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Interpreting Bonds and Boundaries of Obligation: A Genealogy of the Emergence and Development of Protestant Voluntary Social Work in Denmark as Shown Through the Cases of the Copenhagen Home Mission and the Blue Cross (1850 – 1950)

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Anders Ludvig Sevelsted

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HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

Interpreting Bonds and Boundaries of Obligation

A genealogy of the emergence and development of Protestant voluntary social work in Denmark as shown through the cases of the Copenhagen Home Mission and the Blue Cross (1850 – 1950)

Anders Ludvig Sevelsted

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ABSTRACTS

English

This dissertation is a genealogical study of the role of Protestant ideas-in-action in the emergence and development of voluntary social work in Denmark ca. 1850 – 1950. It focuses on the emergence of this type of work in the late 19th century Copenhagen Home Mission and its development in one of the many initiatives that arose here, namely the Christian temperance organization the Blue Cross as it grew to a national organization during the first half of the 20th century. In the chapters framing the research articles, this development is shown to constitute a part of a wider Christian-social movement based on ‘non-contentious collective action’ through which bonds and boundaries of obligation were reinterpreted in the period. A conceptual history shows how concepts of voluntarism from their emergence in the late 19th century constituted normative counter-concepts, especially to state-run poor relief; concepts that were struggled over to define the proper bonds of voluntary practices. It is then shown, through a history of the changing moral economy and gift-giving practices of state and voluntary social provision through the 19th century, how groups related to the Home Mission in Copenhagen ventured beyond the existing boundaries of obligation as they established new relations with hitherto ‘undeserving’ groups, such as alcoholics and prostitutes. In the final of the framing chapters, a ‘valuation-genealogical’ approach is developed that guides and connects the three articles. It is argued that Christianity’s universalist ethos makes it particularly apt to expand or change boundaries of commitment, but that these principles are always specified in concrete action situations through cultural schemas of interpretation, and always potentially in conflict with competing social orders such as science and political ideologies. Finally, the valuation-genealogical approach is shown to entail an attitude of active engagement in the reconstruction of historical creative junctures and problem situations, where the situatedness of the researcher forms the starting point for the analysis of collective actors’ creative interpretations of ideational traditions and the opportunity structures that these create for future generations.

The framing chapters serve to set the stage theoretically, empirically, and methodologically for the three articles that together form a genealogy of the emergence and development of Protestant voluntary social action in Denmark in specific creative junctures and problem situations where bonds and boundaries were reinterpreted. In the first article, it is shown how Protestant voluntary

social action first emerged in Copenhagen in the second half of the 19th century in relation to the Copenhagen Home Mission through several reinterpretations of the Lutheran revivalist tradition's doctrines, ideals of community, and recipes for social action. Three waves are identified that each reinterpreted the language of sin and thus formed specific 'collective soteriologies' with specific consequences for the bonds and boundaries of voluntary social work.

The second and third articles analyze one of the initiatives that emerged from the third wave, namely the Protestant temperance organization the Blue Cross (est. 1895), on the basis of hitherto unexamined archival material. The second article shows how this organization adapted the international Blue Cross with its Holiness-inspired theology and novel forms of social engagement to the Danish Lutheran context during the first decades of the 20th century. It succeeded in doing so and in expanding nationwide through several 'translations' of cultural schemas, of resources, and of the interests of the rural Home Mission and the state.

The third article shows how the Blue Cross responded to the eugenics-inspired 'illiberal' policies that were put into law during the first half of the 20th century, infringing on the civil and political rights of alcoholics and implementing forcible commitment to the Blue Cross treatment facilities. It is shown how the Blue Cross actively lobbied for 'illiberal' policies regarding forcible commitment, just as they continuously published articles on how alcoholism was a degenerative disease caused by damage to the hereditary material. It is further shown how the theories of degeneration resonated with Biblical beliefs and the community ideals of the Protestants, just as they did with the otherwise different community ideals of the Social Democratic Party in government, who promoted eugenic legislation, resulting in an overlapping consensus spanning the civil society/state divide between actors who were committed to opposing yet complementing community ideals.

The thesis concludes that the Christian-social movement both innovated new vocabularies of motive for social engagement and broke with the boundaries of obligation of the 19th century, but also paved the way for paternalistic and rights-infringing measures in social policy. Finally, the implications of the findings for research and practice are considered in relation to collective action, social welfare, and the role of voluntarism in society.

Dansk

Afhandlingen undersøger genealogisk protestantiske ideers betydning i opkomsten og udviklingen af frivilligt socialt social arbejde Danmark ca. 1850 til 1950 gennem studier af dette arbejdes opståen i Indre Mission København i sidste del af det 19. århundrede samt udviklingen af et af mange de initiativer, der opstod her, den kristne afholdsorganisation Blå Kors, gennem første halvdel af det 20. århundrede. I den teoretisk-empiriske ramme om forskningsartiklerne vises det, hvordan denne udvikling var en del af en bredere kristelig-social bevægelse, der baserede sig på en bestemt type ikke-konfrontatorisk kollektiv handlen, hvorigennem sociale bånd og grænser for forpligtelse blev genfortolket i perioden. Det vises gennem et begrebshistorisk kapitel, hvordan begreber om frivillighed fra deres opståen sidst i det 19. århundrede udgjorde normative modbegreber til det statslige fattigvæsen; begreber som blev kæmpet om blandt aktører, der forsøgte at definere de sociale bånd, der burde ligge til grund for frivillige praksisser. Dernæst vises det gennem en analyse af de skiftende statslige og frivillige moralske økonomier og gavegivningspraksisser gennem det 19. århundrede, hvordan grupper omkring Indre Mission København udvidede de etablerede grænser for forpligtelse, idet de etablerede nye relationer til grupper, der hidtil var blevet anset for 'ikke-værdige', såsom alkoholikere og prostituerede. I det sidste af de indledende kapitler udvikles en 'værdisættende' genealogisk metode, som guider og forbinder de tre artikler. Der argumenteres for, at kristendommens universalistiske etos gør den særligt egnet til at udvide eller ændre grænser for forpligtelse, men at disse principper altid konkretiseres i specifikke handlingssituationer gennem kulturelle fortolkningsskemaer, ligesom de altid potentielt er i konflikt med konkurrerende sociale ordner såsom videnskab og politiske ideologier. Endelig vises det, at den værdisættende genealogiske metode indebærer en engageret indstilling til rekonstruktionen af kreative øjeblikke og problem-situationer i historien, hvor forskerens egen værdimæssige orientering danner udgangspunkt for analysen af kollektive aktørers kreative fortolkninger af en idebaseret tradition og de mulighedsstrukturer, som disse fortolkninger skaber for fremtidige generationer.

Kapitlerne i den teoretisk-empiriske ramme tjener til at sætte scenen for de tre artikler, der tilsammen udgør en genealogi over opkomsten og udviklingen af protestantisk frivilligt socialt arbejde i Danmark i specifikke kreative øjeblikke og problemsituationer, hvor sociale bånd og grænser for forpligtelse genfortolkedes. I den første artikel vises det, hvordan protestantisk frivilligt

socialt arbejde først opstod i København i anden halvdel af det 19. århundrede i forbindelse med Indre Mission København gennem flere genfortolkninger af den lutherske vækkelsestraditions doktriner, fællesskabsidealer, og opskrifter på social handlen. Der identificeres tre vækkelsesbølger, som hver genfortolkede vokabulariet for 'synd' og dermed skabte hver deres 'kollektive soteriologi' eller frelseslære med specifikke konsekvenser for de sociale bånd og grænser etableret i frivilligt socialt arbejde.

Den anden og tredje artikel analyserer vha. hidtil uudforsket arkivmateriale et af de initiativer, der opstod ud af den tredje 'bølge': Afholdsorganisation Det Blå Kors (1895). Anden artikel viser, hvordan Det Blå Kors tilpassede det internationale Blå Kors og dets helliggørelsesteologi og nye former for socialt engagement til en dansk-luthersk kontekst i første halvdel af det 20. århundrede. Det Blå Kors lykkedes med dette forehavende gennem flere 'oversættelser' af kulturelle fortolkningskemaer, egne ressourcer og af Indre Missions og statens interesser.

Den tredje artikel viser, hvordan Det Blå Kors forholdt sig til de i første halvdel af det 20. århundrede vedtagne racehygiejniske 'illiberale' politikker, som berøvede alkoholikere deres civile og politiske rettigheder og gjorde muligt at tvangsindlægge alkoholikere i Det Blå Kors' redningshjem. Det vises, hvordan Det Blå Kors aktivt lobbyede for den 'illiberale' tvangsindlæggelsespolitik, ligesom de løbende publicerede artikler i deres medlemsblad, der fremførte arvelig degeneration som årsag til alkoholisme. Det vises yderligere, hvordan degenerationsteoriene var i overensstemmelse med bibelske sætninger og de protestantiske fællesskabsidealer, ligesom de også var i overensstemmelse med de i øvrigt anderledes fællesskabsidealer hos det regerende Socialdemokrati, som gennemførte den racehygiejniske lovgivning. Resultatet af disse overensstemmelser var en overlappende konsensus, som strakte sig over civilsamfund og stat mellem aktører, som var forpligtede på modsatrettede, men komplementære fællesskabsidealer.

Afhandlingen konkluderer, at den kristelig-socialt bevægelse både udviklede nye vokabularier for motiver til socialt engagement og brød med det 19. århundredes grænser for forpligtelse, men også den samtidig banede vejen for paternalistiske og rettighedsindskrænkende tiltag i socialpolitikken. Endelig gøres der refleksioner over implikationerne af afhandlingens konklusioner for forskning og praksis ift. kollektiv handlen, velfærd og den sociale frivilligheds rolle i samfundet.

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Anders Ludvig Sevelsted

Copenhagen, 4 September 2017

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FRAMING THE THESIS

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis could have had the title ‘The Protestant ethic of voluntary social work’ as it is concerned with the historical influence of Protestant ideas on voluntarism and social provision for marginalized groups in Denmark from its first emergence in revivalist circles in late 19th century Copenhagen and up until the rise of the universalist welfare state in the mid-20th century.

The thesis is motivated by an overall interest in how ideas of engagement emerge and develop and what effects such ideas have on our perceptions of obligations: Why should we feel obligated to act on the suffering of others, who is this ‘other’, and how far do our obligations extend? And what may the intended and unintended consequences be of idea-based collective action that establishes new forms of community, new forms of social work, and new forms of inclusion and exclusion?

I will answer these questions by studying how the explosion in ‘social voluntarism’ in late 19th century Copenhagen first emerged; how the initiatives emerging here spread to the rest of the country; how the Christian ideas and practices developed as they encountered the state, other religious actors, and modern science; and what the short and long term intended and unintended effects have been for welfare, voluntarism, and the inclusion of marginal groups in society. I will do this primarily through three articles focusing on the breakthrough of voluntary social work at the Copenhagen evangelical scene at the end of the 19th century, and on one of the initiatives that emerged from this environment, namely the Christian temperance organization the Blue Cross. In this introductory chapter, I will first argue the relevance of a study of an academically somewhat neglected Protestant tradition. I then outline the development of the ‘Christian-social movement’ from its embryonic form in the revivalist organization the Home Mission (*Indre Mission*) and its breakthrough in late 19th century Copenhagen and the two strands of Protestant social work that emerged here. Finally, I lay out

the progression of the thesis and point out how this study contributes to existing literature on voluntarism, Protestantism, welfare, and social movements.

1.1 Relevance and research questions: A movement in the shadows

The effects of Lutheran theology and the Lutheran church on modern Danish society has long been a concern for Danish researchers and a matter of public debate. The 2017 500th anniversary of the Reformation, marking the year that Luther nailed his mythologized 95 theses to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, has further spurred this interest. While the long-term influence of Lutheran ideas and the administrative capacity of the Lutheran church on the welfare state have received academic attention (Knudsen 2000; most prominently Petersen 2016a), the bulk of academic and public interest has concentrated on the influences of the theologian N. F. S. Grundtvig, whose peculiar mix of Romanticism, nationalism, Enlightenment and education from below was adopted by large parts of the revivals that developed from the early 19th century, and eventually also adopted as an ideology by the emerging class of farmers and small-holders that became a decisive factor in the development of the welfare state from the beginning of the 20th century. Grundtvig and the movement named after him are often held to have prepared the road for the modern Danish welfare state through their influence on the Danish national identity based on liberal cultural values and values of economic solidarity, encapsulated in easily quotable Grundtvigian phrases such as “Freedom for Loke as well as for Thor” and Denmark as a land where “few have too much, and fewer too little” (Campbell 2006; Østergaard 1992). The Grundtvigian movement “stressed the importance of individual freedom, classical liberalism, voluntarism, free association, popular education, and the development of civil society and social solidarity” (Campbell and Pedersen 2006, 22). In the end, this is the ideology that the modern Danish welfare state rests on (Rasmussen 2006, 239).

As has been pointed out (Hansen, Petersen, and Petersen 2010, 13), the Lutheran and Grundtvigian influences on the modern welfare state are often based on descriptions of very general historical developments. There is, however, another strand of revivalism that has had a much more direct influence on the Danish welfare state, namely the one originating with the Home Mission and its affiliated organizations. While Danish national identity may have been shaped by Grundtvigian influences, the ‘identity’ of direct social engagement is shaped by Home Mission circles to an equally high degree. To this day, organizations and foundations with roots in this evangelical environment are actively involved in welfare provision for the most marginal

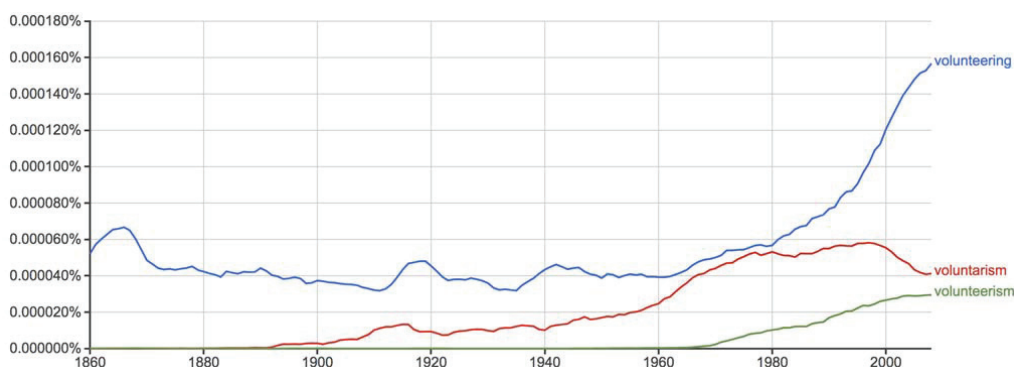
groups in society: Homeless people, alcoholics, drug addicts, prostitutes, at-risk youth etc. There are no official statistics of these organizations, but in the most thorough study done based on questionnaires in what was then the county of Funen, half of all organizations involved in work with marginalized groups reported that they had roots in a “social, political, or spiritual movement” (Boje and Ibsen 2006, 101ff).¹ A quarter of the organizations involved in health care and social provision report that they build on Christian values (ibid., 118). Since this group includes day-care and eldercare, there is good reason to believe that the percentage is in fact a good deal higher among the organizations working with marginalized groups. Most of these organizations today work under contract with the local administrative and political divisions, the municipalities and regions, but typically have maintained relations to their ideological constituency, where they recruit employers and volunteers. That the Christian groups are to this day so heavily involved in welfare provision for the marginalized is due to the fact that these groups innovated many of the welfare initiatives that the state later took over or started regulating and supporting financially. This is the case not only for initiatives dealing with marginal groups, but also for child care centers, residential care homes, and health initiatives for pregnant women and young children (Petersen, Petersen, and Kolstrup 2014, 83). I will provide more examples later in this chapter.

