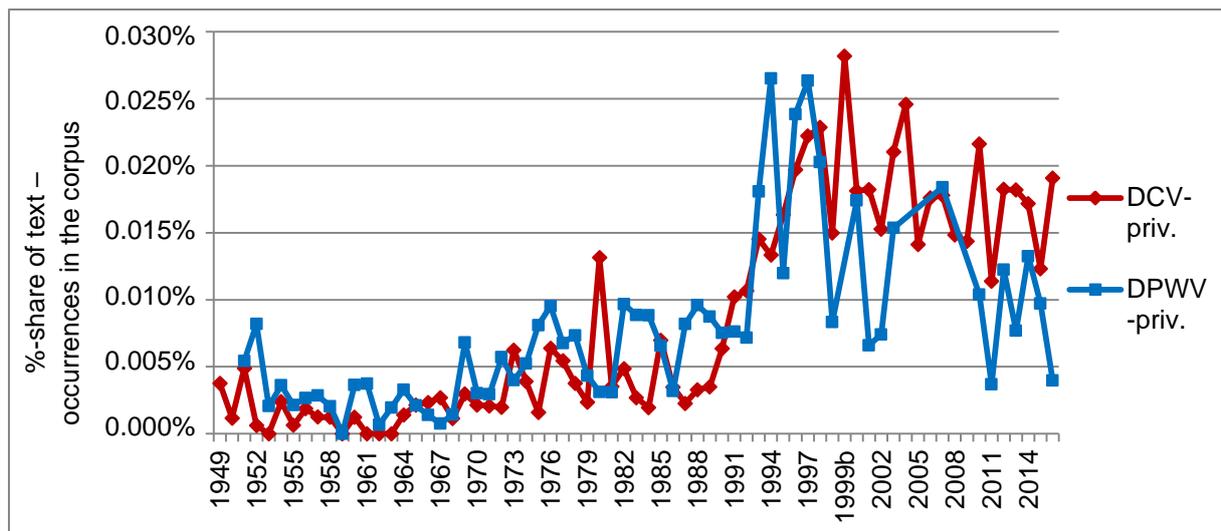
Interestingly, high points of talking about reunification in the corpus (1990 and 1999) were also regional high points in the use of Catholic rhetoric. While there was a general tendency for Catholic rhetoric to be reduced overall, we see that there were some efforts to highlight the Catholic element during these reunification years. Additionally, the increased trend of Catholic rhetoric and reunification did not help Caritas; at least not in building a base in East Germany.

People working in and around the organization observed the trend within Caritas of reduced engagement with its ideological foundation. Fuchs noted how close ties of Caritas employees to the Catholic church and a clear view of life were in some areas no longer as visibly present as they had been in the past (1992, p. 55).

It has been demonstrated here how the value systems of the two welfare associations connect to the episode of reunification. Especially for Caritas, its value system posed problems when confronted with socialism and atheism. In contrast, during reunification, the Paritätischer was much more capable of dealing pragmatically with the issues and demands of the episode by embracing pluralism once again to incorporate organizations which, based on their own value systems, would not fit in anywhere else.

6.3.2.3 Privatization in the Organizations

Since their founding, both welfare associations have been under pressure to be efficient, effective, and to some extent market-oriented. Yet the pressure clearly increased in the mid-1990s as welfare associations were stripped of some of their legal privileges and more market mechanisms were introduced into the social sector. Interestingly, while there is an overall stronger median value in the Paritätischer, a time factor is involved. The Paritätischer was more strongly engaged with these issues until the actual legal changes were enacted, which reduced preferential treatment for welfare associations in the social legal code. Since 1998, Caritas has more actively engaged with these topics.



Share of privatization coding of the total text by year

Figure 15: Presence of the Privatization Episode in the Corpus

The episode of privatization was coded with a wider variety of terms relative to the episode of self-help previously analyzed in this study to take into account a wide range of issues within the episode, which could be identified through the process of coding. What can be seen is that certain aspects were ushered in along with the legal changes made during the 1990s, while others, such as efficiency, predate those legal changes and are likely to be intrinsic to the welfare associations themselves.

Economization and for the most part cost pressure are aspects that were introduced in the middle of the 1990s. This is true for both associations.

Caritas puts this into the context of secularization:

The increasing economization and secularization throughout Europe will also affect social services. – Caritas, 1994

In many passages, economization is seen to call into question the core task at the heart of Caritas' work.

The discussions about the welfare state and the role of free charities, especially Caritas, in the face of a progressive economization of the social sector, require clear orientation both internally and externally. [...] The biblical promise that the last will be first will not be fulfilled by the economization of the social market; this promise must be entered into the market by forces which are part of it. – Caritas, 2000

All of this undoubtedly had an effect on the organization:

Cost pressure and the pressure of legitimacy in free welfare work in general and of Caritas and Diakonie in particular create the necessity to change such moments, which are part of the previous character (identity) of their range of services. – Caritas, 1997

However, at the time of this statement, Caritas had already significantly reduced the number of explicit references to their value system, and had moved in the opposite direction by remodeling their magazine on a far less religious level.

Caritas was able to buffer some of the economic pressure on their member organizations through the financial backing of the Church:

Savings should therefore not be made unilaterally to the detriment of kindergartens. The ecclesiastical decision-making bodies and administrative bodies at the various levels must, within the framework of their economic possibilities, continue to provide the necessary funds to Catholic kindergartens. – Caritas, 1976

The idea that retrenchment not only hurts the weakest in the system, but also falls short of the promises made to society can be found during the height of the privatization episode:

Secondly, there is also a need for an appropriate child-raising allowance – cuts in this area may produce short-term saving effects, but in the long term shake the foundations of the welfare state. – Caritas, 1996

Another argument being made was based on the quality of work that could still be provided despite strained budgets:

Savings can only be achieved today in personnel-intensive care and support services by lowering the standard of performance in the institutions and / or violating collective bargaining obligations or not even entering into such obligations in the first place. – Caritas, 1997

Saving money is expressly linked to efficiency within the organization. Caritas for example starts to report savings in the 2000s, demonstrating improvements and stronger association-and-church-wide development. Profitability is another concept, which only really appears in the 1990s, even though people were conscious of it before then:

At least here and there a work of caritas should be ventured by us in this belief, or an act of mercy should be done, so that the whole does not hopelessly succumb to the sole idea of profitability, and detach itself from the fertile roots in the soil from which alone caritas can grow. – Caritas, 1951

Proclamation, liturgy, and diakonia / caritas have a stimulating function on each other and for each other. They should encourage each other, challenge, dynamize, develop creativity and increase efficiency. In this way, the Church's service of salvation revives its inner dynamics and constantly renews itself. Probably, great significance is attached to caritas regarding the stimulating function on proclamation and liturgy. But caritas itself, without the stimulation of proclamation and liturgy, would easily remain mere humanitarian aid. – Caritas, 1982

Calls to efficiency can be found in the Caritas corpus since the 1970s, and are often mentioned when urging the organization to maintain its professional edge. This is not seen as compromising the commitment to their values:

In spite of strong efficiency pressure in the competition, the ecclesiastical hospitals distinguish themselves by high economy and quality. Their values are aimed at sustainable service and not short-term profit maximization. – Caritas, 2010

By the second decade of the 21st century, profitability had been included in the vocabulary of the Caritas corpus, and positioned next to religious values:

But Rieger believes that the German religious communities will be able to do good for society for a long time to come. In the interplay of profitability, religious beliefs and long-standing tradition, he sees the key to their sustainable survival. – Caritas, 2013

Within the Paritätischer, it can be seen that economization is used to criticize developments in the social sector. While not connected to their value system explicitly, the trend is viewed negatively:

On the one hand, the economization of social work leads to the danger of a loss of quality, because the interpersonal relationship stands at the core of all social work, and this takes time. But time is money, and we do not have money. – Paritätischer, 1996

The Paritätischer puts forth the case of children when arguing against cost cutting:

On top of that, there seems to be an attempt to make up for the public financial mess by cutting back on people who are too weak to defend themselves. – Paritätischer, 1976

Further, they argue that cost reduction will lead to higher costs down the road:

The savings – especially in preventive social work – pose the risk of high costs in the future, which will make the financial problems even worse. – Paritätischer, 1982

They take the position that savings are going to hurt all of the welfare associations, but most of all the people they serve:

On the other hand, welfare associations are lobbyists for their affiliated institutions and services and for the people in their care. It is their job to push for social emergencies, not for savings. The climate between the welfare associations and the Hanseatic city will therefore hardly improve. Especially in times of crisis, the socially disadvantaged need extra support. And finally, party politicians in Germany have not even managed to create long-term care insurance. Millions of marks, which have to be saved in the budget of the social and health authority, are only the beginning. – Paritätischer, 1994

This climate of cost reduction and economization introduced new thinking into the welfare sector, or at the least significantly increased the need to change structurally and operationally. It also challenged the self-image of the welfare associations.