Interest in the historical emergence, development, and influence of Protestant philanthropy and social work on the welfare state has recently been increasing among welfare historians and church historians and third sector sociologists (Bundesen, Henriksen, and Jørgensen 2001; Hansen, Petersen, and Petersen 2010; Henriksen and Bundesen 2004; Malmgart 2002b; Petersen 2016b; Petersen and Petersen 2013; Petersen et al. 2014; Schjørring 2005), but large parts of the movement still live academically quiet lives; the ‘third strand’ that the Blue Cross belongs to in particular.

Just as an increased interest has been showing in the role of Protestantism in the development of the welfare state, so both academic and political interest has been mounting around voluntarism as a field of study and as a mode of governance. In order to gauge the

¹ The legal structure of these organizations is a special Danish construct: The self-owning institution. These are similar to foundations as they have no purpose beyond the one stated in their statutes and they are non-profit, but they typically have more direct cultural, educational or social functions. The institutions are typically connected to a wider organization that have a controlling majority of the board. They often function as service providers for the public system.

development in academic interest, Google’s databases can be consulted. Here, we see that the percentage of mentions of ‘voluntarism’, ‘volunteerism’, and ‘volunteering’ increased in the 1960s and 1970s, and that mentions of volunteering in the literature has been increasing explosively since.²



Development in mentions of ‘volunteering’, ‘voluntarism’, and ‘volunteerism’ in Google’s database of digitalized books 1800 – 2008.

The graph only shows the development in English literature, but as I will show in chapter 3, a similar development occurred in Denmark. The development testifies not only to an isolated academic interest, but a wider legitimacy crisis of the welfare state that was building – or being built – even as the welfare states were expanding. Especially since the 1970s, civil society and its voluntary organizations have been rediscovered as a mode of governance. Academic and political debates in Denmark have been dominated since then by three images of the welfare state or three modes of governance. First, the classic Social Democratic image, where welfare states are thought as institutional arrangements that should mitigate the negative ‘commodifying’ effects of markets and capitalism through universal rights (Esping-Andersen 1990). Second, this image has been challenged by New Public Management techniques that introduce market mechanisms into the state bureaucracy through management techniques and privatization of public services (Ejersbo and Greve 2014). Third, civil society has been promoted as a third way between market and state to empower local communities and invite voluntary associations to deliver welfare services. This image has been put forward continuously since the

² There are several limitations to this method, related to spelling, meaning, OCR issues, and types of documents in the database. Worth mentioning is also the fact that ‘voluntarism’ has also been used in philosophical discussions of the free will, as well as discussions on religious disestablishment and on the free choice of labor union in the 1940s.

1970s as a way of reinvigorating the public system by infusing it with the spirit of citizenship, engagement, and adding a locally anchored knowledge of the problems at hand. In recent years, the image has been put forward in various civil society strategies at national and municipal levels of government (Finansministeriet 2017; Odense Kommune 2017; Regeringen 2010). Municipalities recruit volunteers and citizens in co-production processes, voluntary associations are thought to solve integration tasks, and social economic enterprises are invoked to create job opportunities for individuals that cannot find employment in the regular job market. Civil society is thought to hold the flexibility, entrepreneurial skills, and the commitment that the public system lacks. It is possible that we could learn a lesson from history as to the benefits and dangers of the involvement of civil society actors that may have their own agendas in public services.

In the face of the 40-year old process of rediscovering civil society, it is somewhat paradoxical that the core narrative of the Danish welfare state is still linked to 19th century farmers, their movements and ideology, while all along a range of voluntary organizations have continuously and inconspicuously been doing social work among addicts, prostitutes, homeless people, at-risk youth, the elderly poor and other socially marginal groups. It is perhaps the evangelical Christian roots of many of these groups that make them awkward and difficult to integrate into a national narrative. Nonetheless, I argue that while the influence of these groups may seem minor – are they not simply one of many ‘service providers’? – compared to the grand architecture of the welfare state that Grundtvigian ideology supposedly has impacted, the revivalists have in fact shaped the modern welfare state and society in significant ways: First, they have historically constituted a reservoir for social engagement ideas and practices that have been activated for various purposes. Second, central parts of the specialized organizational infrastructure of the later welfare state was created by these groups. Third, these groups innovated methods of treatment that in some cases were practiced up until after the Second World War, and as part of the ‘welfare mix’ they have worked in a way similar to ‘street level bureaucrats’ (Lipsky 2010) in that they had some leeway in interpreting the regulations enforced by the state. Finally, due to their often close cooperation with the state, they have had the opportunity to influence state legislation and opinion makers in the specific fields that they have operated in.

With these considerations in mind, I can now specify the overall interest in collective engagement in more focused research questions: 1) What was the role of Protestant ideas in the emergence of voluntary social action in and around the Copenhagen Home Mission in late

19th century Denmark? 2) What kinds of vocabularies of motive and obligations were developed here? 3) How did such initiatives of voluntary social action manage to grow big and survive to this day? 4) How did they deal with competing actors and new scientific and political ideas as they developed? 5) What were the intended and unintended consequences of the historical development of such initiatives for the Protestant organizations themselves and the groups that they sought to help?

As mentioned, I will answer these questions through the three articles that constitute three case studies of the emergence of Protestant voluntary social work in late 19th century Copenhagen, the development of the Blue Cross temperance organization (est. 1895) in Denmark, and this organization's adaptation to the new scientific and ideological currents of the 1920s and 1930s in particular. As I will expand on in chapter 5, the three articles constitute a genealogy of Protestant voluntary social work in Denmark; a genealogy that does not represent the development of the field as such, but which illustrates how certain actors have responded to challenges that the Christian-social movement as such has encountered in one way or another. In the following section, I will give a brief overview of the broad development of the Christian-social movement in Denmark.

1.2 The Christian-social movement: Collective action between social movements, voluntarism, and welfare research

The thesis studies how a Protestant ideational tradition was creatively reinterpreted by specific collective actors to deal with the social question in Denmark from the late 19th century, how a specific form of collective action emerged, how strategies were deployed to create alliances, how compromises were made with other 'social orders', and what the outcomes and consequences were for those affected by the voluntary social collective action undertaken. I will now give a first preliminary introduction to the movement that the actors studied in this dissertation were part of.

The Protestantism in question is in fact not one, but several strands of Protestant ideas and organizations. The first strand emerged with the revivalist movements at the beginning of the 19th century and found its form in the Home Mission evangelical organization. The second emerged from the Home Mission's Copenhagen branch at the end of the 19th century, almost immediately followed by the third strand that emerged from the same circles, but with other

ideas of social work. I will now give a brief overview of the developments that I analyze in detail in the rest of the thesis.

The religious revivals swept not only Denmark, but most European Protestant countries in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Beyreuther 1977; Sanders 1995, 23). The movement challenged the church's legal monopoly on interpreting the Bible in that it consisted of laymen that gathered in private homes to preach the gospel to each other, so-called 'conventicles' or devotional gatherings. In Denmark, this movement started in a few separate places in the late 18th century, but the movement picked up speed and spread from place to place, especially on the Danish islands, in the 1820-30s (ibid., 63f).

With the introduction of religious freedom with the constitution of 1849, and the concurrent institution of the broad Lutheran Danish National Church as the state church, the revivalist movement began to differentiate itself into distinct branches. The first, largest and most influential of these were the 'Grundtvigians', following the teachings of the immensely influential priest N.F.S. Grundtvig, who made the 'exceptional discovery' in 1825 that the religious community rather than the scriptures constituted true Christianity. The Home Mission can in some respects be said to be an offspring from Grundtvigianism via its emphasis on laymen in the congregation, while in turn gaining its identity by defining itself in opposition to the Grundtvigians.

The Home Mission was first established as an association by 'awakened' laymen in 1853, but only found its lasting form in 1861, when a group of priests took charge of the association and renamed it "Kirkelig Forening for den Indre Mission i Danmark" ("The Churchly Association for the Home Mission in Denmark"). From now on, the Home Mission was to be a clerically controlled organization, stating in its regulations that at least half of its board members should consist of priests belonging to the official Lutheran Danish Church (Lindhardt 1978, 84–92). The organization was strictly hierarchical and by no means democratic: The board members appointed new members to the board themselves, securing that no challengers to the leadership's line would enter. On the other hand, there was no membership to the organization, meaning that the leadership had no direct control over its followers and only intervened exceptionally in local affairs (Gundelach 1988, 112–15). It thus retained to some degree the characteristics of a movement, while leaving the democratic aspects behind in the national organization. Followers of the association were organized in local societies or lodges

("samfund"), and the main form of communication took place through the magazine that the association published. The magazine was mainly controlled by the controversial and highly influential priest Vilhelm Beck, who officially became leader of the association in 1881 and remained so until his death in 1901. When Vilhelm Beck and his allies took control of the association and named it "Churchly Association", this was a strategic choice to stay within the official Danish church (which had been defined broadly, following Grundtvig's 'exceptional discovery', with only the acts of baptism and communion as sacramental) (Lindhardt 1978, 57ff). Since the freedom of religion had been established, the 'battle for the souls' had intensified as there was now in effect a free religious 'market' (ibid., 42). Even though Baptist groups in particular had been active – and persecuted – before the constitution, The Home Mission was now threatened by what has been called a 'left flank' of Methodist, Baptists, and Mormons. If we are to believe Lindhardt (ibid., 67), there had been only minor differences between the different branches of the revivalist movement before, local as it had been and united to some degree by the opposition to the rationalist views held by the clergy. The Home Mission now differentiated themselves from the Grundtvigians on the right and the 'sects' on the left. This was done by staying within the Lutheran national church, like the Grundtvigians, but maintaining a more literal and morally rigid reading of the Bible, like the sects. During the 1860s, The Home Mission established itself as a distinct branch that mostly abstained from engaging in politics (when it did it was with a conservative stance), and operated with a strict divide between saved and lost and a strict moral code. The Home Mission was thus founded first and last as a revivalist organization. Since the organization had only adherers and not members, it is hard to say how large the organization in fact has been. An explosion in the erection of local chapels or 'missionary houses' in the final decades of the 19th century testifies, however, to its growth in this period (Larsen 2005).³

The Home Mission was soon challenged from within on the question of Christian charity and social work by the Copenhagen branch of the Home Mission. The Copenhagen branch had been founded by Beck and others in 1865, but had not received much of a following. This changed when Harald Stein took leadership in 1879. Stein had visited 'Innere Mission' in Germany, an association that had a more social profile, and several other larger European cities and brought back ideas on Christian social work. The Copenhagen Home Mission's new emphasis on social

³ Chapels erected by decade: 1870s: 9, 1880s: 103, 1890s: 323, 1900s:221, 1910s: 91, 1920s: 102, 1930s: 30 (Larsen 2005:101)

work became part of a fierce dispute between the leadership in Jutland and the Copenhagen branch, partly as a struggle over organizational control and partly because the Copenhageners were less concerned than the rural mission about the divide between true and false believers, and did not only recruit Home Mission missionaries to take care of the social work (Larsen 2011, 109–19). The dispute was only settled when Stein stepped down as chairman in 1886 and definitively as Beck died in 1901. While Stein influenced this change in focus, he cannot be said to have initiated it. Many social initiatives were taken in the religious environment around the Home Mission from the 1870s. Such initiatives were by no means restricted to the Home Mission – religious groups working within other branches of the national church and private middle class initiatives (Koefoed 2014; Lützen 2002) were also engaged in poor relief and other social initiatives, but the Home Mission proved to be particularly active.⁴ The social work carried out included, ‘midnight missions’ targeting customers of prostitutes (Bøge Pedersen 2007, 152–56), ‘Magdalene Homes’ that provided care for the prostitutes themselves (ibid., 148ff), Sunday schools (Bundesen et al. 2001, 88), Denmark’s first day care center, children’s homes, initiatives for female factory workers and maids; sailors, soldiers, and wandering journeymen, visiting programs for the hospitalized, homes for released female prisoners and for epileptics; shelters and labor exchanges for the homeless, parish charities, Bible classes for the youth, and ‘young men’s associations’ (Olesen 1964, 28–31, 1976, 209–42). This change in orientation was framed at the time as a change from a ‘mission of words’ to a ‘mission of deeds’.

This second approach was once again challenged from groups related to the Home Mission who looked west to Britain and the US rather than south to Germany and the continent. New international organizations, associations, and initiatives proliferated: The YMCA and YWCA, Salvation Army, Church Army, the white Cross sexual abstinence organization, the Blue Cross for ‘saving’ alcoholics as well as a large effort to build churches for the growing population in the capital (Holt 1979). This development not only brought new forms of organization, but also new theological ideas to the country, specifically Holiness ideas and revivalist techniques born out of the American Reformed Protestant revivals.

The Holiness ideas emphasized the possibility of increasing moral improvement and ‘perfection’ of the individual and potential freedom from sin. This was linked to ideas of the second coming of Christ, the expectation that God’s rule on Earth was imminent, comprised in concepts such as millennialism, eschatology, and Parousia expectations (of Jesus’ imminent return) (Ohlemacher

⁴ See (Larsen 2010) for an overview of organizations associated with IM.

1986, 173). The ideal was concretized in the interdenominational organizations mentioned above and in the 'New Measures' revivalist techniques, such as mass conversion meetings, week long camp meetings, and private and public prayer meetings. Moreover, there was a 'magical' element in the Holiness Movement. The more radical believed in the power of faith and the Holy Spirit to cure diseases, and this intuition was also present in the less radical forms, such as faith's ability to heal social illnesses and individual sinful habits (Olesen 1996, 221-224; 243-252).

The three strands of revivalism constitute elements in the development of Protestant voluntary social action in Denmark. As the dust settled over the 19th century and early 20th century disputes over the right way to do social work, and as the initiatives were integrated into the growing welfare state institution, a more peaceful cultural milieu emerged around the Home Mission where the various theological strands and organizations have found a place in the larger Home Mission 'family' (Larsen 2010). This cultural milieu has had a significant impact on the development of the dimensions of the welfare state that deals with the most marginalized as well as on the make-up of the so called voluntary 'sector'.

The broad impact of the overlapping Christian social movements of the 19th century on voluntary social work and welfare poses theoretical, methodological, and empirical questions. Theoretically, it challenges existing models of collective action: Rather than charging the state with claims, it relied on voluntary means and principles of organizing, targeting cultural habits in civil society and relying on self-help, outreach, and asylums. How can such a mode of action be conceptualized? Further, it raises theoretical and methodological questions about the influence of religious ideas and practices: How do such ideas inform action, and how should sociologists study this? Finally, new empirical insights are to be gained into how ideational practices have shaped the development, role, and consequences of voluntary work, the institutions and policies of the welfare state, and the changing role of revivalist religion in Denmark. Not least, the study can serve as an inspirational and cautionary tale for present day collective action regarding the potentials and pitfalls of voluntary movements building on a strong ideational vocabulary.

The present study places itself between research in social movements, voluntarism, and welfare (states). This is thus not a study of a social movement, of voluntarism, or of welfare, but of a particular kind of idea-based collective action that emerged contingently, was institutionalized

in specific ways and had specific effects as it developed. In the following chapters of the framing part of the thesis, I will engage selectively with influential parts of the literature in the three fields of research to provide theoretical and empirical background for the research articles and expand on the definition of voluntary social work as a type of ‘non-contentious’ collective action that changes the bonds and boundaries of obligation that was introduced in chapter 2.

1.3 Progression of thesis

As this is a paper-based dissertation, the thesis is divided into two halves: A framing half, which you are reading now, that introduces theory, historical background, and methodology, and an empirical half that consists of three articles. The thesis ends with a chapter on concluding reflections and perspectives. The structure of the thesis is somewhat unorthodox. Rather than introducing separate chapters on historical background, theory, and method, the framing part mixes conceptual development and empirical analysis, before moving on to the three articles that constitute the main contributions of the thesis. In this way, I pursue an abductive approach to the study, where concepts and empirical observations mutually inform each other. The framing part is not organized chronologically, but rather in accordance with the research interest in each chapter so that the analysis in chapter three ends at the time where the conceptual history in chapter two starts. Hopefully, what it lacks in reader accessibility, it makes up for in content.

The framing part consists, besides the introduction that you are now reading, of four chapters that each analyze and provide theoretical and empirical background on an aspect of ‘Protestant voluntary social action’.

The second chapter establishes what kind of collective *action* is studied. It does so by introducing the many voluntary initiatives as part of a larger Christian-social movement and argues that this movement is ‘awkward’ in so far as it is 1) empirically difficult to delineate as it consists of several interlinked waves, 2) conceptually far removed from what has become the ideal-typical image of a social movement as a type of mobilization from below that makes claims on state authorities over material resources or political rights, 3) normatively tricky in so far as the evangelical groups were on the one hand pioneers who sought to help groups in society that were otherwise met with harsh sanctions, but on the other hand were committed to conservative and paternalistic values that are hard to reconcile with ‘progressive’ values such as gender equality, political, civil, and social rights, and representative democracy. The chapter

argues for a more situated evaluative approach and a broader conceptualization of 'non-contentious collective action' that includes repertoires of action that are not directed at the state and an approach that focuses on the internal *bonds* created in the groups engaged in voluntary social work as well as the simultaneously created *boundaries* of obligations.

The third chapter carries out a conceptual history of *voluntarism* as an inductive way of exploring the descriptive and normative content of this central means of the movement. The varying concepts that have been used to designate what is today commonly referred to as voluntarism are analyzed as normative counter-concepts that have been and continue to be imbued with utopian hopes. The chapter traces the use of the concepts from their initial use in Christian evangelical circles in late 19th century Copenhagen to their reappearance in scholarly literature in the 1970s. The chapter explores the various ways that the *bonds* of voluntary social action have been conceptualized in the period.

The fourth chapter deals with questions related to the *social* part of voluntary social action; namely, the varying principles of reciprocity deployed in voluntary as well as state welfare initiatives. This is at the same time a theoretical and empirical exploration of the *boundaries* of obligation that are established in such relations. Arguing with Polanyi and Mauss that both types of provision rely on and develop specific principles of reciprocity, a history of social relief for the 'undeserving' poor is told to show how principles of reciprocity and inclusion and exclusion have developed during the 19th century, and how Christian philanthropy both supported and constituted a break with the principles of the state and municipalities in late 19th century Copenhagen.

The fifth chapter focuses on the role of the *Protestant* influence on voluntary social action and introduces my valuation-genealogical method that informs and links the three articles. Here, (monotheistic) religion is introduced as both entailing universalist principles with a potential for expanding the boundaries of obligation, and as a subjective experience of a changed relation to the world. The 'really existing' religious traditions are then introduced as so many cultural schemas that mediate between principles and experience in that they provide vocabularies of motive and set the boundaries of otherwise universal obligation. The valuation-genealogical method is introduced as a way of engaging with and reconstructing historical creative action situations that have effects for future possibilities of action.

Part two consists of the three articles and thus the main analytical contribution. The first article⁵ shows how voluntary social work in late 19th/early 20th century Copenhagen emerged as the result of several creative re-interpretations of the cultural schemas of revivalist Protestantism as urban revivalists faced the social question. The Protestant reinterpretations are analyzed in terms of doctrine, ideals of community, and recipes for action. It is shown how Lutheran revivalist ideas at the same time encouraged, constrained, and shaped the voluntary social action undertaken.

The second article presents a case study of the translation of the international Christian temperance movement to Denmark c. 1895 – 1938. Drawing on theoretical inspirations from the sociology of translation, combined with cultural sociology and field theory, and analyzing a large corpus of texts from the Blue Cross' archives, the study shows how the Blue Cross temperance organization, established by a small group of Copenhagen evangelicals, managed to successfully translate central cultural forms and categories of the international movement to the national fields of moral reform and medical treatment. The article identifies three central forms of translation: Translation of cultural forms related to organization and theology, translation of resources from the field of moral reform to that of treatment, and translation as alignment of interest with the central actors in the two fields: The Lutheran evangelical Home Mission and the state. The translation of the temperance movement to both fields worked as a hedge for the Blue Cross, securing its survival, albeit at the cost of a 'translation of mission' from social movement organization to service provider for the state.

The third article⁶ studies the emergence of 'illiberal' policies in the field of Danish alcohol treatment 1900-1943 by showing the interpretive processes through which eugenic ideas and theories of degeneration were adapted to the ideational traditions of Protestantism and social democracy. Applying a third wave historical sociology approach, it is argued that these new 'illiberal' ideas and practice were not the result of a novel modernist state-driven ethos, but of a continuation and reinterpretation of existing cultural schemas that designated criteria for 'deservingness'. Theories of degeneration and 'illiberal' practices resonated with and were adapted to existing revivalist and social democratic interpretive frames. The end-result was a double frame alignment – an overlapping consensus spanning the civil society/state divide between actors who were committed to opposing but complementary community ideals.

⁵ In review, *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie*.

⁶ In review, *Social Science History*.

In the concluding reflections and perspectives chapter, I conclude that the Christian-social movement both innovated new vocabularies of motive for social engagement and broke with the boundaries of obligation of the 19th century, but by including new groups in the system of social provision, it also paved the way for paternalistic and rights-infringing measures in social policy. The chapter concludes with reflections on the implications of my findings for both research and practice. I do this on three levels: The role of Protestantism for non-contentious collective action, the effects of Protestant voluntary action on the relation to the marginalized groups, and the role of voluntary social action in modern welfare societies. I argue that the Protestant revivalist initiatives constitute an edifying as well as a cautionary tale for the present.

1.4 Contributions

The main empirical contributions of the thesis are to be found in the three articles. The first article synthesizes existing literature and publicly available texts to provide new insights into the interpretative innovations that accompanied the emergence of voluntary social work in late 19th century Copenhagen. The identification and analysis of three distinctive strands of Protestantism may serve as a basis for further exploration of the faith and intermingling of these three strands. The two articles on the Blue Cross contribute new insights on this organization as part of the third strand of Protestant social work by utilizing hitherto unexamined archival material of an organization that has so far principally been studied by the organization's own historians.⁷ In this way, new knowledge is contributed to the history of the development of the third sector and the welfare state in Denmark as well as to the history of Protestantism and the temperance movement in Denmark. Specifically, in the second article I provide insight into the strategies, alliances, and ideological compromises that were necessary for a Protestant temperance organization to expand greatly. In the third article, I contribute to the literature on the 'scientification' of social policy as the welfare state was developing in the 1920s and 1930s by drawing attention to the active role of the hitherto neglected third sector in this development. Both articles provide the basis for further exploration of the paths taken by similar organizations involved in social provision. Empirical contributions are also to be found in the framing chapter, where especially the conceptual history in chapter 3 provides a novel analytical way of understanding the development of voluntarism in Denmark.

⁷ These historians have, it should be added, studied the Blue Cross archives.

Theoretically, the concept of 'non-contentious collective action' introduced in the second chapter provides a novel conceptualization of a kind of collective action that otherwise falls in-between the research fields of social movements, voluntarism, and welfare state research. In that chapter, I also utilize the analytical power of the concept of 'awkwardness' in relation to social phenomena that do not 'fit' existing conceptual categories. In chapter four, I develop the concepts of Marcel Mauss and Karl Polanyi related to moral economy and gift-giving to grasp the reciprocal relations involved in social provision, especially for the so called 'undeserving'. In chapter 5, I develop from John Dewey's pragmatism and Hans Joas' novel historical methodology what I call a valuation-genealogical methodological approach as a way of actively engaging with historical developments and reconstructing creative junctures and problem situations in history.

1.5 Notes on the use of concepts and a caveat

Some challenges related to translation will inevitably arise when one writes on Danish historical developments in English. I refer throughout the thesis to 'priest' when referring to the official leader of a congregation rather than 'vicar', 'minister', or 'pastor'. Different terms are used in different Christian traditions, but 'priest' is closest to the most often used concept of *præst* in the Danish national Lutheran church. Likewise, I translate *Indre Mission* to Home Mission rather than Inner Mission, since I believe that the Christian missions targeting the already Christian population 'at home' emerged as a counter concept to the missions established abroad. The term Inner Mission of course also carries connotations to the subjective dimension of the mission, but I find that this context of emergence suggests 'Home Mission' as the better translation. The third conceptual note relates to my use of the adjectives 'revivalist' and 'evangelical'. I use these synonymously in the thesis since the revivalists I describe revived the Lutheran tradition in an evangelical fashion, including a belief in the literal reading of the Bible, the centrality of being 'born again', and a conservative social ethics. Finally, a caveat is in place in relation to the gender bias in the study. While women were most active in the initiatives that emerged in Copenhagen, they were not often the leaders of organizations or the authors of programmatic statements – or they founded separate 'mirror organizations'. As such, the focus on ideas and leaders in this thesis means that the thesis does not do justice to the role of women. I refer the reader to Sidsel Eriksen's biography of Lene Silfverberg, active in the temperance movement in several roles, for an excellent study of the challenges and possibilities

for women who engaged in moral reform in Denmark in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Eriksen 1993).

Chapter 2 An awkward social movement

While the Grundtvigian movement has been praised politically and academically as an important influence on the modern Danish welfare state, the Home Mission revivalist movement has mostly been ignored, even though it has contributed substantially to the Danish welfare state, as shown above. In part, this is probably due to the fact that no influential political actors adopted the ideology as their own, as the farmers and small holders did with Grundtvigianism. It is, however, probably also due to the related fact that whereas the Grundtvigian movement is easier to recognize as a social movement, the Home Mission is viewed as a purely religious movement with little impact beyond its own circles. Moreover, while the Grundtvigians are associated with 'cheerful' values such as tolerance, general education (*Bildung*), and consensus democracy, the Home Mission is associated with 'somber' values such as conservative gender norms, asceticism, and self-sufficiency.

Francesca Polletta has used the term 'awkward' for types of movements that, because of their composition, goals, or tactics do not fit the way we are used to thinking about social movements and are thus difficult to theorize (Polletta 2006). As Polletta herself points out, there is nothing inherently awkward in any social phenomenon. The awkwardness occurs as the phenomenon challenges established ways of viewing the world. In this chapter, I will utilize the seemingly awkward properties of the Christian-social movement to develop a conceptual framework adequate to this revivalist Protestant type of social action, and to reflect on the normative challenge to sociologists and thereby lay the groundwork for a normative position. I will do this through a survey of the existing literature on the Christian-social movement in Denmark, just as I will seek inspiration in recent developments in US American social movements literature. The chapter is structured around three aspects of awkwardness related to the movement: First, in terms of defining its boundaries. As described above, at least three separate yet interlinked 'waves' within the movement can be distinguished: A rural religious revivalist wave emerging from the early 19th century revivals, but finding its form from the 1860s; an urban revivalist wave that emerged in relation to the social question in late 19th century Copenhagen, and an international wave occurring at the same time, where new organizational forms and techniques were adapted to Denmark. Do they form one or several movements? Second, the movement will for many scholars today be normatively awkward since it was a highly conservative and for

some time a- or anti-democratic movement – not so much internally as in their position to representative and parliamentary democracy. Third, the movement is conceptually awkward since it does not resemble the intuitive and most theoretical models we have of social movements as public forms of protest over material gain or political influence that targets the state.

2.1 Delineating an awkward movement

The first awkwardness involved in understanding the phenomenon at hand as a social movement is to delineate it empirically. The pivotal point of this thesis is constituted by the evangelical circles in Copenhagen at the end of the 19th century. They stood in a field of tension between on the one hand the domestic revivalist movements originating in the early 19th century that had divided into special branches of the national church in the 1850s and 1860s, and on the other hand new religious impulses from abroad, especially Britain and US America, but also Germany, where revivalism had been coupled with social work and personal moral improvement. The question is how far this should be viewed as one or several social movements, and if it would be better to distinguish different types of ‘popular movements’ according to their religious, cultural, economic, social, or political purposes.

Let us start with a very generic definition of a social movement to get a sense of the social movement character of the subject: *A social movement is collective, organized action that relies on the activity of the participants as its primary resource, and which is formed with the purpose of changing society* (Gundelach 1988, 24).

The revivalist Home Mission (est. 1861) does not immediately meet this definition, as it defined itself as solely religious. It was concerned with the ‘one necessity’, the true faith, and nothing else. It was as such not formed to change society. However, this ‘true faith’ was expressed in an ascetic lifestyle that had clear implications for how to deal with questions of moral conduct, i.e. gender norms, singing and dancing, card games, and alcohol consumption. In effect, as I will show in article 2, it thus had a society changing vision, which would become evident as it confronted the emergence of temperance societies that challenged the Mission’s principles for moral change.

The Copenhagen Home Mission was founded as a branch of the rural Home Mission, but faced with the social question in the capital it soon evolved in the direction of a more socially engaged

type of Christianity. The urban revivalists sought theological and practical inspiration abroad and can thus be viewed as part of a larger international Protestant social movement that was strong in the large cities in Germany, Britain, the US, the other Nordic countries, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, and which was engaged in fighting prostitution, poverty, alcoholism and related social issues. Did the Copenhageners belong to the old revivalist movement or the new international social movement?

Finally, international special-purpose movements such as the temperance movement, movements to protect the youth, sexual abstinence movements etc. emerged at this point around organizations such as the YMCA and YWCA, Salvation Army, Church Army, Blue Cross, and the White Cross. This wave is most easily recognizable as a social movement because of its specialized organizations, its affinity with Anglo-American Christianity, and its obvious transnational character. These movements were first taken up by individuals linked to the Copenhagen Home Mission, but would eventually develop strong links to the Home Mission as such. Were these movements separate movements, did they constitute a common movement, and were they primarily part of the larger Christian-social movement or the larger Home Mission movement?

I argue that these questions are largely a matter of analytical perspective. All of the three strands of the movement were part of larger international movements, but at the same time, I argue that there are good reasons to view them as one developing movement in Denmark. While there were internal disagreements in terms of the place of social work in Christianity, struggles over organizational control, and differences in 'habitus' especially between the rural and the urban revivalists, these controversies probably testify to commonalities rather than the opposite. Moreover, the organizational and personal ties and a common discourse increasingly different from other revivalists' discourse, revolving around sin and salvation, indicate strong affinities. I will show this in article 1. Finally, as the dust settled over the internal differences and the various strands of the movement took on institutionalized forms, they increasingly approached each other so that they came to constitute a cultural 'milieu' or a 'pillar' in society alongside other cultural milieus such as social democracy or the Grundtvigian farmers' milieu. The Blue Cross, analyzed in articles 2 and 3, is an excellent example as it was started by 'third wave' revivalists in Copenhagen in 1895, but gained most of its followers in rural Jutland in the first decades of the 20th century. Today, the organization has its headquarters in Jutland and is considered part of the Home Mission 'family' (Larsen 2010).

While the Home Mission was thus initially exclusively focused on salvation, it was here that the interpretive and organizational seeds were sown for what would develop into the Christian-social movement, and when the urban revivalists started innovating new forms of social work, the rural Home Mission quickly adapted and took up similar types of religion-based social work. The principle of self-organizing and a potentially world-changing vision, central to social movements, were thus present in the rural Home Mission, but would be developed further in the capital, where specialized single-purpose organizational forms of collective action would develop, such as the Christian temperance movement.

The movement, however, remains ethically awkward because of its conservative stances and at times harsh condemning language of 'sin', just as it remains conceptually awkward because the 'world changing vision' was not carried out in a contentious fashion.