Of course, we also learned that we are an employer, a business enterprise. These days, we are also using this to negotiate differently. In recent years, there has also been this kind of rethinking. – Regional director of the Paritätischer, interviewed on 20 January 2015

In this spirit, numerous examples of cost cutting can be seen in the Paritätischer corpus presented after 1994. Profitability has been a constant topic within the Paritätischer since its founding, and more consistently than in Caritas. One reason for this might be the lack of additional funding from a source outside the core business:

The question of ensuring the profitability of these enterprises and the proper execution of the work therefore has a significance that should not be underestimated. – Paritätischer, 1952

Repeatedly, the Paritätischer also makes an effort to uphold the elements of their value system, for example by referencing their dedication to helping humanity, despite, or better, alongside economic pressures to enhance efficiency and profitability, which they manage to frame positively:

[...] the granting of a greater autonomy of service providers – within a given framework and planning data – can substantially increase the humanity, efficiency and profitability of the respective system. – Paritätischer, 1979

Efforts to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of organizations on the one hand and to improve humanity on the other have been known for years. – Paritätischer, 1985

Generally, however, there was opposition in the Paritätischer to the risks associated with the drive for efficiency, budget cuts and government regulation, similar to the resistance offered by Caritas:

In several submissions to the Federal Council and Parliament, the free welfare service had tried to point out the dangers, which such regulation holds for the right of choice of the needy and the efficiency and profitability of non-profit institutions. – Paritätischer, 1984

But why social services, human services, whether for children or people in need of care, have to fight in a special way for employees to be paid acceptably cannot be understood in a society that also wants to be humane. Efficiency is required, but it is not produced by legal caps or at the desk of the chamberlain! – Paritätischer, 1998

In some cases, the Paritätischer felt close to the breaking point:

We would almost have been broken by this reality because profitability thoughts inevitably had to contend with the ideas of humanity. – Paritätischer, 1976

Nevertheless, the episode of privatization made its mark on the way organizations within the welfare association saw themselves and other members:

Comparing the cost effectiveness and efficiency of one's own institution with the other is becoming increasingly important. – Paritätischer, 1997

Everyone is talking about quality assurance – at least since the legislation introduced long-term insurance and with it quality assurance regulations, economic

pressure on care facilities and services has increased, and limited competition in the care market has been sparked. – Paritätischer, 1998

It can be seen how this change also laid the foundation for the later hybridity of social enterprises:

Profitability and social commitment are not mutually exclusive. – Paritätischer, 1998

The criticism of the Federal Working Group [=BAGFW] of this draft law can be regarded as symptomatic of other areas of social legislation: the granting of greater personal responsibility to the providers of services – within a given framework and planning data – can substantially increase the humanity, efficiency and profitability of the respective system. – Paritätischer, 1979

To this day, there are people within the organization who point out that they see the real work of the welfare associations particularly in those areas that are not profitable:

We are specifically active where the private sector turns away bored because of its lack of profitability. – Paritätischer, 2014

More efficiency in Free Welfare – good and beautiful; also more competition, namely to achieve the highest possible benefit for the person concerned – but please no simplistic market ideologies. – Paritätischer, 1996

Over 90,000 people came and sent a strong signal against the progressive economization of the social sector. “Germany is not primarily a business location, but above all a place for living,” emphasized Dr. Ulrich Schneider, Managing Director of the Paritätischer. – Paritätischer, 2016

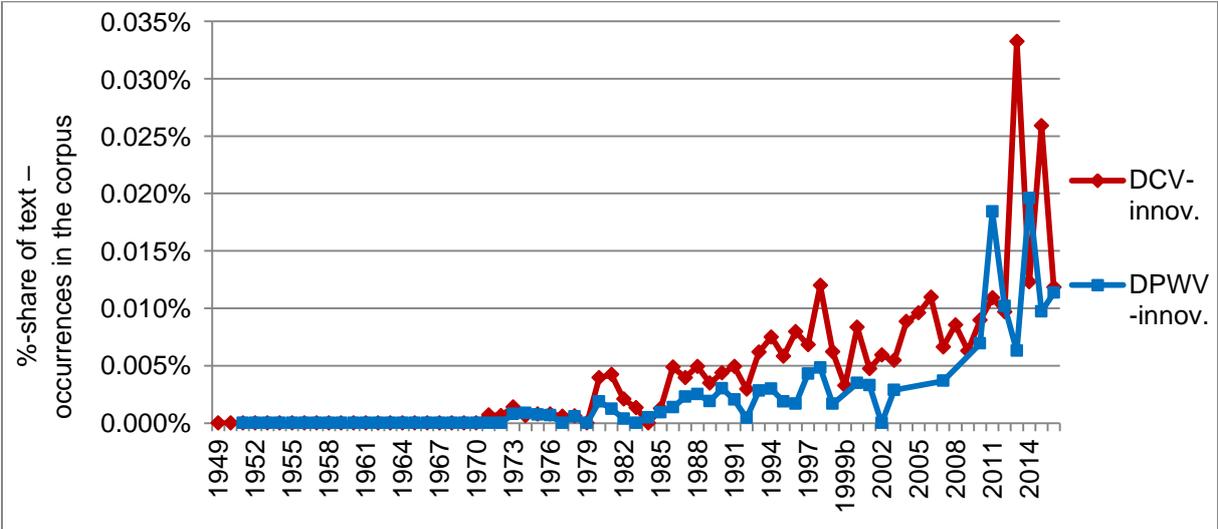
What these excerpts also demonstrate is the conviction that profitability cannot be the hallmark of a welfare provider, which can conflict with some types of social entrepreneurs, as will be seen in the following episode. The fact that market forces are still being seen as contrary to the good of society in many areas could indicate a problem for the interaction between the social entrepreneurship movement and the established welfare associations. Additionally, the pressure to be cost-effective is being used as a reason to stall, rather than spark, innovation:

Constant cost pressure and austerity on the one hand and increasing quality requirements on the other – there is not much room for innovative ideas. – Paritätischer, 2015

The corpus shows that Caritas and the Paritätischer had to deal with issues regarding economization and efficiency well before the legal changes of the 1990s – although that legislation significantly intensified those issues. Generally, especially in the beginning, these issues were viewed with skepticism and considered to be contrary to an ethical way of providing social welfare. This conflict line will emerge again during the episode of social innovation.

6.3.2.4 Social Innovation in the Organizations

When looking at how the two organizations have engaged with the issue of innovation through the decades, something interesting emerges. In its corpus, Caritas is somewhat more engaged with the issue of innovation than the Paritätischer. The following section investigates the link between innovation and the respective value systems. Starting in about 2003, a clear uptake can be identified in both organizations, but it took until about 2010 for the Paritätischer to begin to deal with the issue as frequently as Caritas.



Share of social innovation coding of the total text by year
 Figure 16: Presence of the Social Innovation Episode in the Corpus

The episode contains the major changes made to the membership magazine of Caritas in 1999, when they strongly altered format and design. This coincided with a clear decrease in the overall prevalence of the value system in the Caritas corpus. Regardless of whether this change in value-based language was intentional or unintentional, the reduction in explicit references to Catholicism makes for a different internal environment in Caritas today compared to the way it was during the episode when self-help groups were burgeoning. I argue that this is one reason why Caritas today en-

gages differently with social entrepreneurs than it did with self-help groups – even though there should be an even stronger normative divide, considering the added component of marketization. However, both trends – the reduction in overall value system language and increase in talk of innovation – are continuations of previous developments. Therefore, while the change in the magazine’s format may have contributed to this trend, it is not the only factor to be considered here.

In a sense, the social entrepreneurship movement is a continuation of previous ideas, a modern day self-help movement that wants to do things differently, while being shaped by a more economy-centered environment. After the opening up of the German welfare sector during the privatization episode, bringing these two aspects together appears fitting. However, the privatization episode demonstrated that social innovation coincides with an increasing focus on economization, particularly in Caritas.

The start of the self-help movement was also the beginning of the concept of innovation and social enterprises in the corpus of Caritas. For the Paritätischer, innovation had been a topic as well, but on a much smaller scale. Even though Caritas already used the phrasing of social innovation as early as 1973, frequent usage is almost exclusively in 2013 and 2015. This is similar to the Paritätischer, which first mentioned it in 1998, but mostly used it in 2015 and 2016.

The concept of intrapreneurs never appears in the Paritätischer corpus, and only once in the Caritas corpus in 2012. Social enterprises and entrepreneurs are referenced much more often.

In the Paritätischer, we see how the phase of profitability in the social sector blends into the beginning of the social enterprises, with the first usage of the term:

All four companies work in socially useful and future-oriented fields with market orientation, cooperate with business enterprises and thus improve placement opportunities for their employees. The social enterprises are by no means purely grant-funded enterprises. Up to 50 percent of the costs are generated by the company itself. – Paritätischer, 1994

Almost 20 years later, social enterprises are still seen in a positive way:

The larger social debates, such as the relationship between labor market and education policies, are not only familiar to, but also actively involved with, social

enterprise managers. And they develop innovative solutions for social problems.
– Paritätischer, 2012

For the Paritätischer, the self-help episode was also partly seen in terms of innovation:

So that the association did not become a bureaucratic mammoth structure, he developed the four-stage program and thus set accents both for a socio-political component of the association's work as well as for methodical approaches to public participation in welfare-preserving innovation and self-help. – Paritätischer, 1988

Looking at itself, there seems to be a sense of not having been sufficiently innovative:

Only rarely have social plans been innovation-oriented in such a way that they actually open up new social agencies with innovative ideas for design. – Paritätischer, 1990

The Paritätischer's power of innovation is seen to grow out of its plurality:

The Paritätischer in both Bremen and throughout the Federal Republic is not a welfare corporation under central control, but is characterized by the promotion of different approaches to social work. This gives rise to an egalitarian (paritätische) power of innovation, which is necessary to promote equal opportunities. – Paritätischer, 2015

Innovation is also still central to their role as advocate for the downtrodden.

In his opening speech, the BAGFW President and Chairman of the Paritätischer Gesamtverband, Professor Dr. Rolf Rosenbrock, emphasized that innovations within the framework of our value system essentially depend on giving a voice to those affected and thus really involving the parties concerned. – Paritätischer, 2016

Similar to the position taken during the period of self-help, the Paritätischer has recently been displaying openness to social innovation, with explicit reference to its value system.