2.2 An ethically awkward movement

The second awkwardness relates to the question of how to value the movement. Danish scholars have on the one hand praised the Copenhagen social entrepreneurs as champions of the poor and founding fathers of the welfare state, while others have suggested that the social initiatives were merely an attempt to control the poor and create a social order based on conservative, bourgeois and patriarchal ideals.⁸ I will now seek to tease out these different points of view in order to point in the direction of a more situated approach to valuation that I will expand on in chapter 5.

The more benevolent reading of the social revivalists comes from a group of Danish historians who study the influences Protestantism and the attitudes of church people on the Danish and Nordic welfare states (Hansen et al. 2010; Petersen 2003a, 2016b, 2016a; Schjørring 2005). I will highlight one example here. The welfare historian Jørn Henrik Petersen claims that the voluntary social organizations rooted in revivalist circles took on the role of 'spokespersons' for marginalized groups in society as an alternative to the poor relief system in late 19th century

⁸ The problem is somewhat related to the problem of 'bad civil society' (Berman 1997): How should we deal with organizations that mobilize in civil society for causes that violate our understanding of what it means to be 'civil'? This has led some researchers to conclude that while such actors may be *in* civil society, they are not *of* civil society (Jean Cohen's distinction in a paper on populism presented at a conference on civil society in Copenhagen, May 23rd and 24th 2017). They would not meet the normative requirements of a civil society organization proper.

Denmark (Petersen 2016b, 192). He admits that there was a 'social-pacifist' element in this type of philanthropy (ibid.), a motive to pacify the proletariat, but the attitude is one of sympathy; especially when compared to another strand of research.

This depiction of Christian groups as welfare 'heroes' is mitigated by another more critical research tradition with Foucauldian inspirations. Karin Lützen has analyzed the social reforms and charities in Copenhagen in the 19th century as a matter of increased surveillance and control (Lützen 1998). She argues that the reforms of this period constituted an effort on the part of the bourgeoisie to form (or discipline) the city in their own image centered around the nuclear family and its 'home'. This intention was evident in the framing of the 1849 constitution by the bourgeois white males that drafted it (ibid., 29-50). This was less a form of economic social control than it was a project of cultural hegemony, where, for example, the organization of rehabilitation homes for prostitutes was made to resemble the ideals of the middle-class home as a way of enforcing this type of cultural hegemony. In a similar manner, Kaspar Villadsen in his Foucauldian genealogy of social work in Denmark has interpreted the 'Christian-conservative discourse' as a response to the 'dangerous worker' and the socialist scare (Villadsen 2007, 118). Here, the focus is on the rationalities through which the poor are constituted as so many 'objects of intervention' (e.g. population vs. individuals) and the strategic motives for intervention (strengthening the nation, fear of disease, socialism etc.).

We are thus faced with two seemingly opposing images of the Copenhagen social entrepreneurs. On the one hand, they were proponents of a more humane approach in social work that in contrast to the state did not seek to stigmatize the poor, but rather treat them as human beings. On the other hand, they are cast as carriers of hegemonic projects or rationalities of government. I would argue that in a sense both images are correct. I will briefly expand on this, while returning to the question in the methodological chapter 5.

The first approach undeniably has some merit. The evangelicals were first movers in addressing the emerging social question in a manner more akin to the universalist approach that characterizes the modern welfare state. As I will show, they introduced new interpretations of social need that went beyond the punitive approach of the liberal state, and they exhibited a personal engagement with social groups that few people wished to come into contact with at the time (some medical doctors were also quite engaged). They also pioneered concrete social institutions for marginalized groups that were later either taken over by the state or subsidized

as part of the 'welfare mix' (Henriksen and Bundesen 2004). What this approach tends to neglect, however, is exactly what the second school of thought points out: That their endeavors cannot be viewed uncritically as more benevolent and universal, but must also be analyzed in terms of their effects and the new types of social order that they established – as well as with an eye to how the Christian groups were part of a welfare mix that contributed to upholding an often quite harsh system based on the ideals of the emerging middle classes.

Conversely, I believe that the Foucauldians, too, are biased in their view of the Christian groups. I find that they are too blinded by the power-conserving effects and motives for the social efforts to see the progressive elements in them.⁹ The question is not so much whether these groups were really politically conservative, if they emerged out of the educated middle classes, or if their problem-solving techniques aimed to integrate the marginalized groups into the existing social order; they clearly were and they clearly did. It is more a question of whether they can be *reduced* to an effort to re-establish the existing order and how these ordering efforts should be judged: Should they be judged by the intention or the consequences of the reforms? Clearly, most people would judge someone harder, who had the intention to dominate and control than someone who inadvertently reproduced relations of domination because this person did not know better or lacked the creativity to imagine a different type of society. It is, however, also possible to judge these initiatives solely by their consequences: Did they lead to something good or not? It can be hard to know exactly how the Foucauldians consider these questions, since they do not reflect upon them explicitly. Did these groups engage in voluntary social work with the *intention* of pacifying the poor and protecting the established order; did they have the intention of defending the social order, but did not know so themselves; or were they merely carriers of prevalent social techniques that worked independently of the actors that applied them?

Lützen, I would say, comes close to the second position as she attributes a lot of responsibility to the men who crafted the constitution of 1849 that gave the vote to propertied men aged 25 of unblemished reputation. It is their worldview that the middle classes continuously seek to recreate the world in. It is something akin to the 'sincere fiction' of the gift described by

⁹ This could also be said of studies of the temperance movement in the US as a type of 'status politics' where a declining Protestant elite sought to hold onto a symbolically dominant position (Gusfield 1963), studies of the anti-slavery movement with Gramscian inspirations (Davis 2006, 238–49), critiques of Wichern's German 'Home Mission' with Foucauldian inspiration (Anhorn 2007), and analyses of the 'first welfare state' in Imperial Germany from a regulation school ('updated' Gramscian) approach (Steinmetz 1993).

Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2008, 112), where something is seemingly given freely, but with the unspoken intent of keeping status relations in place. This approach requires a hermeneutics of suspicion on the part of the researcher to reveal the fiction; the lies that even the agents themselves tell themselves.

Villadsen comes closer to the third position as he is less concerned with the *who* and more with the *how* in relation to the development of ever changing forms of knowledge involved in governing the poor in order to show these forms' historical contingency. It is not the image of a specific class that society is created in; rather, society is shaped according to how problematics historically appear, are interpreted and acted upon. The problem here is not so much that the actors lie to themselves and each other, but that the actors can in fact hardly be glimpsed. The knowledge forms work as strategies without strategists (Foucault 1982); they construe social problems in certain ways and suggest certain solutions with certain effects. Without access to the actors, to alternative ways of approaching the problem, to the action situation that they found themselves in and an impression of the ways that they adapted certain approaches, it becomes hard to judge them, except negatively as ever new forms of domination.

The critique launched by the Foucauldians is carried out by an implicit and positive counter-image of the universalist welfare state.¹⁰ Lützen's protagonists (that we only get a glimpse of) are the secular social workers (Lützen 1998, 420–25), just as she praises the architecture of the solid public welfare state schools built in red or yellow brick as a symbol of the public welfare system (ibid., 13). Villadsen's project emerges from the observation that the 'philanthropic dimension' has entered the discourse of the public welfare system. The philanthropic dimension consists of seeing a potential in the client that should be realized, seeing poverty as spiritual rather than material, enabling the clients to help themselves, and focusing on those clients that are not beyond rescue. While it is not stated directly, it is clear that Villadsen sees this development as problematic, as it may make it impossible to address structural causes of poverty and marginalization (Villadsen 2007, 12f).

As stated above, I believe this approach lacks nuances. First of all, the evangelicals acted as 'first responders' to some pressing issues that few other groups were willing to help. One must bear in mind that when they started their work in the 1860s and 1870s, the marginal groups in Copenhagen were not cared for – not by the authorities, who saw them basically as lazy; not by

¹⁰ And here, if not universally, Habermas' label of 'crypto-normativism' applies (Habermas 1985, 282ff).

large parts of private philanthropy, who were in agreement with the authorities; not by the socialists, who were only just mobilizing and who tended to see the 'reserve army' as a threat to workers' solidarity and organization building; and only partially by a small group of medical doctors active at the general hospital and in alcohol treatment. Secondly, many of the organizations that grew out of the Christian-social movement, realizing their inadequacy in terms of resources, did in fact urge the government to subsidize their work. While this does not amount to mobilizing for social rights, it does mean that they were willing to give up some control to ensure the social work could go on. Thirdly, and relatedly, the socially engaged Christians invented or innovated a number of means of treatment and care that in turn would form the basis of the welfare state and thus be subject to democratic control. Fourthly, the Foucauldian position *could* imply (it is difficult to know exactly) that gaining social rights makes a more individual approach obsolete; that all social problems are in reality a question of structural inequality; i.e. material security. Recent research in social inequality shows, however, that processes of marginalization are much more complex and involve more dimensions than the purely economic (Levitas et al. 2007; Therborn 2013). While the evangelical entrepreneurs were thus blind to the potentials of representative democracy, partly blind to the self-organization of labor, and definitely not progressive in terms of gender, they did realize the potentials of engaging in a form of social work that cared for the person as such.

Rather than judging intentions through a hermeneutics of suspicion or effects as effects of domination only, I would propose an approach that analyzes how motives are developed in collective action situations, and the multiple effects that inevitably come from such action. A more situated approach enables us to see in what ways the evangelicals did in fact oppose the punitive, degrading, and disciplining elements of state-run social provision and promoted a more benign view of the poor, while at the same time retaining the Foucauldian insights about the effects of the ideas, practices, and techniques that were adopted by the entrepreneurs in social work. As these questions are intrinsically linked to methodological considerations, I will lay out these considerations in more detail in chapter 5 on my valuation-genealogical approach, where I follow up on the ethical awkwardness of the movement; an awkwardness that stems from the Christians' ambiguous position as both protagonists of the poor and promoters of a socially conservative vision of society.

2.3 A conceptually awkward social movement

The third awkwardness consists in conceptualizing the movement as a social movement within the prevailing theoretical frameworks. Most definitions of social movements involve people mobilizing outside the organized political system – going to the streets to publicly demonstrate their dissatisfaction and/or forming organizations to influence public opinion – to make claims on those in power to address a specific issue most often related to distribution of material resources or political influence. The labor movement serves as the prototype of a social movement, supplemented by the movements of the 1960s based on issues such as peace, civil rights, and gender and race equality. These were not the primary goals, tactics, or means of action for the revivalists. They did not primarily target the state and they did not primarily go to the street, but rather deployed self-help, charity, and social work in the form of outreach or institutions. They also did not fight for rights or material resources, but rather to change moral customs and behavior. In this section, I aim to find a more adequate conceptualization of this kind of collective action. I do this through a discussion of Danish research on revivals while touching upon conceptualizations such as philanthropy and the third sector, before turning to the US American tradition to seek inspiration for a reconceptualization based on collective action.

We encounter the first conceptual awkwardness in relation to the first wave – the more clearly religious Home Mission with roots in the early 19th century revivals. This wave appears awkward when seen through the lenses of the Marxist approaches that have interpreted the revivals functionally as *expressions* of class conflict and New Social Movement (NSM) theory, where the revivals do not fit a teleological schema. From the Marxist camp, however, some of the least awkward approaches have also developed.

Danish religious revivals started in the countryside in the late 18th century and spread especially in the 1830s and 1840s. They were predominantly a rural laymen movement which mobilized against the ‘pastoral Enlightenment’ (Witoszek 2011) that was taking place in Denmark; theologically inspired by the so called ‘rationalism’ which sought to reconcile reason and belief, sometimes even reducing religion to a ‘short cut’ to the insights of reason, leading to moral teachings that emphasized practical Enlightenment virtues (Lindhardt 1978, 27f; Baagø 1960, 12). The revivalist groups stuck to a traditional Pietist Christianity and a literal reading of the Bible, and they protested Rationalist reforms of the catechism, book of hymns, and rituals in the 1830s. The movement represented the first Danish example of a movement from below

organizing directly against the authorities in violation of a decree from 1741 forbidding private religious gatherings without having a representative of the clergy present (Baagø 1960, xv–xix). As opposed to Sweden, the Danish revivals stayed within the national church, which from the mid-19th century would allow a great deal of latitude in terms of theology, liturgy, and organization. The revivals matured, and in the 1860s divided into specific branches. The Grundtvigians followed the teachings of the immensely influential priest N.F.S. Grundtvig, who made the ‘exceptional discovery’ in 1825 that the religious community rather than the scriptures constituted true Christianity. His theological teachings were a strange combination of Enlightenment ideals and national romanticism, which was adopted by the class of farmers from the 1870s. The Home Mission (est. 1861 as a priest-led organization after first having been established by laymen in 1853) developed in opposition to the Grundtvigians as a more conservative branch that emphasized a literal reading of the Bible and a sterner view of drinking, card games, dancing and the like.

Research on these early 19th century revivals and their development into specific branches received much academic attention from the 1960s (Knudsen 1984; Lindhardt 1959, 1978, Wåhlin 1979, 2006). The initial approach was heavily Marxist as the revivals were (more or less sophisticatedly) interpreted functionally as adaptations of the ideological superstructure to changes in the material basis as capitalist modes of production were introduced in the countryside. The religious revivals at the start of the 19th century were interpreted as a consequence of the land reforms initiated at the end of the 18th century. These reforms broke up the collective modes of production in the village communities and created a new class of independent self-owning farmers that in turn turned to the revivals as a natural expression of their new found individuality. As class relations developed, the independent farmers were naturally attracted to the ‘light’ Grundtvigian type of revivalist Christianity, while the increasingly proletarianized class of peasants, along with fishermen, day-laborers and other groups that did not lead ‘light lives’, were attracted by the more somber Home Mission type Christianity (Lindhardt 1978).

A large collective research project on the revivals and a number of local studies, however, soon undermined the most crude versions of the functional argument of the revivals as class superstructures as the class structure of the revivalist communities showed greater diversity than assumed, just as heightened educational levels and relaxed church discipline played a role in the emergence of the revivals (Bundsgaard 1984; Lauridsen 1986; Pontoppidan Thyssen 1977,

393–402; Wåhlin 1982b). The direct link between classes and religious adherence was also undermined by the fact that whole parishes would lean to one or the other revivalist branch, depending on the elites in the parish. This led to a different class theory: that both Grundtvigianism and the Home Mission worked as ideologies for the independent farmers to liberate themselves from the state elites and to suppress the landless classes (Østergaard 1992). New studies, however, also opened for less functional and more actor-centered interpretations of the revivals; as subcultures (Balle-Petersen 1977, 1986) or as ways of creating order in the ‘Wild West’ towns emerging along the railroads in the late 19th/early 20th century (Eriksen 1996).

One problem with the Marxist approach is that it does not really take the actors seriously. Why should the revivals only be taken as an *expression* of class relations or a *tool* in class struggle? Are questions of moral conduct, communal life, sexual relations, family life, and how to make sense of life and death not questions *in their own right* which religion provides a language for answering? I would hold that questions of culture and morality should not be reduced to questions of class, but be treated as questions in their own right. Such questions of course intersect with other possible lines of conflict in society: Man/woman (of course), heterosexual/LGBT (of course), rural/urban, class etc., but they cannot be reduced to these lines of conflicts.

Bringing these alternative lines of conflict into view was one of the main achievements of New Social Movement literature. The New Social Movement literature developed from Marxist approaches like those introduced above, but stressed different kinds of conflict and collective action related to identity, culture, and so called ‘life politics’ rather than material gain. The new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s supposedly heralded a change from the core conflict line in industrial society between worker and employer to conflicts playing out in civil society over issues related to ‘culture’ and ‘life politics’: gender, the environment, peace etc. Core aspects of these movements were questions of identity, a defensive intent to protect the ‘life world’ as state bureaucracy grew, a politicization of everyday life, mobilization across classes or from the middle classes, self-exemplifications in the sense that the way of organizing exhibited the utopian wishes for the organization of society as a whole, unconventional means of protesting, and only partial and overlapping commitments rather than the overarching organizing of the constituency’s needs of representation (Calhoun 1993; Habermas 1981; Offe 1985; Touraine 1977).

From such an NSM perspective, Peter Gundelach has produced the most comprehensive historical study of social movements in Denmark (Gundelach 1988). With inspiration from Alain Touraine, Gundelach interprets social movements as occurring during transitions from one type of society to another. He launches the thesis that social movements *through their forms of organization* point toward the new type of society that is emerging: The 'old' social movements, especially the labor movement, organized in democratic associations at the brink of modernity, foreshadowing the parliamentary democracy to come, while the new movements such as the environmentalists and women's liberation organized in a 'flat' structure, opposing what Touraine and Gundelach call the 'programmed society' (particularly the welfare state bureaucracy) and its hierarchical structure. The form of organizing represents a utopia within itself and as such mediates between the structural macro-changes in society and the micro-level interpretation of these (ibid., 287-306). While this perspective correctly broadens the definition of social movements to include these other types of collective action, it basically sticks to a functional explanation. This is evident in Gundelach's analysis of the Home Mission. The Home Mission is truly 'awkward' in relation to both Gundelach's concrete analysis and this way of explaining in general, since the movement's way of organizing pointed 'backwards' rather than 'forwards'. Their main form of organizing was through lodges or local societies, and only toward the end of the 19th century did they organize in the form of associations. Also, their ideological agenda was 'conservative' rather than 'progressive', opposing democracy and promoting traditional values. While Gundelach reports this (Gundelach 1988, 114), it does not alter his approach in a more interpretivist or actor-centered direction. The social movements are *explanandum*, while the break in social structure is *explanans* (cf. ibid., 290). While actors of course act on the background of societal developments beyond their control, I would say that the NSM perspective in this version implies a functionalism and a teleology that diminishes the creativity of actors and the open-endedness of their actions; it makes them symptoms rather than drivers of historical developments. The NSM literature did, however, point to a neglected aspect of social movements, namely the fact that social movements do not only struggle over material gain, but also over questions traditionally thought of as belonging to another sphere than politics, namely morality, culture, and lifestyle.

A renewed focus on actors and their struggle over life politics issues did, however, also develop from the Marxist research environment of historians. Attention was eventually paid to what the revivals were actually *about* rather than what they *expressed*. A realization was dawning that

the revivals fulfilled other needs than the strictly class political needs – the need to regulate gender norms in a modernizing society, for instance (Wåhlin 1982a). Sidsel Eriksen has most skillfully taken this shift in a more actor-centered and ideational direction, taking the Danish temperance movement as her case. Eriksen views the temperance movement functionally as a religious movement akin to Grundtvigianism and the Home Mission.¹¹ All three ideational currents were ethical movements that exhibited the same social and psychological features regarding the feelings related to awakening and conversion experiences, central dogma concerning the universal, the just, and the meaningful, rituals and ceremonies, and the personal adaptations required to be part of such movements (Eriksen 1989, 132ff). Eriksen leans toward a functional explanation of the three currents' emergence, but hesitates to embrace it: On the one hand, the ethical movements were constituted by knowledgeable actors who would collectively realize a meaningful existence and raise above the prevailing liberalist 'survival of the fittest' order in the latter half of the 19th century. On the other hand, the period itself called for a specific type of 'services' or outputs (*Leistungen* in German) regarding identity, safety, and ethics, and the individuals of the time were thus predisposed for the type of religiosity that the revivalist and the temperance movement offered. These movements helped them create new life strategies under the emerging capitalism (ibid., 172ff). In another article, Eriksen and Inge Bundsgaard launch a similar argument and argue that the temperance movement represented a way for the lower strata of society, petty merchants, craftsmen, lower rank public employees etc., to 'self-discipline' to meet the requirements of an industrializing society (Bundsgaard and Eriksen 1987). The functionalist-ideational-actor explanation is also launched in an article where Eriksen argues that the temperance movement succeeded earlier and more extensively in Sweden than in Denmark because in Sweden it managed to fill a functional 'void' in the passage from feudal-agrarian to liberal-industrial society that the Lutheran sects had managed to fill in Denmark before the arrival of the temperance ideas; in turn shaping the national identities in relation to moral questions in Sweden and Denmark (Eriksen 1988; 1990).

I find that Eriksen in these articles comes very close to a pragmatist position, what one could call an 'intelligent functionalism', where neither materialist nor idealist 'causes' explain the developments, but are functions of the actors and the action-situation they find themselves in, and where both immediate desires and interpreted value commitments are taken into account

¹¹ While this may seem evident to a US American audience, it should be remembered that the temperance movement in Denmark was, except in its very early stages, predominantly a secular movement.

by actors creatively coming up with new goals and strategies to adapt to a changing situation. She takes seriously questions of morality as a field of contention in their own right and points to the various techniques and ideas that serve as inspiration for the type of ethical work that the actors are engaged in. I find this actor-centered way of understanding collective action very promising and not awkward at all. While the Home Mission and the other revivalist branches may of course still be analyzed in terms of how they were used in the developing rural class conflicts, it is more helpful for the purposes of this thesis to understand them in terms of a type of collective action that adopted ethical ideas and techniques in order to deal with questions of life politics.

We now arrive at the second conceptual awkwardness. The gravitational center of the thesis does not lie in the countryside, but in Copenhagen, where the second and third waves of the movement emerged. While the urban revivalists were connected organizationally, personally, and ideationally to the rural movement, they added another dimension, namely the various types of philanthropy, charity, and social work that I described in chapter 1. The primary awkwardness related to research in the Copenhagen revivalists consists in the fact that to my knowledge only one church historian has ever recognized these types of collective action as being part of a larger Christian-social movement (Olesen 1996). These social initiatives have mostly been dealt with by historians under the heading of 'philanthropy' defined as a form of organized benevolence for the middle classes to support their own and the 'deserving' poor, typically focused on a single organization (Koefoed 2014; Løkke 1998; Nørgård 2015; Vammen 1994). Church historians have also studied single organizations or the broader religious movement behind the initiatives (Malmgart 2002a, 2002b, Olesen 1958, 1976), others have studied the initiatives under the heading of voluntarism and the 'third sector' (Bundesen et al. 2001; Henriksen and Bundesen 2004; Klausen and Selle 1995a), or as welfare (Hansen et al. 2010; Petersen 2003b, 2016b; Petersen et al. 2014), while a single 'proper' sociological case study of the YWCA exists (Rømer Christensen 1995)). I will return to these in the following chapters on voluntarism and welfare.

All the philanthropic initiatives emerging in Copenhagen were, however, part of an international Protestant social movement where organizations would spread across borders, and ideas and techniques were adopted through travels and literature. In the US, the first decades of the 19th century saw the emergence of a host of interdenominational and specialized benevolent cross-national organizations: Bible societies, foreign and home mission societies, tract societies,

societies for prison reform, temperance, seamen's welfare, promotion of the observance of the Sabbath, peace, and Magdalen societies for moral reform, i.e. against prostitution and sexual vices (Young 2006, 65–80). These organizational inventions within the mainstream Protestant churches combined with new religious practices born out of the religious revivals of the same period, in part inspired by non-established churches: Quakers, Baptists, and Methodists. In the UK, a similar movement took place as Bible and tract societies were established in the early 19th century, and Christian philanthropists such as the Quaker Elizabeth Fry and the Methodist William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army (est. 1878), took up social work among the poor and destitute. Booth was directly influenced by the American revivalist movement through Phoebe Palmer (Olesen 1996, 68f). In Germany, a diaconal movement emerged, where Johann Hinrich Wichern's *Rauhes Haus* institution in Hamburg and Theodor Fliedner's deaconess training program (inspiring Florence Nightingale) stand out as exemplary. Wichern's *Rauhes Haus* was established in 1833 first for street kids, but later widened its scope to a wide variety of social services, while Fliedner established his *Diakonissenanstalt* in Kaiserswerth in 1836 (Beyreuther 1962). Wichern's *Innere Mission* revivalist movement became influential for social work in the German Lutheran church. While this work grew out of romanticist German theology, the Holiness movement also left a footprint in Germany through the so called *Gemeinschaft* movement (Ohlemacher 1986), which led to a range of initiatives: YMCA chapters, other youth organizations and student organizations as well as temperance and sexual abstinence organizations, and new missionary organizations (Olesen 1996, 153). These trends reached the shores of Denmark, and especially Copenhagen, from the 1870s: In the second wave in the form of deaconess training programs and hospitals and *Innere Mission*-inspired social work, and in the third wave as religiously organized social work such as the YMCA/YWCA, Salvation Army, Church Army, the Blue Cross, and scout movement, as well as in the shape of institutional arrangements and practical techniques for social work started in relation to the Copenhagen Home Mission and the Church Foundation.

While the development in research in the early revivalist movements has pointed us in the direction of 'life politics' as a field of struggle and to actors and their interpretation of their situation, the later developments in the movement pose the challenge of conceptualizing these new types of social engagement as a type of collective action. Just as 'life politics' were not previously considered relevant issues for social movement studies, so philanthropy, charity, and social work have not been considered part of the repertoire of action in social movements. In

the following, I would like to expand upon this by drawing on recent developments in the US American tradition for studying social movements.

The concepts of 'repertoires of action' is central here. Repertoires of contention was originally introduced by Charles Tilly as a way of showing how, as with the centralization of state power and the emergence of national politics, the hitherto local forms of protest also became linked, and they learned from each other and adopted certain forms of claims-making. The parochial, particular, and bifurcated protests of the 18th century thus became national, autonomous, and modular forms of the 19th century (Tilly 1993, 271f). Tilly and Tarrow have coined the term 'modular collective action' to designate this kind of protest that can be easily adopted to various contexts (Tarrow 2011, 37f). Now, Michael Young has demonstrated that the earliest American movements, the temperance and the anti-slavery movements, actually did not develop in conjunction with the state, but with the church, and he also notes that they revolved around life politics questions rather than issues of redistribution. They did, however, resemble the later social movements described by Tilly in that they deployed repertoires of action that spread across the nation, i.e. modular forms, such as single-purpose organizations and cultural schemas of confession (Young 2002; 2006).

The main innovations that distinguished the urban revivalists from the rural version were these single-purpose organizations and new repertoires of ethical intervention. The temperance movement represented one such development, but other types of intervention were developed as well, such as homes for prostitutes and alcoholics, home inspections, Sunday schools, and various types of outreach. In many of these types of intervention, if not all, there is an inherent distance to 'the other', i.e. those who are intended to be helped. It is not primarily an offer of joining a community of believers, but of helping and possibly changing the other as the other.

This introduces a distinction between the bonds of the in-group and the boundaries to the out-group. The distinction is of course central to all kinds of group formation processes, but has been introduced by Nina Eliasoph and Paul Lichterman to describe how collective actors engaged in civic action make sense of their collective mission and the societal environment they are part of (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003). Let me consider the two aspects in turn.

The type of in-group bonds of ethical collective action I have in mind is similar to what Lichterman and Eliasoph in another article have called 'civic action'. Starting from a critique of the so called neo-Tocquevillean quantitative approach to the study of civic engagement (I will

return to this in the next chapter), the two authors provide a definition of civic action that does not equate such action with a specific sphere in society, but rather focuses on how actors ‘carve out’ such a sphere for themselves. Here, actors ‘interact flexibly’ (Dewey 1991 [1927]), that is without rigid pre-established rules or hierarchies, to solve common problems:

(1) Participants coordinate interaction around a mission of improving common life, however they define “improving” and “common.” (2) Participants coordinate their ongoing interaction together, expecting if not always attaining some flexibility in coordinating interaction rather than imagining their action as mainly being predetermined by preexisting rules and roles. (3) Participants implicitly act as members of a larger, imagined society—however they are imagining it—to whom their problem solving can appeal. (Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014, 810).

Such a definition would in my opinion apply both to the rural and urban revivalist movements taken not as an expression of something else, but as a form of collective action on its own terms. The revivalists sought to improve common life, they organized flexibly ‘from below’ (even if the national organizations often developed in more hierarchical directions), and they acted as members of a virtual Christian community. The third part of the definition is especially interesting as it seeks to broaden the imagined society that this type of action seeks to act as members of. While this in a critical tradition has often been understood as membership of a political community – i.e. in terms of citizenship – various other types of ethnic, religious, or expressive communities may be invoked (ibid., 811f).

The two authors are clearly inspired, as is Young, by the actor-model developed in American pragmatism. As in Eriksen’s interpretation of the temperance movement above, this action model breaks both with the mechanistic vision of collective action, where the goals of action are a direct translation of objective interests, as we saw in the crude versions of Marxist interpretations of the early revivals, and with rationalistic views of collective action, where the main question becomes one of choosing the most effective means in mobilizing a pre-existing constituency.¹² According to Dewey, goals are not set in advance, but are always established *in*

¹² This has been one of the main objections against central strands of the US American social movement studies tradition, where researchers have investigated the ways that resources were mobilized through

action through preliminary 'ends-in-view', the intended and unintended consequences of which are only evaluated as the action sequence proceeds (Dewey 1939, 33–40). In this view, goals are not fixed or pre-existing entities that precede or cause action, and neither are they radically separated from the means necessary to obtain the goal. Instead, means and ends affect each other since the means available will influence how goals are set. 'Ends-in-view' thus structure the way we act, but are also influenced by the possible outcomes of action (Joas 1996, 148–63). In rational action theory, cognition and action are radically separated, whereby the central issue of goal-setting in action becomes arbitrary, and obtaining this goal becomes mechanical. In the pragmatist view, action is processual, and goal-setting is an inherent component of action. As plans of action are set in motion, the results of these action plans are continuously evaluated in terms of their desirability. Action thus cannot not be analyzed in the abstract, but must be seen in the context of the *action situation*. A situation is not a neutral field for action to take place in. Actors must judge the situation that they find themselves in and act accordingly. Situations can thus be understood as constitutive of action, as *demanding* a response from the actor. Joas speaks with inspiration from Böhler of a 'quasi-dialogical' relationship between actor and situation (Joas and Beckert 2006, 274). Even the most thoroughly thought-out plans may shatter when set into motion: An obstacle occurs, and the plan needs to be changed. This means that action is inherently *creative*. Since no two situations are alike, even everyday habitual action entails a minimum of creativity since one's bicycle may have a flat tire and an alternate means of transportation will have to be found. This also means, however, that some situations demand a more creative response than others. In many action situations, habitual solving of problems may suffice to get by. No reflective evaluation of goals and means are necessary, and action sequences proceed through an unreflected trust in the world around the subject. Only when a new situation arises, or parts of the context of action are altered, is reflective action required: The context must be reconstructed through a new interpretation of the situations and the proper way to act, e.g. by introducing new repertoires of non-contentious collective action or reinterpreting the ideational tradition one is committed to. Viewing collective action in this way allows analyses of how actors who interact flexibly around a mission of improving common life

organization in order to facilitate protest (Jenkins and Perrow 1977; McCarthy and Zald 1977), and how such mobilization processes would exploit political opportunity structures where the 'closed' or 'open' avenues available for conventional political influence would co-determine the choice of tactics within a repertoire of contention (Eisinger 1973; Tilly 1978). Similarly, framing theorists have studied how interpretive schemas have been attributed to specific problems in an effort to mobilize specific groups. Snow and colleagues have in this way analyzed various processes of frame 'alignment' showing how interpretive frames would be strategically deployed in processes of bridging, amplifying, extending, or transforming (Snow et al. 1986). See (Polletta 2008; Young 2006) for elaborations of this critique.

creatively appropriate and adapt various repertoires of non-contentious collective action to their situation while acting as part of a wider imagined community. Specifically, it allows studies of the various ideas that they adapt to create an understanding of the bonds of the in-group; of the collective 'we'.