“Parity is more than just the individual content. Above all, it is an attitude that is based on clear values,” says Michael Richter, Managing Director of the

Paritätischer Saxony, referring to the guiding principles of openness, tolerance and diversity. “These approaches, which have been revealed again and again every day of the seminar, are not only responsible for action, but also give the association its individual touch and differentiate its offers from those of commercial service providers. Especially the variety, which is not only the basic attitude, but also the defining structural element of our association, has always reemerged.” Dr. Ulrich Schneider from the Joint General Assembly summed up this attitude during his visit: “Parity does not first question ideas about their immediate usefulness, but has the openness to think, Why not?” This approach makes social innovations possible and that is what parity stands for, and with its actions, the association helps to ensure that these ideas take shape. – Paritätischer, 2016

Social enterprises had merged social claims and market orientation, and were now established as a concept:

“However, we are not just concerned with the economic significance of non-profit social enterprises. The special feature of the nonprofit social economy is that its primary interest is the common good. It is the only industry that does not derive any private profits and returns all surpluses to social causes. This also distinguishes them very clearly from the profit-oriented privately organized social economy,” said Gerd Wenzel, Chairman of the Association Council of the Paritätischer Bremen. – Paritätischer, 2013

Interestingly, the first social enterprise, which was designated as such, was a Catholic one:

This new social enterprise started with the initial inspiration by the 1966 full-time Catholic hospital chaplaincy at the university clinics in Frankfurt-Niederrad. – Caritas, 1971

Thus, the concept does not appear to be inherently contradictory to Catholic values after all – at least in principle. More than 20 years later, during the privatization episode with its legal changes, when the issue gained more traction, the tone shifted. Now, social enterprises were seen to be more in conflict with the welfare associations:

Even the *Economie Sociale*, which until now has only been brought into play by the EU administration, is by no means meant to indicate that “every social en-

terprise” can compete with the welfare associations – even for this construction there is a whole set of non-profit criteria. – Caritas, 1995

Caritas started using the concept of social enterprises already during the late 1990s to refer to some of its work:

It should be noted, however, that in the end it is always a question of strengthening the work of all unpaid and paid employees working for Caritas, as well as the charitable and social entrepreneurial tasks on the ground in the social and living spaces of the people. – Caritas, 1998

The social entrepreneurship movement thus should have opportunities to connect to the established organizations:

On the one hand, an analysis of the existing situation is necessary in order to fulfill this mission statement; on the other, “visions” of the association need to be developed to span the broad spectrum from grassroots Caritas to market-oriented social enterprises. – Caritas, 2000

However, the dual claims by social entrepreneurs on the welfare sector, without being part of it in a traditional way, also put pressure on the connection between members of Caritas and their milieu:

Efficiency and effectiveness of work should be improved, roles as service providers on the one hand and social enterprises on the other should be clarified, and the loss of milieu must be taken into account through new activities. – Caritas, 2000

Again, the connection between profitability and the social enterprise can be seen, underlining how the movement in the context of the welfare associations ties in with the previous episodes’ new values. One way of connecting Christian values to the concept of social enterprises was to cooperate with Protestant colleagues:

In the fall of 2000, eleven Protestant and Catholic social enterprises joined together to form the so-called “Brussels Circle” (BK). – Caritas, 2003

It is, however, also interesting to note what cannot be found. There are not many mentions of outside engagement beyond the familiar scope of the welfare associations.

The Central Council Working Group on Entrepreneurship in Caritas, which was founded with this focus in mind, dealt, among other things, with the issue of the scope of episcopal supervision of Catholic social enterprises. – Caritas, 2004

Many members of the welfare associations were now branded or actually seen as social enterprises, introducing the question of how to keep the value profile of Caritas alive:

It could also be too little for Caritas. What sets it apart from other social enterprises? Where is the unmistakable profile? – Caritas, 2004

Social enterprises have the best market opportunities and competitive advantages – especially in these times of loss of value – when they shape the future themselves and, above all, live their profile credibly and convincingly. A social enterprise is certainly not sustainable without economic efficiency. But without humanity and charity it is unbearable. – Caritas, 2005

This shift of the privatization episode is closely linked to the way Caritas sees social enterprises, including itself:

At the same time, in recent years, the institutions of free welfare provision and services have become self-confident social enterprises. – Caritas, 2009

This is a different approach compared to previous episodes. Caritas held the newly emerging self-help groups at arm's length. Yet the gradual breakdown of the traditional framework in which welfare organizations operated by the emergence of new actors like the self-help groups laid the groundwork for change. Faced with the spread of social enterprises, Caritas found a different way to avoid bringing in new organizations: to proclaim yourself to be already what the institutional external environment demands you to become. In practice, there are probably many cases of such timely transformation or at least appropriation of outside impulses. It should be remembered that social enterprises have never threatened to engulf traditional welfare associations. In terms of reach, the welfare associations cover an incredible amount of territory, whereas the new social entrepreneurs are few in number and often small in scale.

To sum up the narrative: During the self-help movement, there was resistance to incorporating something new. Ultimately, the Paritätischer did, while Caritas did not. Thereafter, the whole sector changed when it was opened to private players outside

the welfare associations and public funds for welfare provision were reduced. Now, the story goes, we, the welfare associations, have become enterprises on top of being social.

Pompey was of the opinion that in church-run social enterprises the religiosity of the employees is an indispensable condition for the church-oriented identity of a social institution. – Caritas, 2010

Even if the pay in the area of Caritas is noteworthy in comparison with other social enterprises.... – Caritas, 2013

Innovation is equated with the existing organization's adapting to new outside organizations:

The Wolfsteiner workshops in Freyung, Bavaria are a modern social enterprise within Caritas. The workshop for people with disabilities, founded in 1973, has often broadened its horizons in recent years: as early as 2000, they opened an integrative hotel and in 2010 they rocked the region with an inclusive festival. – Caritas, 2012

An internal survey confirms this:

When working together with partners for innovation, cooperation partners from our own association sector dominate, followed by the public sector. After all, half of the respondents state that science and research partners have a very important or important role to play. Private companies or social enterprises or social entrepreneurs as partners are of secondary importance. – Caritas, 2013

Yet, when trying to innovate:

After all, two-fifths say that they do not find suitable cooperation partners. – Caritas, 2013

When describing Ashoka, an organization designed to promote social entrepreneurship, the first attribute used is “non-denominational”:

Ashoka is a non-denominational, nonpartisan organization for the promotion of social entrepreneurs [...]. – Caritas, 2011

Now that social entrepreneurship had become an interest point for the public, Caritas also engaged with it more.

The promotion of social enterprises and social innovations is one of the focal points of the National Engagement Strategy of the Federal Government, which aims to create a framework for volunteering and volunteer work. – Caritas, 2011

The theme of having innovation within the organization, and to have (had) a degree of dynamic energy comparable to that manifested in trends outside the organization is a recurring one, which can already be found at an early stage of what would later become the social entrepreneurship movement:

The process of Church innovation from the grass roots in this example is part of the success story of the Caritas Association, which is often forgotten or underestimated. – Caritas, 1998

Rather than looking at the individual entrepreneur, as is often highlighted by social entrepreneurship, Caritas now emphasizes institutional strength and points towards organizational measures for tackling problems:

The first trend is that we often equate social innovation with unusual people who single-handedly save the world. However, in this sometimes very legitimate enthusiasm we should not overlook the fact that we need organizations and not just individuals to tackle many societal challenges, as well as new and old social issues such as the current wave of refugees. Because of that, it is important not to see innovation on its own, but as a process within organizations. The second trend is the widespread assumption that innovation equals creation of value. – Caritas, 2015

Innovation is also put into the context of the traditions of welfare associations:

The innovation potential of welfare associations and their ability to innovate are very much influenced by their organizational history. – Caritas, 2015

In contrast to its reactions to previous episodes, Caritas is now demonstrating its position within the trend of social innovation, as well as its own individual strengths and characteristics.

Two things have become apparent: First, the topic of social innovation has similarities to the episodes of self-help and economization. Second, the welfare associations at least partly relate these developments to their value systems.

6.4 Relationship Between Value System and Episode

The previous section has highlighted ways in which the welfare sector has changed over the last seven decades. For this, four episodes were selected, each of which had a strong impact on the social sector as a whole, but differing impacts on individual welfare associations. The episodes have been described and their respective relationship with the individual organization put into context. It has also been shown which role these episodes have played on the development of the imprinted value systems within the organizations. Tracking the episodes through coding shows the presence of an episode in the corpus and development of the episode over time. This section now looks into the correlation between the episode and the value system. It further elaborates on the interplay between the two and demonstrates the correlation between the development of the value systems and the episodes in the corpus.

Episode	Measurement	Caritas	Paritätischer
Self-help	Correlation between explicit presence of episode and value system in the corpus	-0.213	.396**
	Implications / Interpretations	Never overcame the resistance, Caritas not engaged with this episode (other than striving to stay out of it).	Engagement throughout their existence, both as self-help organizations became members, as well as over the whole timeframe.
Re-unification	Correlation between explicit presence of episode and value system in the corpus	-0.108	.272*
	Implications /	Did not play a big role overall, as	Accepting the People's Solidarity

	Interpretations	again the organization did not strongly engage with the issue because it did not fit to their values.	as a member ensured that the Paritätischer developed well in East Germany. This in turn contributed to an increase of plurality as it was put into action.
Privatization	Correlation between explicit presence of episode and value system in the corpus	-.691**	.288*
	Implications / Interpretations	This development was of such central importance for the welfare sector that it could not be ignored. It strongly contributed to the decline of the explicit use of the value system, as privatization could not be kept at bay and was strongly at odds with the idea of Christian brotherly love.	Rather than keeping it out, the pluralistic nature made it possible for the Paritätischer to include economic ideas more easily than Caritas.

Social Innovation	Correlation between explicit presence of episode and value system in the corpus	-.551**	.715**
	Implications / Interpretations	Similar to privatization, innovation has been aimed more at the general organizational core. Additionally, previous episodes have reduced the imprinted wall against outside demands with a value component, so that now there is stronger engagement with it.	Interestingly, we also see in the case of the Paritätischer a very strong correlation here. This could indicate that increased usage of pluralistic language also increased engagement with the issue.