The out-group boundaries are analyzed by Eliasoph and Lichterman especially in their cognitive dimension, as the outside that the insiders understand their own identity against. I will propose another way of analyzing such boundaries. My main interest is in how the repertoires of philanthropy, charity, and social work help set the boundaries and define the relations across the boundary between in- and out-group; giver and receiver of social provision and social work. The interpretation of the 'larger society' or community that actors act as members of already establishes some understanding of who is part of the community and how those in need inside the community should be helped. A reborn evangelical or a temperance adherer relates to those that are not awakened or not temperate in specific ways. Different types of social work with distinct ideational inspirations also set the boundaries of the community in different ways. Some may deem the alcoholic to be outside the sphere of responsibility, while others may extend the responsibility to even the most hopeless. The concrete means in social work, however, also establish specific relations to those found to be within the boundaries of obligation. Deploying repertoires related to self-help associations or repertoires of institutional work create distinct relations between the giver and receiver of help. A community may be viewed as entailing specific visions of mutual obligations or ways of understanding reciprocal relations. The identity of the in-group and their vision of community is clearly linked to expectations about what kind of help is expected to be given to those in need, while at the same time, specific expectations are held to those receiving the help: of moral change, gratitude or conversion, for instance. Marcel Mauss and Karl Polanyi have most clearly theorized these types of reciprocal expectations, and I will develop this further in chapter 4.

The conceptual awkwardness of the Christian-social movement can thus be avoided by choosing more adequate theoretical tools. Rather than a functional reading of the movement as an expression of class relations or a progressing teleological schema, where the actors' seem to be talking in code for something else that is going on or not responding 'adequately' to developments in society, I believe we should study the actors as competent and knowledgeable, engaged in life politics by applying 'repertoires of non-contention' that they found inspiration for in the greater international Christian-social movement. Such a type of action is flexible,

creative and directed at improving common life through a vision of a greater community that the actors see themselves as members of. In the process, they continuously interpret and define the common bonds of the in-group as well as the boundaries of the obligations of the community.

2.4 Summary and a working definition of voluntary social work

Summing up, I find that such a thing can be reconstructed as a Danish Christian-social movement beginning embryonically with the rural Home Mission and coming to fruition with the international inspirations for new types of Protestant social work in Copenhagen at the end of the 19th century. This type of movement is different from the traditional way of thinking about social movements in terms of their goals, tactics, and means of action. They did not primarily make claims on the state and relied on non-contentious types of action, but like other social movements, they self-organized and deployed a society-changing vision. I believe it a fruitful approach to analyze collective action from the perspective of the actors themselves rather than through their economic or political function in society as they interact flexibly and creatively to solve problems. In this way, researchers are able to open their eyes to types of movements that otherwise may seem 'awkward' compared to the intuitive or established ideal types of social movements and to evaluate their motives-in-action and the effects of their collective efforts in a more situated manner. These considerations can serve as a preliminary definition and guide for the following chapters:

Voluntary social action is a type of non-contentious collective action based on flexible interaction and creative adaption of repertoires of social action. I appropriate the term non-contentious from the contentious politics tradition in social movement studies to show the similarities and differences between the two. The non-contentious collective action dealt with in this study differs from the contentious type as the actors involved, even as they do seek to change societal norms, do not *primarily* make claims on a central government and their means are not public displays of united will and shared commitment. This type of collective action takes place primarily *in* civil society rather than making claims *from* civil society *at* the state, and it deals primarily with issues of life politics rather than with questions of material redistribution. It is based on flexible interaction as the actors do not primarily rely on hierarchy or strict organization, but on their own collective efforts, and it involves a high degree of creativity as

repertoires for social intervention are innovated and adapted to the action-situation in question.

Voluntary social action is a type of social action that relies on specific repertoires of organizing related to what is today known as voluntarism and specific ideational inspirations through which the internal bonds of the group are specified. While the 'godly congregations' of the early Danish revivals may be viewed as embryonic voluntary associations, voluntarism became a central organizing principle after the gain of civil liberties (for certain groups) in the 1849 constitution. While this did not entail making claims on the state, voluntarism emerged in the shadow of the state, as it were. Various ways of organizing and mobilizing were introduced and struggled in the field of social relief as different groups sought to mobilize to relieve poverty. The specific traditions that were appealed to, such as deaconry and philanthropy, invoked different principles for mobilizing and thus interpreted the bond that held the volunteers together in different ways.

Voluntary social action implies ideas about boundaries of obligation and thus principles of reciprocity in relation to the out-group. Social provision and social work are not provided freely, but come with strings attached in terms of specific expectations for altered behavior. The expectations for reciprocity are closely related to ideas about the identity of the helping group itself: the actors' ideas of who they are and why they are helping, just as the relations established in self-help, in religious communities, and in more distanced forms of charity establish different forms of mutual expectations. The reciprocal relations established in voluntary social action are different from, but intermingled with the reciprocal relations in the state sphere: Reciprocity is as much a part of the relations between the state and its subjects as it is in voluntary relations as there are also expectations for reciprocity in state-run social provision. The two cannot be understood separately, but must be understood in relation to each other as part of a wider moral economy. Ideas about the responsibilities of state and civil society, as well as the ideas of what kind of help is perceived as demeaning, change over time. This also entails a struggle over jurisdiction: should a certain problem be solved by the state or in civil society?

Reciprocities in voluntary social action, as well as state reciprocities, are distributed according to implicit or explicit ideas of community as well as causal and normative beliefs. The community that actors see themselves as acting as a part of matters for the way that bonds are created in

the in-group, and how the boundaries to the out-group are defined. Your identification as a socialist, Christian, or even scientist influences your perception of obligations and the kinds of 'returns' that you hope to receive as the fruits of your efforts and 'gifts'. Such identifications with communities may overlap or be in tension with each other. Just as community ideals inform reciprocal relations, so do causal and normative beliefs about the causes and remedies for the kinds of social problems that are intended to be alleviated. Whether one believes that poverty has structural or individual causes influences the kind of solutions one sees to these problems, just as moral convictions about individual or communal responsibilities to alleviate suffering do. These beliefs may overlap and are also intertwined with ideas of community.

I will explore each of these elements of voluntary social action empirically and theoretically in the rest of the framing part of the thesis, which will in turn serve as a background for the articles. In the following chapter, I will explore the question of bonds and voluntarism through a history of the various concepts that voluntary practices in the field of social relief have been designated by from their emergence in Copenhagen the late 19th century until the recent scholarly rediscovery of the practices as a 'third sector'. In chapter 4, I will turn to the boundaries and reciprocities established in voluntary social action through a critique of existing welfare research and a historical reconstruction of the development of the 19th century Danish moral economy of welfare with a special view to the role of the 'underserving' poor and how voluntary social action did or did not constitute a break with previous forms of poor relief. In chapter 5, I will then turn to the role of ideas of community and normative and causal beliefs in specifying reciprocal relations and mutual obligations in voluntary social practices. This is introduced as part of the valuations-genealogical approach to the study of the influence of action situations where new ideas and practices emerge.

Chapter 3 Voluntarism: A history of normative counter concepts

In this chapter, I will explore the 'voluntary' part of voluntary social work in order to focus on the 'social' aspect in the next chapter. I do this through a history of the concepts and practices related to what today is predominantly called 'voluntarism' or alternatively volunteerism, civic action or civic engagement in the field of social work. It is an investigation of a historically new form of engagement based on the principle of voluntarism and of the ways that the bonds among the actors engaged in this practice were sought designated. In the next chapter, I will focus more thoroughly on the boundaries of obligation in relation to those in need, but as will become clear during this chapter, group bonds and boundaries cannot be understood except in relation with each other: The internal bonds of voluntary social work were historically constructed by creating another type of boundary vis-à-vis the state.

In quantitative research today, voluntarism is most often either defined descriptively as an unpaid, non-compulsory, organized activity that benefits others, or functionally as an activity that yields societally beneficial results, such as trust or social capital. Rather than stipulating such a context-independent definition of voluntarism, the conceptual history approach seeks to uncover the varied meanings that have been connected to voluntary concepts and practices since the late 19th century. I will argue that concepts of voluntarism in Denmark have served as *normative* counter concepts (as opposed to plainly cognitive counter concepts) to other principles of providing social relief and common goods such as bureaucracy, hierarchy, or market. Specifically, I will show how these concepts were instilled with high hopes of a better future society among conservative Christians in the late 19th century and left-leaning social researchers in the late 20th century, and also how these hopes were tempered each time by a cooler use of the concept in politics and science.

The chapter serves three purposes for the overall thesis: First, it introduces the thinking on voluntary practices in the genealogically central periods and places: Late 19th century Denmark and the interwar-period. By analyzing the emergence and the development of the concept, it is possible to establish a connection to the meanings attached to the voluntary practices as they emerged and developed in action. The Copenhagen pioneers did not invoke ready-made voluntary principles, but shaped their practices through the concepts that were used to designate them, arguing for instance against a secular concept of philanthropy advanced by

philosophers. By analyzing the concept at its point of emergence, it is possible to gain a more contextualized understanding of the original phenomenon that can inform the thesis. This is not least important in terms of understanding the ideological context that the concept emerged in and thus the principles behind the practice. By tracing the development of the concept, a new perspective is gained through which we can see which meanings have been lost and which have been added. Second, the chapter contextualizes the emergence and development of voluntarism as a field of research in Denmark. The chapter thus also serves as a reading of the historically most influential literature in the field of Danish voluntarism research and allows me to situate my own approach in the field. Third, this in turn allows me to reconstruct a historically informed concept of voluntarism. I will argue for a concept of voluntarism that retains a proximity to action rather than ascribing voluntarism a specific 'role' in society. Please notice that the three aims do not correspond directly to the three sections of the analysis.

I will first introduce my conceptual history approach, arguing that concepts have a constraining function as they guide action through their encapsulation of past experiences, while they also serve as vehicles of change; as means of intervention in social reality by actors who wish to shape our understanding of societal developments. Here, normative counter concepts are introduced as concepts that connote positive hopes of an alternative future in opposition or as alternatives to certain modernizing forces like bureaucratization or marketization. I then proceed with the three historical sections. First, I describe how voluntarism emerged in the guise of several counter concepts in Christian circles in late 19th century Denmark. The hopes invested in voluntarism hinged upon a vision of the active Lutheran congregation to care not only for material, but also spiritual needs. In distinction from the poor relief provided by the state, Christian poor relief would, according to the Christian entrepreneurs, be able to strike the right balance between proximity and distance to the recipients, and unlike secular philanthropy, it would care for the whole of man, not just material needs. Second, I describe how as the state won legitimacy as relief provider in the interwar period, voluntarism became perceived as 'too close' and designated a role as service providers. The concept(s) was infused with democratic ideals and underpinned by a stronger ethics of conviction by its proponents. Third, in the 1970s and 1980s, voluntarism was then rediscovered across the political field as an answer to the welfare state's perceived dual fiscal crisis and legitimacy crisis, and by left-leaning social researchers, who once again invested the concept with utopian ambitions. The researchers, however, quickly adopt a more sober view and adopt the 'sector' concept to describe the

voluntary association as having certain advantages and disadvantages vis-à-vis the state as providers of welfare services. I end the chapter by developing further a historically informed concept of voluntary 'non-contentious collective action'.

3.1 Voluntarism as a normative counter concept: Conceptual history inspiration

Research in voluntarism has always been in the middle of a "terminological tempest" (Kendall and Knapp 1995). Even so, 'voluntarism' seems to be the most commonly used concept, and researchers are today concerned with "voluntarism and the third sector" and "voluntary work" (Fridberg and Skov Henriksen 2014), an unpaid, non-compulsory, organized activity that benefits others than oneself and close family in an array of fields ranging from sports to religion (ibid., 29,38). I will argue that before this static definition became widely accepted, the concept was inherently contested and essentially a normative counter concept akin to 'civil society' and 'community' that emerged historically in relation to major social change (Heins 2002; Joas 1993). The concept of civil society of course has a long history (Riedel 1975), but was established in academic and political circles in the 1980s as a result of especially the Polish trade union *Solidarność*' non-violent revolt against the Communist regime, the 'new social movements' in Western Europe and the US, and the democratic revolutions in South America. Similarly, 'community' in the United States has historically been used to express warm relations in a geographically or emotionally defined group in a society otherwise characterized by 'cold' contractual or coercive relations. Both concepts express concern and hope: Civil society and local communities are potentially at risk and in need of protection – and constitute alternative solutions to perceived social problems: anomie, political indifference, bureaucratization and marketization.

Voluntarism in its many conceptual guises showed similar counter conceptual qualities as it emerged from a distrust in the state as social provider and with a view to more proximate solutions to social problems in Denmark at the end of the 19th century. In order to outline the history of this counter concept, I will draw on some central insights from the Kosselleckian conceptual history approach. Concepts in this tradition are both indicators of historical change as well as engines for making change happen. Conceptual history is a way of 'seeing things their way', of discovering the layers of meaning and experiences that have accumulated in a concept and of the uses that concepts have been put to historically. Concepts emerge on the basis of specific experiences in specific contexts and thus carry with them the meaning of this context

when used in a new context. Language has a certain inertia, which puts a strain on the language user's ability to describe new experiences with the existing vocabulary (Koselleck 1989, 357). At the same time, concepts open new horizons of expectation, and conceptual interventions can serve to direct societal development and project possible alternative futures (Koselleck 2004b). Some concepts tend to merely register experiences, while others create experiences or even create expectations for future states that have not been realized in history yet, so called *Erwartungsbegriffe* (Koselleck 2010a, 68). When I state that 'voluntarism' and its semantic counterparts emerged as normative counter concepts, I mean that they exhibit some of the characteristics of a concept of expectation: They are utopian in that they propose possible futures akin to the temporal '-ism' concepts characteristic of modern ideologies: Republicanism, Marxism etc. (Koselleck 2010b, 82). As we will see, voluntarism and related concepts did not emerge as strictly utopian concepts in the sense that they did not build on any past experiences, but rather as conservative or revivalist concepts in that they sought to revive past experiences and practices in opposition to present ways of organizing poor relief and social welfare. Doing a conceptual history of voluntarism allows us to get a glimpse of the 'futures past'; the inherent possibilities in reality that were successfully or unsuccessfully sought to be realized.

Voluntarism is, however, a complicated concept since it emerged mainly in relation to the critique of the welfare state by politicians and social researchers in the 1970s and 80s. However, the voluntary practices that the term seeks to designate emerged a hundred years earlier. Rather, then, than undertaking a history of the *word* voluntarism, what I seek to do is a history of the various concepts in the semantic field of voluntarism and the practices that have been associated with these concepts.¹³ This raises some methodological issues regarding the relation of concepts and practices. Normative counter concepts, I contend, are interventions in social reality in competition with alternative ways of conceptualizing this reality. Concepts stand in a non-reductive relation to social reality. In broad terms: While social and political concepts do not simply mirror reality, reality is not simply constructed by discourse either, and conceptual history is thus always also social history. This calls for paying attention to both semasiological and onomasiological dimensions of concepts: The various practices the concept has referred to, and the various concepts used to refer to the practice (Koselleck 2004a, 88). This conceptual

¹³ There has been some discussion in conceptual history circles as to the difference between 'word' and 'concept'. I will not start this discussion here, but I understand 'concept' as closer to 'idea' than to 'word'. As should be evident by now, I am not doing a history of the word voluntarism, but rather the idea and the words and practices related to it.

history is thus a history of the emergence of a social practice and the ways that it has been conceptualized. What may to a third party look like the same practice, e.g. groups of people doing social work on a voluntary basis, carries different connotations and expectations if this is called 'philanthropy' or 'diaconal work'. This is not so that the practice is only there through discourse, but discourse lends meaning to the practice and offers horizons of expectation. Further, the activity gains meaning through the various counter-concepts that it is understood in opposition to. Groups of people can mutually recognize each other through symmetrical concepts, where the same labels are used, such as socialists or conservatives, or asymmetrical concepts can be applied, where mutual recognition is denied, such as Christian-Barbarian (Koselleck 2004c). The conceptual intervention in history is thus also an intervention in opposition to the way that other groups designate and carry out their activity. The following investigation is consequently not only an analysis of the content of 'voluntarism', but also of the context of the countering conceptualizations of competing projects and modes of organizing that voluntary groups thought their activity stood in opposition to. To make things even more complex, especially in the first period, there was no uniform conceptual use even among those that saw themselves belonging to the same Christian community. That we can speak of a concept in this period, even if it is denoted by different words, such as private charity or deaconry, relies in part on the significance it gained when its users deployed it in a similar fashion in contrast to other concepts, such as state driven poor relief or Catholic principles of organizing.

According to Koselleck, even in our modern era of conceptual temporalization and social and political change, true innovations are few and far between (Koselleck 1989, 660). Even if this may be true on the grand historical scale, where entirely new social classes do not emerge every decade, one level below there seems with modernity to be an increase in interventions and innovations on the conceptual level, where the meaning of concepts are regularly struggled over and redefined in order to match experiences and to shape the future. While the social and political consequences of these struggles may not be as dramatic as the innovation of the term 'interests of the middle classes' in post-1789 Britain (ibid., 659), the linguistic interventions on this level have had and continue to have consequences for the way certain experiences are interpreted and for the lines of action that become available.

The conceptual history traces the changes in meaning of voluntarism in relation to social provision that have occurred through a series of interventions by various actors starting with

'elite practitioners' and philosophers in late 19th century Copenhagen to the interventions by influential politicians from the 1930s and social science researchers in the 1970s, and continuing with the more recent developments as the term was rediscovered in politics and literature in the 1980s and 1990s. The main focus will be on the Danish context, but international developments will be referred to as well since many developments first took place outside the borders of Denmark and were subsequently translated to a Danish context.¹⁴ The conceptual history focuses especially on the elites, namely the groups that at various points in time have had the ability to shape the content of the concept. The changing focus of the analysis reflects the changes in the elites that have taken up the concept and imbued it with specific content. These groups were in the first period pioneer-priests, and later politicians and social researchers. The history will necessarily be limited to a *Gipfelwanderung*, i.e. a selective examination of influential texts based on my own and existing research.¹⁵ The first part focuses on the central priests involved in voluntary social work and poor relief in Copenhagen at the end of the 19th century, along with central professors of philosophy who expressed prevailing attitudes of the time. The second part on the mid-20th century concentrates on the priest-philanthropists as well as the new political opposition, while the sources in the last section are texts by the researchers who pioneered the rediscovery of voluntarism in social science.

It is important to point to the differences in language communities and the challenge of translation, as 'voluntarism' is a 'thick concept' with many national variances in meaning and connotations. Just as the German *Gemeinschaft* has other connotations than 'community' in the USA because of Germany's violent history, so voluntarism or volunteerism, *Freiwilligentätigkeit* or *Ehrenamtlichkeit*, and *frivillighed* (Danish) and *ideellt arbete* ('ideal work', Swedish) have distinct connotations related to the developments in the three language areas. The following pages constitute a conceptual history primarily of the Danish *frivillighed* presented in English. While this may be problematic as not all nuances will translate, it may on the other hand counteract the tendency to 'historical nationalism' as many inspirations to the European semi-periphery of Denmark came from the Anglophone and the Germanic areas.¹⁶

¹⁴ Pieces of this conceptual history have been told by (Bundesen, Henriksen, and Jørgensen 2001, 356–410) and (Villadsen 2007), but with the aims of describing the historical paths of voluntary organizations in relation to the state and of writing a discourse analysis of social work, respectively.

¹⁵ (Bundesen et al. 2001; Henriksen and Bundesen 2004; Malmgart 2002a, 2005; Petersen 2016b; Petersen, Petersen, and Kolstrup 2014).

¹⁶ See (Pernau 2012) on recent developments related to translating historical concepts.

3.2 The emergence of voluntarism as a principle and contested counter-concept

Voluntary practices emerged in the latter half of the 19th century as part of a wider liberal movement. Wide circles of the propertied male citizens, who had won the right to vote and be elected for office in the 'velvet revolution' of 1848, espoused ideals of self-organizing outside the span of control of a central administration still influenced by the 'spirit' of absolutism. In the field of poor relief, the principle of voluntary organizing was widely invoked across the spheres of state and civil society. While from the end of the 18th century clubs had run charitable programs, voluntary engagement now flourished in private associations and in relation to the national church, which in 1849 had been given more political freedom, if not administrative independence. The role of priests changed from civil servants in a state church to priests in a national church with decreasing influence in poor committees and increased theological and organizational freedom. At this point, the laymen of the congregation were rediscovered as a resource and voluntarism as a principle for organizing.

The Copenhagen churches in particular practiced social voluntarism as part of a reaction to the mass immigration from the countryside to the city, organizing support for confirmation equipment, nursing services, sewing associations and the like (Nørgård 2015). At the moment of their birth, voluntary principles emerged through being contrasted with other ways of organizing poor relief, especially the asymmetrically represented 'cold' state bureaucracy. There was, however, also a conceptual battle among the liberal adherers of voluntary social relief: While philosophers tried to liberate 'philanthropy' from religiously motivated poor relief, Protestant priests conversely accused philanthropy of being a merely secular endeavor, while Protestant voluntarism was envisioned as the ideal provider of social relief: Built on the congregations' active and personal commitment, Protestant voluntarism was able to find the perfect balance between proximity and distance to those in need and was better equipped to care for the whole, spiritual person.

Voluntarism: A new principle for organizing Christian forces

Increasingly towards the end of the 19th century, 'voluntary' was invoked as a principle of organizing within the church and in society as such. Danish philosopher Harald Høffding in 1886 saw *Voluntarisme* (an Anglicism) as the future organization of the Danish church, where church and state would be separated further, and as in the Anglican church, the Danish church would

rely on voluntary forces (*frivillige kræfter*) (Høffding 1886, 322).¹⁷ This vision was shared by the priest-entrepreneurs¹⁸ that pioneered the Christian voluntary social work, not only as a diagnosis, but as a desirable future.

The congregation was rediscovered as a new source of social commitment, as witnessed in the many parish charities that emerged in Copenhagen from the 1880s. *Voluntary workers* were established as part of the social and missionary work (Lange 1955a, 165)¹⁹, and the 'Movement for the Building of Churches' (*Kirkesagsbevægelsen*) in 1890 called for the use of the voluntary principle as the central method of organizing (Steen and Hoffmeyer 1915, 86). 'Voluntary' was also to be found in the name of a number of Christian organizations founded these years: The voluntary boys' brigade (*Frivilligt Drengesforbund*) and The Students' Voluntary Movement that included the Christian Student Settlement (Olesen 1996, 271). 'Voluntary' and its derivative forms were not only used to describe one practice among others, but invoked asymmetrically to emphasize the advantages of voluntarism, and specifically Protestant voluntarism. The "religious principle of individuality and voluntarism" (*Det religiøse individualitets- og frivillighedsprincip*) (Stein 1882, 17)²⁰ was invoked as a way for the congregation to organize beyond the state and to free itself from the remnants of Catholic hierarchical organization. Since the Reformation, too much initiative, it was claimed, had been left to the state, which was consequently called upon to solve every problem: the education of priests and the erection of churches, hospitals and poor houses. A similar critique was launched at the church, which as 'an echo' from the Catholic past had left it to the priests to worry about God's kingdom and care for the poor. Now it was time for priest and layman to take on these tasks themselves (*ibid.*, 12-14).

There was, however, no unambiguous vocabulary for voluntary social work. Testifying to the liberal character of many of the priests, 'voluntary' was used synonymously with 'private' as in private charity (*privat Godgørenhed*), private relief organization (*privat understøttelsesvæsen*) (Holck 1869, 2f)²¹ or 'organized private benevolence' (*organiseret privat godgørenhed*) (Munck 1869, 78)²². Many looked abroad for practical and conceptual inspirations for voluntary

¹⁷ Harald Høffding (1843-1931), professor of philosophy, University of Copenhagen (1883-1915).

¹⁸ See (Petersen 2016b) for a review of these Christian philanthropists' thoughts on poor relief.

¹⁹ H. O. Lange (1821-1912), Egyptologist and librarian, active in a number of social initiatives related to the Home Mission circles.

²⁰ Harald Stein, priest at Diakonissestiftelsen (1872-80) and head of the Copenhagen Home Mission (1879-1886).

²¹ Vilhelm Munck (1833-1913), priest, co-founder of Christianshavn's Benevolent Society.

²² J. C. Holck (1824-1899), priest, co-founder of Christianshavn's Benevolent Society

engagement: To the Reformed world, especially the UK, the Lutheran German Empire, and even Catholic France (Dalhoff 1900; Stein 1882). Here, they found inspiration to revive half-forgotten Lutheran traditions for poor relief, such as the institution of 'deaconry' (*diakoni*) (Dalhoff 1900)²³, and to give new meaning to existing concepts: Inspired by the German *Innere Mission*, the term 'Home Mission' (*Indre Mission*) in Copenhagen was given a new content to connote social work as well as strictly religious missionary work. This 'mission of deeds' was especially contrasted by revivalist critics with a 'mission of words' (Olesen 1964, 19).

This type of self-organization would not only revive the life of the congregation – it was also more efficient and moral in providing relief for the poor. A widespread consensus emerged among religious and secular forces alike that voluntarily organized social relief was superior to poor relief administered by the state, as well as to the indiscriminately practiced individual benevolence.

Philosophers argued under the heading of 'philanthropy' that this was more rational than the arbitrarily given individual benevolence, while at the same time more personal than the humiliating relief handed out by the state and municipal authorities (Nielsen 1878).²⁴ Philanthropy needed organization because if it was only governed by sympathy, it would be practiced on a whim, and it would consequently be incidental whether one and not the other was helped. Organized philanthropy would be able to help more systematically through greater knowledge of the recipient by experienced leaders in the organizations, whereby a sort of free bureaucracy or honorary positions could develop (Høffding 1886, 331f).

The priests likewise stressed the voluntary relief's 'personal systematism' and contrasted it to unsystematic alms and handouts on the one hand and to the state's compulsory system on the other (Dalhoff 1900, 142-150; 192-194). The state's poor relief was perceived as having led to complacency and indifference in the general public, as the sense of obligation now only extended to paying one's poor taxes (Stein 1882, 157f).

The concept of philanthropy was, however, contested. While a wide consensus existed as to the strengths of voluntarily organized benevolence vis-à-vis the state and the private individual (Gade Jensen 2011, 49; Nørgård 2015), the secular connotations of philanthropy made it an

²³ N. C. Dalhoff (1843 – 1927), priest at Sct. Hans asylum for the insane and *Diakonissestiftelsen* (1880-1913).

²⁴ Rasmus Nielsen (1809-1884), professor of philosophy, University of Copenhagen (1841-1883).

object of critique among the more radical priests and laymen. Philanthropy among philosophers was defined in secular terms as the 'love of man' (Nielsen 1878), and a professor of philosophy, Harald Høffding, called for philanthropy to be emancipated from the thresholds of religion. Philanthropy, he thought, springs from a purely human sympathy and a recognition that what you have is not entirely your own, but is dependent on the generations that came before you and on society as a whole. Religiously motivated benevolence, on the other hand, springs from the (here not only Catholic) motive of gaining access to heaven, is limited by confessional boundaries, and inevitably leads to hypocrisy (Høffding 1886, 323–31).²⁵ The religious camp rebutted that a philanthropy that merely cared for man's material needs would fall short. H. G. Saabye, a priest associated with the *Home Mission* and the temperance cause, contrasted humane philanthropy that only offered earthly (*timelig*) help and material salvation with a Christian help that offered spiritual help and salvation for eternity (Saabye 1886, 58f). Philanthropy was criticized for having no understanding of man's spiritual needs. The priests further distinguished their own voluntary efforts from those of the socialists. The poor should be saved from the "poison of socialism" (Stein 1882, 62), the "Devil's socialism" (*ibid.*, 180), which was seen as promoting disbelief and pitting classes against each other rather than seeking social equality through a harmonious social body. There were slightly divergent views among the priests as to the relationship between societal 'justice' and Christian 'compassion'. While some were inspired by Ludlow's 'Christian socialism' (the layman Harald Westergaard²⁶ in particular), others insisted that the principle of compassion should always take precedence in Christian social work (Dalhoff 1900, 25). Politically, the priests were social conservatives. The workers and unskilled laborers in the city had a just cause, since the dissolution of the guilds had left them without protection (Stein 1882, 82; Westergaard 1886, 97). The solution, however, was not revolution and often only reluctantly political involvement, but rather material help and moral education, although the Christian socialists also envisioned priest-led workers' cooperatives (see Schädler Andersen 2012, 32–37; 271–74).

'Voluntarism' as a principle of organizing was widely praised in the final decades of a still more liberalized 19th century Danish society. Priests invested in the principle with expectations of a future voluntary engagement of the congregation as a way to breathe new life into the church and overcome state dependence and a pacifying rule of priests. In applying voluntary principles

²⁵ In a sense, he thus anticipates both Mauss and Bourdieu.

²⁶ H. Westergaard (1853-1936), statistician and political economist, was involved in a number of charities as well as the Copenhagen Home Mission.

to social work, older Christian concepts such as 'deaconry' and 'home mission' were reinvigorated to connect the new expectations to the Christian tradition's 'past experiences', as it were. While accepting the new liberal order and exploiting its possibilities for self-organizing, the priests showed a social-conservative concern for the victims of economic liberalization, and the various new concepts for religious social work were invested with expectations of a more efficient and moral poor relief. In distinction from individual benevolence and the poor relief provided by the state, Christian poor relief would be able to strike the right balance between proximity and distance; between an overly individual relation with the poor and excessively organized state relief. While both were unable to discriminate properly, Christian relief based on voluntary principles would be able to maintain an individualized approach and in contrast to mere secular philanthropy would be able to care for the whole of man.

3.3 The welfare state and voluntarism: The 1933 reform and beyond

As social democracy rose to power and the state took over more social responsibilities, the concepts of voluntarism lost some of their counter conceptual potentials. The social reform of 1933 heralded an era in which the promises of voluntarism rang hollow. Conceptually, this meant a nuancing of the content to reflect the democratic and statist era, as well as a radicalization towards an ethics of conviction.

While voluntarism had been widely recognized as advantageous because of its combination of proximity and distance, which allowed for a rational and benevolent approach, it was now increasingly seen as irrational, scattered, and demoralizing. K. K. Steincke, who would become minister of the interior and later of social affairs and the engineer behind the 1933 reform that systematized and centralized the social system, was very harsh in his criticism of private benevolence's irrational compassion. Steincke did not trust that privately organized benevolence was able to combine proximity and distance; it was rather entirely too close to provide a systematic and efficient solution to the social problems (Steincke 1920,45–49). Nonetheless, after negotiations with representatives of the Christian voluntary organizations, legislation passed with the 1933 reform recognized that "voluntary benevolent associations and institutions" (*frivillige velgørende Foreninger og Institutioner*) had a place in the public welfare system (Malmgart 2005, 58). The role of benevolence was now limited to instances of passing need, supplementing low income, providing help in kind rather than pecuniary help, and performing publicly funded tasks. In the eyes of the state, it was a rational public system and not

religious voluntary organizations that should educate the poor; these were merely another kind of service provider (Steincke 1935, 5ff). They should only supplement the public system, be organized through the municipalities, and be subject to public inspection when receiving public funding (ibid., 12ff). A change in valuation had occurred: Whereas voluntary associations in the previous century had been envisioned as the primary providers of relief, voluntarism was now only to be used as an exception.