*. The correlation is significant at the α -level of 0.05 (2-sided)

** The correlation is significant at the α -level of 0.01 (2-sided)

Correlation according to Pearson

Table 36: Correlation between Development of Value Systems and Episodes

What can be seen here is that all episodes correlate at least to a moderate degree with the development of imprinted pluralism in the Paritätischer. This means that all of them were able to enter the organization's corpus at a significant level, which has increased over time. Social innovation has the strongest correlation, but the other three episodes develop in a similar fashion. It also means that as they entered the corpus, the use of pluralistic language increased. Generally, a tendency can be seen in the Paritätischer corpus to be much more operational, compared to the publications from Caritas. The lower level of value-related content in the Paritätischer corpus is also the natural result of the plurality of the organization. Caritas invokes Catholicism actively in its charter and its publications to contextualize its work and to set it apart from mere humanitarian help. For the Paritätischer however, there is little need

to remind people of pluralism as the value system on a language level – it comes out in practice and implicitly through the inclusion of a diverse group of members. A different interpretation of the results could be that as diversity in the organization increases, the need to stress the foundational principle of pluralism also increases. However, there is no evidence of this based on the interviews. It would also be contrary to the direction Caritas is taking in reducing their value system based language.

The situation of Caritas is more nuanced. Both reunification and self-help did not make it into the corpus in a way that correlates with the development of the value system. However, the impact of those two episodes may have reduced the strength of the presence of Catholicism in the corpus. Possibly as a consequence, the two later episodes, privatization and social innovation, both correlate strongly negatively and very significantly with the development of Catholicism.

This suggests that once the imprinted value system was brought down to a certain level, it was possible for the demands of the two later episodes of privatization and social innovation to be developed further in the corpus of Caritas, because prior to that external institutional demands were blocked by the prevalent value system.⁴¹ This shows how a value system can shield against the interference of external demands is reduced in strength over time, and what happens once it becomes less prevalent, thus no longer blocking outside influences to the former degree.

6.4.1 Reliability and Significance of the Measurements

6.4.1.1 Bonferroni Correction and Correlation Comparison

Following Abdi (2007), another significance test for the reliability of the previous individual correlations will be added: the standard Bonferroni correction. With this correction applied, a test reaches significance if the associated probability is smaller than the individual level of significance divided by the number of conducted tests.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \alpha [PT] - \text{alpha per test} \\ \alpha [PF] - \text{alpha per family of tests} \\ n - \text{number of tests} \end{array} \right\} \alpha [PT] = \frac{\alpha [PF]}{n} = \frac{0.05}{8} = 0.00625$$

⁴¹ Potentially episodes to come in the following decades, assuming the level of Catholicism does not increase again.

Applying the Bonferroni correction thus gives the new alpha level of 0.00625 – applied in order to protect against its inflation / reduce Type I errors. However, it should be noted that this correction is quite conservative (“pessimistic”, (Abdi, 2007, p. 6)) in its approach and comes at the price of reducing statistical power (Nakagawa, 2004). With $n=8$ the number of tests should, however, not be too high for this correction method to be overly restrictive.

Episode	Caritas value system		The Paritätischer value system	
	p-value	correlation	p-value	correlation
Self-help	.079	-.213	.002	.396
Re-unification	.375	-.108	.035	.272*
Privatization	.000	-.691	.025	.288*
Social Innovation	.000	-.551	.000	.715

Values in **bold** fulfill the Bonferroni correction of $p \leq 0.00625$; * was previously significant, but is not after Bonferroni correction; Correlation according to Pearson

Table 37: Bonferroni Correction Overview of Correlations

For Caritas, Bonferroni does not change anything. The episodes self-help and reunification were not significant before Bonferroni, and are then of course still not significant afterwards. Privatization and social innovation were very significant before, and have remained so. This shows a stronger engagement with later episodes, potentially after the imprinted value system had been lowered to a certain point where its protective aspect was not as strong as before.

For the Paritätischer, we do see a change following the Bonferroni correction. The two episodes of reunification and privatization, which only had a moderate correlation and p-value strength, should not be considered significant after Bonferroni. The strongly engaged with episodes of self-help and social innovation are still significant after Bonferroni. This could suggest that the Paritätischer more strongly engages with episodes, which bring forth new actors within the sector with a social mission (self-help groups and social entrepreneurs), but does not engage as strongly with other aspects. It also points towards the way pluralism comes out in the organization: less in words and more in practical involvement with these new actors.

6.4.1.2 Significance of Correlations

Following Diedenhofen & Musch (2015), the differences in correlations need to be statistically tested for significance – something that is often missing. To check for significance between the evolving changes in measured levels of significance from episode to episode, the following analysis is conducted assuming dependency between the episodes, non-overlap, an alpha-level of 0.01 (corrected for multiple comparisons – 0.05/3), with n=69 for Caritas and n=61 for the Paritätischer.

Episode	Caritas value system		The Paritätischer value system	
	correlation	Significance of change in correlation to previous episode	correlation	Significance of change in correlation to previous episode
(1) Self-help	-.213		.396	
(2) Reunification	-.108	<i>z = -.6347 p = .5256</i>	.272*	<i>z = -.7733 p = .4393</i>
(3) Privatization	-.691	z = 4.3318 p = .000	.288*	<i>z = -.0959 p = .9236</i>
(4) Social Innovation	-.551	<i>z = 1.3357 p = .1816</i>	.715	z = -3.2092 p = .0013

Values in **bold** fulfill the Bonferroni correction of $p \leq 0.00625$; * was previously significant, but is not after Bonferroni correction; Correlation according to Pearson

Table 38: Significance of Correlations

For Caritas, what was seen before checking the significance of the changes in the correlations has held. The change in correlation from the reunification episode to the privatization episode was both strong and significant. The change between privatization and social innovation was not, so the change was not significant enough to suggest a notable diminished engagement with the fourth episode compared to the third.

For the Paritätischer, the analysis shows that the change between episode 1 and 2 was not significant. While engagement with the self-help episode was more significant, the change to the re-unification episode was not. The same is true for the change from episode 2 to 3. This development points towards the conservative nature of the Bonferroni correction, as both episodes 2 and 3 were considered significant before. The fact that the changes between their significance levels are not significant shows a relatively coherent engagement with the first three episodes by the Paritätischer. As expected, the change from episode 3 to 4 was strong and significant – as the correlation between the value system of the Paritätischer and the episode was considerably stronger than between its value system and previous episodes.

The combination of these two reliability and significance tests demonstrates the validity of the study's analysis. The results can be considered reasonably robust. Building on these results now, a framework is presented which takes the findings of the analysis into account and generalizes how external institutional demands affects two different types of value systems: those, which try to block external institutional demands (*resisting*) and those, which let demands more readily into the organizations (*diaphanous*).

6.5 Framework to Model External Institutional Demands on Imprints

Taking the characteristics developed in chapter 3 together with the empirical insights generated in this chapter, a framework is proposed to model how external institutional demands impact organizations' imprints – and particularly imprinted value systems. What has become apparent in the empirical analysis is the importance of the nature of the imprinted organizational value system: whether such a value system is *resisting* or *diaphanous* in nature will affect how willingly an organization engages with external institutional demands.

An imprinted value system is a particularly strong representation of an imprint. As has been shown in the charters and other fundamental documents, a value system is so close to an organization's core that it might be the key factor, which makes that particular organization unique – certainly within the context of welfare associations. While they all provide for the needy, they act from different backgrounds. In contrast to an imprinted internal process, for example, a value system can be the defining feature of an organization. Changes in the value system are thus very important for the organization. What has been observed empirically is not so much a change in the existing value system, but in the frequency of its use. With the passage of time, Catholicism was used less frequently in Caritas' texts, whereas, during the same time span, pluralism was used more frequently in the writings of the Paritätischer.

In the case of Caritas, it can be observed how the progressively less frequent usage of Catholicism coincided with an increased usage of pluralism. However, the main correlation was with external institutional demands entering the corpus of the organization. This suggests that the value system of Catholicism was of a *resisting* nature. It consequently shielded the organization from outside demands and had to be reduced in prevalence over time before the demands could appear in the corpus. This could be conceived like an organizational immune system: protecting against invasions from the outside, unless those outside forces become too strong and the immune system gets overwhelmed.

The situation of the Paritätischer is different. Over time, the usage of pluralism increased, and external institutional demands did not have a problem entering the organization's corpus. This suggests a value system of a different nature. Rather than blocking demands from the selected episodes, they entered into the corpus throughout the observed time. It is thus of a *diaphanous* nature, not adding further resistance

to the general resistance of most organizations but being basically open to outside influences – potentially even enabling engagement with the episodes.

When comparing all of the episodes and the value systems, it can be seen that the Paritätischer, with pluralism as its value system, engaged with all the episodes – and its engagement went hand in hand with an increase in its use of a pluralistic vocabulary. In contrast, with Caritas, Catholicism appears to have shielded the organization from actively engaging with the demands of earlier episodes, or at least made engagement more difficult. Particularly the episodes of self-help and reunification only appeared in the corpus at a comparatively low level, as Catholicism was still high. However, once the prevalence of Catholicism was diminished to a certain level, engagement with external institutional demands became stronger.

For the initial question of the impact of external institutional demands on organizational imprints in this specific case, the following can be concluded:

- Imprinted value systems should not be seen as a monolithic idea.
- Depending on the type of value system, the way an organization reacts to external institutional demands can vary:
 - Imprinted resisting value systems can act as a protection against external institutional demands for a while.
 - Imprinted resisting value systems can be worn down over time by external institutional demands.
 - Imprinted diaphanous value systems can make it easier for an organization to engage with external institutional demands rather than block them, as a resisting value system would.
 - Imprinted diaphanous value systems can be strengthened rather than reduced in prevalence over time when engaging with external institutional demands.
- Changes in imprinted value systems, both resisting and diaphanous, appear over decades and not in reaction to single events or during short “sensitive periods”.

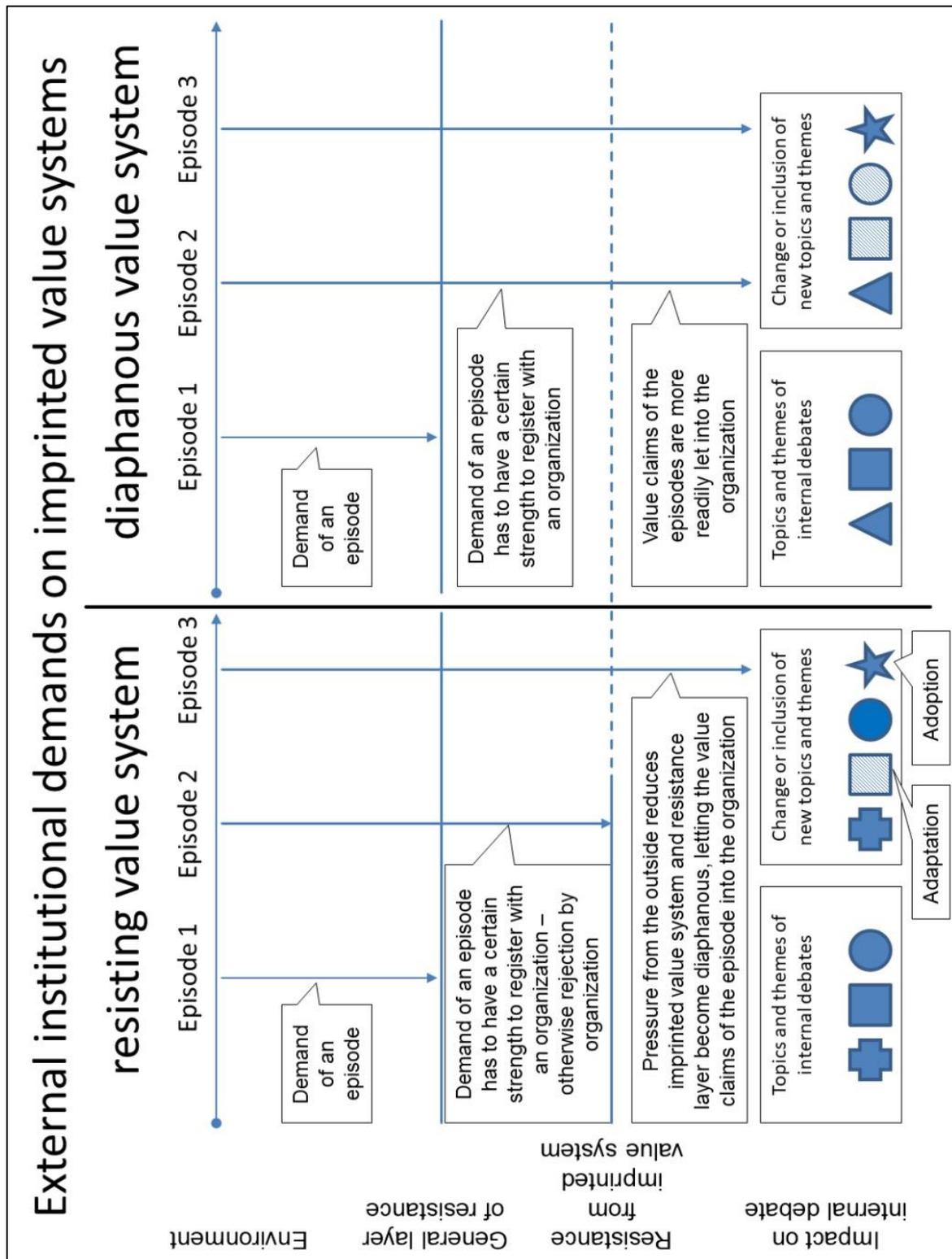


Figure 17: External Institutional Demands on Imprinted Resisting and Diaphanous Value Systems

As figure 17 demonstrates, episodes in the institutional external environment exert pressure on the organization by articulating demands on existing organizations, which do not yet fully or sufficiently embrace or meet those demands. The demands vary from episode to episode. As has been demonstrated in the literature on organi-

zational resistance to change (Castel & Friedberg, 2004; Gioia et al., 2013; Hannan & Freeman, 1984; Pache & Santos, 2010), such demands will first hit a general layer of resistance. The default mode typical of large, long-established organizations in particular is not to change at all or to make changes only on a small scale. This general resistance will filter out smaller demands from the institutional external environment. These smaller demands would not appear in the corpus at all, or only as a side note. This held true for both organizations. Demands strong enough to register on the radar of the organization would then enter the corpus.

For organizations with a resisting value system, an additional layer of resistance would have to be overcome, an additional barrier organizations with a diaphanous value system do not have. It is thus more likely that the latter organizations engage with demands from the institutional external environment. This has been shown with the Paritätischer, whose texts attest to their engagement with all the episodes, as opposed to Caritas, which only engaged with the latter two episodes of privatization and social innovation. As an organization with a resisting value system, Caritas had an additional layer of resistance imprinted. Under constant demands from the institutional external environment, this imprint, however, eventually diminished in strength to a point where a stronger internal engagement with outside pressures became possible. Changes in such an imprinted resisting value system could be observed over a long period, in the case of Caritas most significantly between 1949 and 1999, when a relatively stable level was reached. This underlines the initial proposition of an imprinted value system being diminished in strength over decades rather than during a shorter sensitive period, thus refuting or emending the argument by Marquis & Tilcsik (2013).

It is proposed here that the change which the demand effects can either be an adaptation of existing topics within the corpus, or the adoption of new topics. An example of an adaptation would be the example of innovation within the corpus, which was initially seen more in a business context, and later adapted to fit to the emerging social innovation episode. Self-help in the Paritätischer is an example of a newly adopted topic of an organization, as the organization had not engaged with the issue before the episode, but then incorporated both the topic and the self-help organizations that emerged during the episode.

7 Conclusion

This conclusion will reflect on the aims of the thesis and how they were achieved. Both research questions were answered. It was demonstrated how imprinted value systems can increase or decrease depending on their characteristics and how a prevalent resisting value system can shield an organization from external institutional demands, whereas a diaphanous one can enable external engagement. Additionally, it is explained how the findings increase our understanding of organizational theory, particularly of imprinting and institutional demands. Furthermore, it is addressed how personnel at welfare associations, social entrepreneurs, value-based non-profits, and policy makers may put the findings into practical use. A reflection on implications for future research then concludes this thesis.

7.1 Reiteration

The research questions this thesis set out to answer were:

- 1 How do imprinted value systems in organizations persist under external institutional demands?
- 2 How do different types of value systems influence the way organizations engage with emerging external institutional demands?

Imprinted value systems were defined as consistent perceptual frameworks that normatively shape and influence behavior, which were firmly established within an organization at the time of its founding and are maintained over time through reinforcement within the organization. External institutional demands were defined as implicit or explicit requests made from outside an organization towards the organizations by integrated systems of formal and informal rules and patterns, which structure social interactions and constitute the social environment an organization operates in. These demands were then conceptualized in the form of episodes in the external institutional environment, which were defined as bounded streams of social life containing connected moments of institutional demands. Within the 67-year timeframe covered by this analysis, the following four episodes were identified: self-help, reunification, privatization, and social innovation.

This study proposed that value systems are particularly close to the core of an organization, making it necessary to observe influences on them over several decades. To

achieve this, the author suggested that the conceptualization of episodes would better help us to understand changes in imprinted value systems over such long time spans than would the concept of sensitive periods, which looks at changes more on a short-term level. It was further proposed that imprinted value systems should not be seen as binary (i.e. present / not present in the organization), but that different types of value systems make organizations engage differently with demands from episodes.

All these ideas were developed based on an intensive review of the current state of the literature on imprinting and on institutional demands. It was shown how the two have virtually no overlap, even though the combination would offer valuable insights into the way institutional external environments put pressure on organizational imprints. Furthermore, the literature has mostly looked at the topic of organizational reactions to institutional demands from a strategic and active level, without measuring it from inside organizations or over long periods. This analysis, in contrast, offers both, and so significantly contributes to the two strands of literature, and demonstrates ways of going deeper into the development of organizations by showing how external institutional demands are perceived in organizations over the long run, and how this affects imprinted value systems.

Two organizations were selected for analysis in order to test these concepts: Caritas and the Paritätischer. They were chosen because they have both existed for at least 90 years, far predating the Federal Republic of Germany, and because they have clearly identifiable organizational value systems, which are very different in nature: Catholicism in Caritas, and pluralism in the Paritätischer. The selected literature on Caritas and the Paritätischer showed that almost no studies have compared these two organizations with each other, as there has not been much research analyzing welfare associations individually rather than as a group. Longitudinal organizational studies to test findings over several decades were also mostly absent. These combined gaps in the literature underlined the need for a more comprehensive look at the problem of changing imprints on a larger time scale.

The case selection was not only intended to show the history and central position of the two welfare organizations, but also to put forth questions about denominational and non-denominational organizations in general, and specifically in Germany. At a time when religion is becoming an issue again, with a rising Muslim population and

the use of Christianity by populist forces to define the Occident in the public discourse, it is important for both researchers and policy makers to recognize the relevance of understanding religion as a factor in organizations.

By exploring the founding environments of the two organizations and their development during the following decades up until 1949, the welfare associations were contextualized in their history and light was shed on their deep connection to the German welfare system and the concepts they champion. These concepts and particularly the value systems of Catholicism and pluralism are shown to have shaped the selected welfare associations respectively.

Data was gathered from both organizations, mainly in the form of membership magazines, which constitute the corpus. These membership magazines were digitized, cleaned, and then coded. The resulting data set represents a very strong basis for analysis. One important contribution is the usage of documents generated by organizations about themselves and how they view their institutional external environments – a method that offers a perspective not often possible when studying organizations. As these texts cover the time from 1949–2016, a higher level of coherence and depth of understanding could be reached than would have been possible by relying solely on retrospective interviews, as is often done when assessing organizational developments from the past. In addition, few other organizational studies have set out to cover such a long time span. Nevertheless, interviews were conducted with representatives of both organizations, and notes were taken at several events in the welfare sector to achieve a deeper level of immersion in the field and ensure the validity of the interpretations of the corpus.

To answer the initial research questions, a dictionary was developed to measure the presence of the two value systems Catholicism and pluralism, as well as the four episodes of self-help, reunification, privatization, and social innovation. This was done by going through the documents and developing a broad coding with words grouped into categories indicating any of the six themes. To ensure validity, a second coder checked the process and words in the categories were only kept if both agreed. Next, the words were reduced in a second round, which made the categories much more focused and eliminated ambivalent or misleading terms. The resulting dictionary was then partially validated with another dictionary and ultimately used for analysis.

Before applying the self-generated dictionary, an LIWC analysis was conducted. This dictionary analysis tool from social psychology fulfilled two functions. First, it offered insight into the nature of the membership magazines and how their texts differed. This demonstrated that in the dimensions of exclusive and inclusive language, and topics such as occupation, school, money, and achievement, the two organizations do not vary significantly in their texts. As expected, the most significant difference was the presence of language regarding religion and metaphysics in the texts, with Caritas having much higher levels of religious language compared with the Paritätischer. Additionally, it served as an external validity test for the dictionary coding of Catholicism. The correlation was very high between religious language as measured by LIWC and specific references to Catholicism according to the self-developed dictionary, suggesting that Catholicism was being measured in a way similar to general religious language, and by extension demonstrating the quality of the dictionary prepared for this thesis.

The validity of the initial idea of a relation between organizational value system and institutional external environment was proven by conducting an analysis of the regional strength of the two organizations, and how that correlated with the regional religious affiliation of the population. This confirmed that Caritas had a stronger presence in regions with a sizable Catholic population, whereas no such connection could be identified in the case of the Paritätischer – underlining the active presence of its organizational pluralism.

After showing evidence of the assumed correlation between value system and institutional external environment, an in-depth analysis was conducted using the developed dictionary. The purpose of this was to empirically track the episodes and the development of value systems in the corpus and understand the connection between the two – thus answering the two proposed research questions. First, it was demonstrated that the value systems are detailed in the fundamental documents of the organizations, showing that specific value systems are indeed at the core of both Caritas and the Paritätischer. Second, the strength of the value systems in the corpus was measured over time – between 1949 and 2016. Third, the four episodes of self-help, reunification, privatization, and social innovation were introduced, and their importance to the welfare sector was laid out. Fourth, these were measured in the corpus. Fifth, it was demonstrated on a quantitative level how the development of value systems correlated with episodes in the corpus. Sixth and finally, a qualitative analysis was con-

ducted to understand further, what changes on the quantitative level could mean for the organizations and in what contexts the words from the dictionary were used in the corpus.

With regard to the first research question, it was demonstrated that imprinted value systems do not stay the way they are indefinitely, but can become reduced or strengthened over time depending on their nature. In Caritas, its value system (Catholicism) saw a high level of adherence in the 1950s, but those levels decreased over time as pressure was put on the imprint from the demands that came from the episodes in the institutional external environment. For the Paritätischer, the opposite was observed: confronted with external institutional demands, its value system (pluralism) steadily increased in the corpus over time. The differences in the development of these two imprinted value systems invited a closer look at the differing natures of Catholicism and pluralism, and their role in how organizations engage with changing institutional external environments.

With regard to the second research question of how different value systems influence the way organizations engage with emerging external institutional demands, two distinct types of imprinted value systems were identified: the resisting value system (Catholicism; shielding against engagement with external institutional demands) and the diaphanous value system (pluralism; letting external institutional demands pass into the organization). In differentiating these systems, it was demonstrated that imprinted value systems should not be seen as one monolithic idea; their differing natures matter in terms of how organizations engage with changes in their external institutional environment.

As for Caritas, Catholicism shielded against or made it more difficult for the organization to engage actively with the first two episodes, self-help and reunification. The episodes did not enter the corpus in a significant way, as the level of adherence to Catholicism was high during these episodes. Once the presence of the Catholic value system had diminished to a certain degree, stronger engagement with episodes became possible, as shown in the two later examples of privatization and social innovation.

The Paritätischer, with pluralism as its imprinted organizational value system, engaged with all four of the episodes in the welfare sector – and this engagement went hand-in-hand with an increase in the use of pluralistic language in the corpus. For the

Paritätischer, the value system, at the very least, did not hinder engagement, and may have actively helped lay the foundation for integrating a wide variety of members and ideas under one roof.

A resisting value system can act as protection against outside demands up to a certain point, but may be reduced over time. A diaphanous value system can support an organization's engagement with external institutional demands, as it creates an organizational setting that supports a diverse marketplace of ideas. A diaphanous value system can become stronger over time rather than be reduced, as the inclusion of more and more external institutional demands creates a continuing need for it.

These results can be considered robust. In addition to the aforementioned partial test of the dictionary with the LIWC, and the application of the rule of complete agreement with a second coder, two additional robustness tests were conducted to check the validity of the calculated correlations. By applying a Bonferroni correction, the significance level of the correlations was set to a conservative level, increasing the pressure on the calculated correlations. Furthermore, a significance test for the changes in the observed correlations was carried out by calculating the significance of the correlation changes between episodes. Ultimately, both tests demonstrated the validity of the results.

The conclusions presented here are the result of an iterative process that began by deep immersion in the field and the literature, and then moving back and forth between data and literature. This iterative process can be seen as one of the strengths of this analysis and particularly of the proposed framework, which was developed by matching theoretical concepts and empirical findings.

Initially, the theoretical foundation to describe the long-term effects of external institutional demands on different organizational value systems was developed out of the two streams of organization studies literature on imprinting and institutional demands. To bring this foundation together with the empirical findings, a framework was proposed. The framework models how a resisting value system shields against external institutional demands until worn down and how a diaphanous value system lets external institutional demands enter the organization much more easily.

7.2 Findings for Organizational Theory and Researchers of Organizations

In imprinting theory, first, the concept of sensitive periods, and the changes in organizational imprints that occur during those periods, has been questioned by this study. For imprints close to the core of an organization, such as value systems, a sensitive period might not be the best explanatory tool by which to understand how imprints change in an organization over a long time period, as opposed to an organization losing its imprints. Rather, it has been demonstrated in this thesis how change over a longer period of time alters the prevalence of imprints. Instead of losing an imprint during a sensitive period, imprints can become more or less prevalent, over time. This increases the current understanding of long-term organizational change.

Second, the issue of differing characteristics for the same type of imprints has also been raised here. Previously under-theorized, the present research study shows the importance of not only examining an imprint, such as a value system, but adding another level of granularity by considering how such an imprint can manifest in the specificities of an individual organization (i.e., differentiate between the characteristics of similar imprints and consider the effect of those differences between, for example, Catholicism and pluralism).

Additionally, the current understanding of how organizations use these imprints to engage with institutional demands has been deepened. It was shown by this study, how the concept of institutional demands can be used to describe societal changes, which then manifest in organizations. This also broadens the institutional demands literature view, shifting it from the strategic response towards examining the underlying and subtle impacts that emerge over decades.

The framework developed in this thesis offers a way of bridging the gap between the literature on institutional demands and imprinting. This framework is used to investigate how the prevalence of core imprints, such as value systems, change in an organization, and how external institutional demands effect this change and the extent to which organizations engage with these demands.

For researchers of organizations, especially for those conducting long-term studies, the option of using membership magazines as data has been proposed here. These documents are written by personnel within organizations; thus, they offer a way to track the themes and frames within an organization. Therefore, the analysis can be tracked coherently and without the biases of faulty memories. As Bourdieu noted:

“History [...] is inspired not by an antiquarian interest but by a will to understand why and how one understands” (1992, p. 238). In this sense, this thesis uses an historical method because it seeks to enable organizational researchers to better understand how organizations frame what they do and how they do it; thus, framing their understanding of their work, which, in this thesis, occurs through their imprinted value systems. However, the applicability of this approach transcends historical analysis; it should be considered by researchers in any of the social sciences, particularly organizational scholars.

7.3 Practical Implications

In addition to being academically significant, the results of this thesis also have practical implications for leaders of organizations and policy makers. Of particular importance is the awareness of the fundamental nature of an organization’s value system, and whether it is resisting or diaphanous.

7.3.1 Findings for the Welfare Associations

Legitimacy is one of the problems that can arise in an organization with a resisting value system – that is, with a tendency to be shielded from the institutional external environment. It can be problematic for the legitimacy of an organization to rest solely on its historically developed status quo (Merchel, 1989, p. 38). Schultz (1981) recognized this in relation to church-affiliated welfare associations and the legislative changes surrounding youth welfare. The social sector is at the heart of a civil society. Therefore, welfare associations active in that sector, and claiming to represent it, should, at least in part, reflect societal trends, preferences, and values. Thus, organizations with resisting value systems run the risk of losing touch with society and having their relevance called into question.

This has certainly been the case for Germany’s two denominational welfare associations, Caritas and Diakonie, and their legal privileges as religious value-based organizations. In addition to facing accusations of being out of touch with the values and current trends in society, Christian organizations in Germany are finding it difficult to uphold their claim of representing a large section of the population, further diminishing their legitimacy. Consequently, their privileged position, which they still hold in

many areas, such as employment law and participation in public tenders, is becoming less and less tenable. Court decisions are already questioning the legitimacy of religiously based labor laws, and policy makers must consider the issue of privileges afforded these organizations based on religion.

In contrast to the weakening legitimacy of Christian organizations, Muslim welfare providers represent an interesting pushback regarding the issue of religiousness in the welfare sector. The heavy influence of Christian groups in many areas of life in Germany has always been of concern, and it has drawn criticism, especially as participation in organized Christianity has diminished. The welfare associations, particularly the Protestant Federal Association DDEP, significantly decreased their religious profiles as early as the 1980s. With the increase in the Muslim population in Germany, religion has re-emerged as an important component of the profile of welfare providers.

The present study also suggests that the adaptability to external institutional demands can be a double-edged sword – good when those demands are good, bad when they are bad. Without addressing the nuances of a debate about good and evil in the context of social welfare (Cho, 2006), most readers would (hopefully) agree that Nazi Germany and its ideology were bad. At the same time, many readers would probably also agree that it is important for any organization that wants to represent the downtrodden to adapt to societal trends. The present study's findings have shown that the Paritätischer was ready to embrace both bad and good external institutional environmental changes. Thus, the Paritätischer, as well as other, newly established inclusive organizations, should feel encouraged to self-reflect on the limits of openness and the consequences of being accepting of potentially damaging influences.

The Paritätischer should revisit its own history and the negative implications of its openness and willingness to dissolve in 1933, and what that says about its ability to not include problematic organizations or individuals. For the Paritätischer, a deeper examination and reappraisal of that time might be in order, and it should transcend merely distancing itself from Wilhelm Polligkeit and closing the institute named after him.

Caritas should re-evaluate its proclaimed Catholic profile. As has become apparent from the present study's data, the organization is not as Catholic as it used to be.

Consequently, it should become more difficult for this organization to claim preferential legal treatment based on its religious affiliation. The reduced religious verve observed in the membership magazines could be a beginning for greater openness in several areas, which step-by-step is also being mandated by judicial decisions. It would be prudent to use this as a way to address the changes that are already underway and proactively include the newer parts of the social sector, such as social entrepreneurs, which might, at this time, still be hesitant to cooperate due to the organization's Catholic affiliation.

7.3.2 Findings for Social Entrepreneurs

For social entrepreneurs, it is important to closely consider the historical development of the social sector in Germany, and be mindful of the value systems that have shaped that sector. These value systems are still underlying in a lot of what is done and how welfare provision is thought of. Because these values differ regionally, a new and growing organization should factor in these differences when deciding whether to expand within a country or internationally.

The analysis presented in this thesis also offers social entrepreneurs a better understanding of the welfare associations, and the study's findings could provide social entrepreneurs with indicators of how to approach the options they need in order to cooperate with welfare associations. In that regard, one aspect is that a label, such as Catholic, when viewed from the outside, might appear to be a problem to a new and secular organization, or it might trigger prejudice, depending on the background of the social entrepreneur. However, today, an organization that identifies as being Catholic is not necessarily the same as an organization that identified as being Catholic 20 years ago – at least in terms of the strength of organizational conviction. In practical terms, on an individual membership level, there may be cooperation opportunities where the value system does not have to be prohibitively resisting.

Because the welfare associations are making a case for being the result of consistent social innovation and ongoing intrapreneurship, social entrepreneurs will also have to make a strong case through successful action, scaling, and the size of their movement when questioning the legitimacy and the effect of the welfare associations. While implementing new ways to offer welfare services is admirable, it is important to note that welfare associations are serving a large number of people. Social entrepre-

neurs will have to provide more than individually interesting approaches, and they will have to cooperate with the “old tankers” to scale their ideas. In this case, the size of the new organization or the number of social entrepreneurs does matter, as demonstrated by the example of the self-help groups and their impact on the sector.

Founders of social enterprises should be very mindful of the long-term effects of the decisions and especially the value systems in organizational charters. Because core imprints do not easily change, it is important to ensure that an organization’s value systems and other such characteristics have the potential to stay relevant and remain connected to society for decades to come.

7.3.3 Findings for Value-based Non-profits

Religious organizations use their value systems as the basis for their actions, making them particularly vulnerable to challenges to their legitimacy (Bauer, 1984; Pankoke, 1983). In a society that is less and less Catholic, Catholicism has increasingly come under pressure as new movements and ideas appear, resulting in new values and new ways of doing things. Yet, it is also important for leaders of other types of organizations, where the value system is less evident, to consider that a system open to incorporating new ideas will thrive, whereas one incompatible with changing trends may decline. Such organizations also run the risk of losing their status as legitimate representatives of the people they claim to advocate for.

Suddaby et al. (2010) showed how organizations can use rhetorical history to gain a competitive advantage, restructuring the past and underlining the legitimacy of current structures or approaches. However, this assumes that history works in the organization’s favor, or it can be shaped into a favorable image to fit current social demands or expectations. On a practical level, an organization that is aware of its imprinted value system might present its values as part of its public image. Thus, it would advertise itself as an upholder of tradition, as being a constant innovator, or as being a bulwark for like-minded individuals or a forum for people wanting to do things differently.

In terms of Muslim non-profits, the founders of those organizations might be able to make claims of welfare provision based on religion. Not only are these organizations increasing in number, demand for them appears to be continuously strong. As a growing portion of the German population is Muslim and demonstrates a preference

for Muslim welfare provision, calls for a Muslim central welfare association will probably get more traction in the future. This would be in line with the question of legitimacy, and the sector representing society. It is difficult to argue for special legal status based on religion for Christian welfare associations, which are less and less religious, and not also grant that status to a Muslim organization based on religion. The alternative would be to abolish religious privileges for social organizations altogether.

The increase in the number of Muslim welfare providers and social entrepreneurs demonstrates the need for a value-based supply of social welfare outside of the existing welfare associations. Value-based non-profits should promote their value systems and demonstrate what they stand for. They should also keep in mind how their value systems may or may not fit their external environment or the environment they would like to engage with.

7.3.4 Findings for Policy Makers

The findings of this thesis are also important for understanding how established actors engage – or do not engage – with new actors in their fields. Particularly in the context of welfare, this is of public interest and therefore relevant to policy makers. The same is true in regard to including organizations with a checkered past, such as Volkssolidarität, into a society that may be disconnected from them in certain ways. This issue of inclusiveness is important to consider when developing and implementing policy recommendations or structures. From the point of view of society, it can be important but challenging to include organizations that some might deem to be controversial, whether based on ideology, history, or their use of new but unpopular practices. If this is desired in civil society, policy makers should emphasize plurality in order to make room for trends, even controversial ones, within the framework of the fundamental liberal-democratic principle.

According to Bauer (1978), politics and social movements appear to have been closely linked during the self-help movement. Policy makers court currently emerging social entrepreneurs, and abundant funding is available in an effort to generate innovation, as if success was a foregone conclusion. From a policy standpoint, when engaging with these types of movements, their compatibility with, and effects on, established organizations should be considered, as should the kinds of changes that might occur due to their emergence.

When studying civil society movements, it can be important to understand the role that outside pressure can play in organizations over time. It is also important for policy makers to understand how organizations adapt over time and the differences in how these organizations react or adjust to developments in their institutional external environment. Actors in the sector, such as social entrepreneurs, may put pressure on existing organizations due to legitimacy, but when dealing with very established organizations this may take a long time. The present study's analysis also showed the impact that episodes involving legal changes have on organizational imprints and on the ways in which organizations think about themselves. For policy makers, this is a reminder of the importance of applying legal changes instead of relying on self-regulation, as the impact of the privatization episode has demonstrated, particularly when dealing with organizations that are prone to reacting slowly.

Another way of encouraging the welfare associations to change may be to challenge the institution of value-based organizations or to end privileges for church-affiliated organizations, such as granting their employees the right to strike. Because society, and for example Caritas, is becoming less and less religious, arguments for retaining those laws are losing legitimacy. In general, policy makers will have to bear in mind that religion is important to an organization's constituents. Moreover, in line with the findings of this thesis, they will have to consider the importance of the nature of imprinted value systems, in order to both do justice to these constituencies and encourage the future implementation of a Muslim central welfare association. As the example of Caritas demonstrates, established organizational structures can be very resistant to change.

The same general advice applies for policy makers in countries with still-developing welfare systems. Because structures, once established, tend to resist change (particularly when imprinted with a resisting value system), the long-term effects of those structures and their ability to adapt to changing conditions in the future, should be considered when developing and implementing a welfare system.

Policy makers who want to encourage and increase social innovation throughout the sector should consider supporting exchange platforms for ideas; they should also encourage collaboration between social innovators and large organizations with the potential to combine and scale their ideas. Furthermore, public funding and/or tax

incentives could be used to increase the number of exchanges between these two groups. This could lead to a more cooperative and innovative social sector.

While direct financial support, such as funding and stipends for newly established social enterprises, has, in many cases, not led to long-lasting organizations, it should be considered to help new organizations participate in public procurement processes. For example, this could include stipulating that traditional and emerging welfare providers cooperate on a project to give newcomers the opportunity to learn and apply their ideas on a broader scale, but still retain the security and experience of the welfare associations. As the self-help movement has shown, organizations must be successful on a certain scale for the welfare associations to implement the changes they propose.

7.4 Outlook for Future Research

This thesis was based on the idea that a denominational organization would react differently to institutional external environmental changes than a pluralistic one. It was expected that a religious organization would be more protective of its beliefs than an organization whose value system is not religiously inspired. The present analysis backed up both hypotheses. There are few researchers studying religious organizations or contrasting them with secular ones. In the opinion of this author, more should be done in this area, considering the importance religion has in the life of so many people globally.

The connection between religion and organizations has not been widely considered in recent decades. In development studies, there has been a revival of looking at “faith-based” institutions, especially in the context of religion and NGOs. In their blog at the Oxford Department of International Development, Feener and Fountain (2018) give a brief assessment of how religion as a factor is getting more and more attention from the “development industry and donor governments”. This, however, does not appear to have caught the attention of many organizational researchers. Management journals, for example, barely touch on the topic of religious organizations. Given the enormous size, influence, and financial impact of organizations such as Caritas, this does not seem prudent. Powerful and persistent organizations have something to teach us about how to stay relevant and successful in the organization’s chosen area.

There are many areas where change can be seen in the Paritätischer, and stability in the Caritas. Take the symbols of the organizations: the *Flammenkreuz* (Flamed Cross), the symbol of the Caritas, has been the association's symbol since the beginning and is widely recognized across Germany. The symbol of the Paritätischer has changed several times since that organization's founding, and is not well recognized since most member organizations rely on their own individual branding.

Religious organizations can have particularly long and deep roots. The Order of Malta, an international charity organization with diplomatic relations with over 100 countries and observer status at the United Nations, prides itself on over 900 years of care (McHugh, 1996). The *Fuggerei* in Augsburg, Germany, a subsidized housing project that has been in existence since 1521, was born out of the wish of its founder Jakob Fugger to have its inhabitants pray for his soul. It is the oldest social housing facility still in existence. As these two examples demonstrate, value systems, in these cases tied to Catholicism, can be powerful motivators or frameworks for providing charitable activity in the first place, but also for how and why charity is given. Future research should focus more on the impact a value system can have on what motivates organizations and makes them persist, as well as what changes them over time.

Studying the past as a non-historian can be daunting, but as Plourde (2013) shows by identifying longitudinal patterns of action as a management scholar, it can be done nonetheless. It is important for organizational scholars who want to develop and test theories to look at large periods and instead of single events. Concepts should be developed on a bigger scale. The fact that a longitudinal study over several decades can be difficult should not be a deterrent.

Other research has shown a divide between different types of welfare associations. Rock's analysis, for example, showed how the two large denominational associations apply a conservative and reserved approach to the European dimension, whereas the Red Cross and the Paritätischer are generally more open to engage in competition, based on the subsidiarity principle (2010, p. 229).

What these two examples illustrate is the flexibility and adaptability of an organization with a diaphanous value system. In the context of business strategy, Reeves et al. demonstrated how companies with ambidextrous strategies adapt better to changes from environments than those with fixed strategies (2015, p. 187). A resisting value system brings with it the need for transformation to fit to a changing external institu-

tional environment, whereas a diaphanous value system makes it easier for an organization to take in and adapt to outside pressure. Making a connection between value systems and applied business strategies might be an interesting avenue for future research.

In the case of welfare associations, openness has been framed mainly as a positive thing that lends the organization more relevance to society and a better outlook of survival in an ever-changing institutional external environment. Nevertheless, resistance can also bring stability, just as a diaphanous value system can lead to the acceptance of questionable ideas. This poses interesting questions: What if the outside demand is for reduced openness? Would an organization with a diaphanous value system defend reduced openness? Would an organization with a resisting value system defend their system against demands for non-openness? Future research may address such questions by building on the findings of this thesis.

A direct comparison for such speculation is unlikely, but an analogy could be organizational behavior during the Third Reich, when the Paritätischer folded under external institutional demands and very willingly and openly entered the NSV, whereas Caritas remained independent but had to make significant changes to their operations. This of course might be a story of organizational size or other political factors making a younger, Jewish-linked organization with less clear backing a better target. But it could also be that Caritas' stronger and more codified value system made it more resisting to external institutional demands (Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband, 1934).

Future research can build on the dictionary developed here to measure other aspects in the two organizations with specific questions on, for example, their engagement with abortion. The richness of the gathered data has only been used to a small degree and more specific coding could shed light on additional interesting questions about these two organizations, but also on longitudinal organizational research questions in general. In the case of Caritas, it would be interesting to compare the development with Catholic organizations in other countries to see if they mirror changes in the universal Catholic Church, or if the regional factors are indeed stronger.

This study also discussed the global nature of the Catholic value system. In the local analysis of the Caritas corpus, there were no clear indications of globalism playing an important role when it comes to imprints in the welfare association. However, this

might be different within organizations more active on a global stage. It could be interesting to conduct an international comparative study between different regional branches of the same religious organization (e.g. the Order of Malta) to compare how its imprints as an international religious organization hold up under regional outside demands. Another idea could be to compare the development of the value systems of the German Caritas with that of, for example, Caritas North America.

Generally, the findings provided in this thesis should be put on an international, comparative research level. The welfare associations are a very German phenomenon, and so the findings might be specific to the German welfare sector as well. It could be interesting to conduct similar analysis not just for Catholic organizations, but any kind of international value-based non-profit. How do organizations with value-systems foreign to the country they want to venture into deal with a gap to the population? Is the value-system friend or foe for the success of the organization, and what role does the type of value system play?

Furthermore, and specific to Germany, the issue of value-based organizations being protected as *Tendenzbetriebe* (value-based organizations) could be taken into consideration explicitly and in more detail. While a controversial topic for decades, it did not enter into the corpus of the welfare associations in any significant way. However, the double-edged nature of this status would offer a good follow-up analysis to expand on the research provided here by comparing these welfare associations with other forms of value-based organizations, such as political parties, labor unions, or news media. It would be very interesting to see how these other organizations dealt with external institutional demands, which could help refine the framework provided in this thesis.

Another debatable aspect is the strength of the episodes. The current analysis considered episodes in the order in which they emerged historically. As such, the individual strength of these episodes was not precisely examined. The fact that the privatization episode made it into the Caritas corpus after the two previous ones could be because this episode struck closer to the core of the welfare system instead of just because of the chronological order. If it had occurred as the first episode, would it have made it into the corpus at the same level as it did now, even though the level of Catholicism in Caritas was still high? Would the value system have been deemphasized more quickly in the corpus if the privatization episode had occurred in the

1950s rather than the 1990s? For this analysis, comparability of the emerging episodes was assumed. Future research will have to take a closer look at the individual characteristics of these episodes. This could highlight the impact of different legal and economic measures on organizations, which would suggest the need for organic changes in adapting to a changing society. This would also improve on the model proposed here by allowing for a more granular definition of episodes, similar to the differentiation made here between imprinted value systems.

It seems natural that welfare associations that emerged in certain ideological climates, whether that of Catholicism or the workers' rights movements, thrived where the associated ideas have flourished. The regional analysis in this thesis has indicated how organizations with certain value systems are more strongly represented in regions where the population holds the same value system. Future research may further consider this link and explore additional connections between regional affiliations of organizations and how the characteristics of those organizations are affected by populations; or discover if there are examples of organizations shaping the preferences of the population in certain regions.

Further, an analysis of the regional membership magazines with those of the umbrella organization could put a sharper lens on the relationship between regionally prevalent value systems and the organization, and show how regional developments then are brought up from the regional to the federal level in an organization. Finally, the proposed framework grew out of research on two very specific organizations in one sector in one country. Future research should test the model's applicability to other organizations, sectors, and countries in order to refine it and strengthen its explanatory power.

This thesis has touched on issues of the historical analysis of organizational imprints, how to conceptualize change in organizations over several decades, and how to apply social psychological tools as well as quantitative and qualitative content analysis to documents developed by the organizations themselves. The findings from this analysis were then brought into a framework which demonstrates how imprinting theory and institutional demands literature can come together to model the empirical results. All of this contributes to our understanding of organizations, the social sector, organizational and societal change, value systems in organizations and society, as well as how to combine methods and ideas from different strands of literature and

fields of research. Other researchers can similarly decide to look across disciplines for novel ways of how to approach their research questions, be they on organizations, religion, society, or something else entirely.

Looking back at the start of the research conducted here, a lot has become apparent. By comparing these two specific organizations, a case was made to consider the importance of the historical roots of organizations and the role religion has played and to this day does in how welfare is framed. If we want a strong civil society which is inclusive to as many people as possible and at the same time resistant to forces trying to dismantle such a society, we can learn from resisting as well as diaphanous value systems. Both have something to offer when thinking about a strong and inclusive society. We should use everything at our disposal to support the vision of such a society – which begins with increasing our understanding of how we got to where we are and consider how to use that to move forward. I hope that my thesis has in some small way contributed to this.

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Appendix I – Coding Categories

Category	Sub-Category	Number of Codes
Catholicism		226
	Jesus Christus (Jesus Christ)	27
	Barmherzigkeit (compassion)	42
	Katholisch (Catholic)	94
	Nächstenliebe (charity)	63
Pluralism		73
	Gleichheit (equality)	16
	Offenheit (openness)	18
	Vielfalt (plurality)	26
	Toleranz (tolerance)	13
Self-help		35
	Selbsthilfe (self-help)	23
	Selbstbestimmung (self-determination)	12
Reunification		32
	Ostdeutschland (East Germany)	9
	Wiedervereinigung (Reunification)	7
	Volkssolidarität (People's Solidarity)	4
	DDR (GDR)	12
	Solidaritätszuschlag (solidarity surcharge)	5

Privatization	71
Einsparung (saving)	9
Wirtschaftlichkeit (economy)	17
Rentabilität (profitability)	11
Effizienz (efficiency)	9
Ökonomisierung (economization)	16
Kostendruck (cost pressures)	9
Social Innovation	112
Innovation	32
Soziale Innovation (social innovation)	12
Social Entrepreneur	8
Entrepreneurship	19
Intrapreneur	4
Sozialunternehmer (social entrepreneur)	13
Sozialunternehmen (social enterprise)	24

The number of codes is dependent on the associated words found during the coding phase. The analysis controlled for the differing number of codes per (sub-)category.

Appendix II – Interviews Conducted

Organization	Interviewee Level in Organization	Date of Interview
The Paritätischer	Upper Management	03 November 2014
Vodafone Foundation	Upper-Middle Management	04 November 2014
The Paritätischer	Upper Management	04 November 2014
Caritas	Upper Management	02 December 2014
German Red Cross	Middle Management	17 December 2014
The Paritätischer	Upper Management	17 December 2014
The Paritätischer	Upper-Middle Management	20 January 2015
The Paritätischer	Upper Management	21 January 2015
The Paritätischer	Upper-Middle Management	25 March 2015
Diakonie	Upper-Middle Management	17 April 2015
Diakonie	Upper-Middle Management	03 August 2015
Caritas	Middle Management	22 February 2016
Caritas	Upper-Middle Management	13 April 2016
The Paritätischer	Upper-Middle Management	03 May 2016

Interviews were taped and then transcribed or notes were directly taken during the interviews. All were conducted in a semi-structured way in German.

Appendix III – Sector Events Attended

Organization	Title of Event	Date of Event
Social Impact	Social Impact Start Pitch	13 November 2014
Social Impact	Pitch im Plenum	02 December 2014
The Paritätischer	Wertedialog	25-26 March 2015
Federal Working Group of Free Social Welfare	Sozialkongress Magdeburg 2015	16-17 April 2015
Ashoka Germany	Today's Social Innovations – Tomorrow's Market Shifts	18 May 2015
Vodafone Foundation	Forum Social Innovation 2015	11 September 2015
Hertie Foundation	The Role of Foundations as Operative Organizations	15 October 2015
Caritas	Caritas-Kongress 2016	13-15 April 2016
German Startups Association / Impact Hub	Social Entrepreneurship in Deutschland gemeinsam vo- ranbringen	26 January 2017
The Paritätischer	Armutskongress	27-28 June 2017