That voluntarism was viewed in wide circles as an auxiliary concept rather than a utopian counter concept meant that it became colored by the democratic and statist ideals of the era – also by religious philanthropic leaders. The central figure in Christian social work at this point, Alfred Th. Jørgensen,²⁷ deployed ‘philanthropy’ in 1939 as an overarching concept denoting social relief by voluntary groups and the state as well as secular and religious actors (Jørgensen 1939). Voluntarism was the distinguishing mark of private philanthropy as it relied on voluntary forces (*frivillige kræfter*) and voluntary gifts (*frivillige gaver*): “Voluntarism is the strength and pride of private philanthropy” (*Frivilligheden er den private Filantropis Styrke og Smykke*) (ibid., 65). As in the previous century, the strength of voluntarism as opposed to the public system was its origin in individuals acting by their own volition. Jørgensen also continued to distance Christian philanthropy from secular philanthropy’s ‘natural compassion’ targeting only ‘the good organism’; the personality and the social body. In church philanthropy, natural compassion was strengthened by the love of the neighbor through God, and while it also aimed at creating good citizens, it had a higher aim: Jesus Christ as a personality ideal through which a spiritual force is conveyed to the sufferers. The two forms complemented each other in that civic philanthropy lacked spiritual force, while Christian philanthropy often lacked pecuniary means as well as knowledge of and influence on society (ibid., 65-70).

Voluntarism’s decreased societal role meant that the concept was in a sense radicalized as Christian philanthropy was set free to pursue a ‘purer’ form of relief. While Jørgensen believed that it remained important for philanthropists to do an individual assessment in order to be able to determine who was truly in need, only the outright swindler was not to be helped, while the ‘lazy worker’ should be helped to find work (ibid., 186). Put paradoxically: The rise of parliamentary democracy and the social democratic state meant that Christian philanthropy

²⁷ Alfred Th. Jørgensen (1874-1953) was a theologian, leader of Cooperating Parish Charities (1902-1939), and active in what is now known as the Danish Church Relief (*Folkekirkens Nødhjælp*).

could become more benevolent. While public philanthropy took care of the 'distanced' social justice, religious philanthropy could focus on the 'proximity' of Christian love.

After 1945, the term 'deaconry' was once again invoked explicitly in opposition to the use of 'philanthropy'. Philanthropy was viewed by Jørgensen's successor as leader of Cooperating Parish Charities as too generic. The Christian motive of neighborly love and the historical meaning of 'deacon' as a servant should be emphasized, just as the connection between the gospel and deeds should be reestablished. This conceptual change was a way of distinguishing the social work of the church vis-à-vis the state and new existentialist theological currents that emphasized individual faith rather than organized benevolence (*Tidehverv*), but in all other respects, the content was the same: The dominant role of the state was recognized, and deaconry seen as a corrective based on personal commitment (Malmgart 2002a, 73f).

The social democratic era that the 1933 reform heralded meant a shift in the conditions for public legitimation. While the existential or spiritual dimension was still important in the eyes of the benevolent Christians, this meant less in a public increasingly dominated by the secular Social Democrats and social liberals, and the experience of the Nazi-German occupation (1940-1945) finally established representative democracy as a universally acknowledged principle of government in Denmark. In 1956, leading religious philanthropist Westergaard Madsen²⁸ went so far as to declare the welfare state a "God given arrangement" (*en Guds ordning*) (Malmgart 2010, 57), and he further referred to the so called Beveridge report in stressing that through his sense of having a mission, the volunteer would inspire and elevate the democratic process (ibid., 63). In this way, Danish voluntarism followed an international trend. In his report on voluntary action (Beveridge 1948), W. H. Beveridge had made "the vigour and abundance of Voluntary Action outside one's home (...) the distinguishing marks of a free society" (10), in contrast to a totalitarian society, where all such action is controlled by the state (ibid.). Beveridge shared this conviction with the liberal US American public intellectual Arthur Schlesinger, who in 1944 in his essay "Biography of a Nation of Joiners" described the US' legacy of voluntary association in opposition to the totalitarian Axis powers (Schlesinger 1944, 25).

Once a conservative-Christian counter concept invested with expectations of differently organized poor relief, relying on a widely-shared consensus on the beneficial role of privately

²⁸ Willy Westergaard Madsen (1907-95) was a priest, leading member of *The National Church's Philanthropic union* and leader of Cooperating Parish Charities after Jørgensen (1943-60).

organized benevolence as balancing proximity and distance in poor relief, voluntarism in the guise of philanthropy was now seen as 'too close' and designated a role as a service provider. Its proponents accepted the auxiliary role; a role that in turn meant that the concept was infused with democratic ideals and a stronger ethics of conviction-approach, where few would be denied help. This formed at the same time the initial steps toward a conceptual displacement where a 'voluntary sector' is shaped through the state's legal recognition of voluntary benevolent organizations; a sector that builds on specific motives or inherent qualities in providing solutions to social problems. As I will show in the next section, this is the sector that is 'discovered' decades later by the social sciences and politicians that seek to reinvigorate the welfare state.

3.4 The rediscovery of voluntarism in politics and public sector research in the 1970s

In the 1970s, history would repeat itself. As before, in the 1970s and 1980s a wide political consensus embraced voluntary associations as closer to those in need and more flexible in their organization than the state. Once again, the moral elites – no longer the practitioner-priests, who had lost their central social status, but the social scientists – imbued the concept with utopian hopes, but this time from the left rather than the right. And once again, these utopian hopes dwindled and voluntarism deferred to a role next to the state rather than ahead of it.

With the 1933 social reform, the historical clock had turned in favor of a centralized social system based on rights, and after the Second World War, universal rights in various areas were introduced (Kolstrup 1997, 12). In the 1970s, however, several politicians and social science researchers came to see the rule based approach as an obstacle: Social workers became bureaucrats and were unable to see the person behind the rules. The cool distance that Steincke had praised had now become a problem. Today, the Social Assistance Act of 1976 (*bistandsloven*) has gained symbolic status as zenith and hubris of the generous Danish welfare state. The intention of the law was to reform the rights-based system by creating a more preventative, holistic, and needs-focused approach. The primary means to do this was by increasing the discretion of the local authorities in authorizing social benefits so that the social system would be oriented towards the consequences of the rulings rather than solely their lawfulness - a kind of 'generous means testing'. The role of case workers as the closest link to the client was strengthened and professionalized (cf. Åkerstrøm Andersen 2008; Knudsen 1985,

4–11). The reform was criticized from various camps almost from before its effectuation, and even by its own architects: It was too expensive, too ambitious, and had placed too much confidence in the social worker (Andersen 1983, 1984; Knudsen 1985, 1 and *passim*). A consensus now emerged among politicians both left and right as well as public sector researchers that the existing social system was inadequate. Tellingly, the OECD in 1980 hosted a conference with the ominous title: “The Welfare State in Crisis” (OECD 1981).

Once again, voluntarism was discovered as having the proximity and flexibility that the public system was not able to deliver. In Denmark, first the Social Democrat minister of social affairs, Ritt Bjerregaard in 1980/1 (Bjerregaard 1982), and after her the conservative minister of social affairs, Palle Simonsen in 1983 called for the involvement of local communities and voluntary organizations in social work (Boolsen 1988, 34). According to Simonsen, a continued expansion of the public system would lead to ‘alienation’ (*ibid.*, 35), and Bjerregaard in 1981 stated that:

Developments in our society have created ruptures in previous communities, and we in the social sector have not been very successful in helping create new communities. It almost seems as if we have encouraged isolation and loneliness. I am referring to the way we have built our institutions, in particular. (Bjerregaard 1981, 2).²⁹

Through a so called ‘contact committee’, the state would now finance research on voluntary organizations and existing informal networks and support systems carried out by the Danish National Institute of Social Research (SFI). SFI was mainly tasked with researching social inequality and social policy and had played a central role in informing the expansion of the welfare system during the 1960s. On the backdrop of the perceived dual crisis of legitimacy and tax revenue and expenses, it had itself started questioning this development in the 1970s (Thorlund Jepsen, Viby Mogensen, and Hansen 1974). Now, several reports were written in order to gain information on the dimensions, demography and motivations of the volunteers and the voluntary organizations, as well as the interplay between informal and formal social assistance (Boolsen 1988; Habermann and Parsby 1987; Jensen et al. 1987; Jeppesen and Høeg 1987).

²⁹ See also (Bjerregaard 1982) – and (Villadsen 2004) for a Foucauldian perspective on this development.

Two women, Merete Watt Boolsen and Ulla Habermann, pioneered the research in voluntarism in Denmark. Boolsen had made studies on the youth, social deviation and narcotics use, while Habermann, with a background as a social worker and volunteer, had made case studies of voluntary organizations engaged in social work, as well as studies on 'outreach' in public social work. This time, the inspiration for the elaborations on voluntarism came from the UK (cf. Brewis and Finnegan 2012, 121). Again, in contrast to bureaucracy, voluntary associations' flexibility and proximity were emphasized, for instance through their ability to be present after office hours. This time around, however, the associations' advocacy role vis-à-vis the public system was added (Boolsen 1988).

The conservatively laden concept of philanthropy was not applied by the researchers, who instead favored the left-leaning 'network' concept. The voluntary network constituted a 'third network' next to the family and the state/public network (Habermann 1990; Habermann and Parsby 1987, 50). 'Networks' was introduced in welfare research as a way of conceptualizing the varied social relations that enabled a person to overcome need. Not only the public support system, but also private relations, family, neighbors etc., and voluntary organizations could support people in need (Habermann 1990, 29f; Jensen et al. 1987, 56ff; Thorlund Jepsen et al. 1974, 62). The idea of network organizing had its heyday in the 1980s where new forms of grass roots organizing and the new social movements developed. While the idea of voluntary involvement in social policy appealed broadly politically, networks thinking was a thing of the political left. Habermann cited left wing authors such as Marcuse and Holter (Habermann 1990, 60ff) in arguing for a larger involvement of the social network in social work, and further (by quoting a social worker) contrasted the social democratic and liberal-conservative idea of privatization with the left wing idea of a 'counter-public' in which grass roots organizations focus on everyday life and the lifeworld and strive to free care work from the pacifying embrace of state institutions in order to self-organize (Habermann 1990, 28f). The rediscovery of voluntarism and the informal resources echoed the Christian pioneers of the late 19th century in so far as the demoralizing effects of state involvement was emphasized and combined with an ambition to 'enable' and foster a sense of autonomy. The networks approach was, however, embedded in a radical democratic project led not by the priest, but the social worker, and

supported not by the congregation, but the wider network of neighbors and self-organizing groups.³⁰

Habermann's concept of the 'third network' was mirrored by another conceptual displacement where voluntarism was not cast in the language of critical sociological theory, but in the language of mainstream social science as a 'sector' with specific advantages and 'failures' (Salamon 1987). Albeit reluctantly and explicating awareness of the problems of clear boundaries (e.g. Kuhnle and Selle 1992, 7), the idea of a sector was taken up as a way to describe its specific characteristics vis-à-vis the welfare state. Klausen was one of the pioneers in applying the term 'voluntary sector' (Klaudi Klausen 1988; Klausen 1988, 7), but did so within a Habermasian framework that cast the voluntary organizations as defenders of the lifeworld. A utopian role was thus still assigned to the sector. As the historical role of the sector became an object of research, a more temperate view emerged: The utopian hope that the voluntary sector should represent a counterweight to state colonization is now explicitly stated to be a myth, along with the idea that there once existed a voluntary sector unblemished by the state (Klausen and Selle 1995b, 19f). Klausen even used the phrase 'reversed colonization' to indicate the influences of voluntary organizations on the state (Bundesen et al. 2001, 13). The temperate sector approach was to set the agenda for research in the 1990s and 2000s. Historical social science described the contingent relations between the state and the voluntary/third/nonprofit sector and provided periodizations, typologies, and developmental paths showing changing relations of consensus, conflict, dependence, and autonomy, as well as the voluntary organizations' changing role as the welfare state developed (Klausen and Selle 1995b, 17f; Bundesen, Henriksen, and Jørgensen 2001, 24–28). The sector is now regularly monitored through surveys to establish if more or less people are volunteering, who the volunteers are and what they volunteer for (Boje and Ibsen 2006; Boje, Ibsen, and Fridberg 2006; Fridberg and Skov Henriksen 2014), while others view it as possessing a specific 'system logic' of proximity (La Cour 2014) or explore how new technologies change forms of volunteering (Grubb 2016).

History thus seemed to repeat itself a hundred years after voluntarism was first put forward as a principle for social provision: Utopian hopes were invested in the principle across the political spectrum, and in academia the concept was rediscovered from a leftish position with the normative 'network' counter concept. This time, the concept cooled more quickly as it was

³⁰ In the US, a similar development took place, where since the early 1970s David Horton Smith had been inquiring into the possibilities of a future self-organized "voluntary society" (Smith 1972)

tamed as part of a 'sector' in society with a specific role vis-à-vis the state and an autonomous field of study.

3.5 Summary

Voluntarism in the field of social work first emerged 'in the shadow of the state', as it were, as a novel principle for organizing and a resource for collective action on the basis of a historically new situation where state-run poor relief was increasingly viewed as inadequate. For the Christian entrepreneurs, the congregation was discovered as an agent of social improvement and active engagement that in contrast to the state could strike the right balance between proximity and distance in social provision. This never amounted to a radical vision of a completely self-organizing civil society; even in the most optimistic periods of voluntary engagement, the state continued to have a function as a last resort.

'Voluntarism' in its many conceptual guises has been characterized by an inner tension. On the one hand, Christian conservatives and leftist social scientists, separated by a hundred years, have invested utopian hopes in the concept and envisioned possible futures where the volunteering congregation, acting in a reinvigorated Christian tradition of social work, and the local community acting on the communicative principles of the lifeworld rather than the system logics, respectively, would provide social support for those in need through a proximate and flexible organization. On the other hand, this use of voluntarism as a normative counter concept, a concept with expectations of a not yet realized better future on the background of great societal change, has been tempered first by a social democratic state that found the voluntary organizations to be entirely too close to their object, and then by the institutionalization of voluntarism as a 'sector'; as an empirical field of research.

Moreover, the concept has been fraught with inner tensions amongst those who have supported the principle for organizing and mobilizing. In the periods where voluntary practices enjoyed wide support, a conceptual battle ensued where first secular philosophers sought to define the voluntary practices in purely humanistic terms against the religious camp, where Christianity's ability to care for the 'whole of man' was put to the fore, and later in the 1970s when the concept was embraced on the left as well as the right wing as a way of mitigating the effects of a welfare state that was perceived to have grown too rigid.

The process can be reconstructed as a continued process to define the group bonds, the identity, of the collective actors voluntarily engaged in the kind of 'non-contentious' collective action analyzed in the first chapter: Are we Christians, citizens, or secular philanthropists – or two or all of these at the same time? While this struggle was going on, a struggle was similarly going on among the revivalists themselves over the place of social engagement in Christianity. Should it be considered part of a personal process of transformation or as the natural outcome of faith; what should the roles of priests and laymen be, and how should social work be carried out – through self-help groups with engaged priests and laymen or through a more distanced approach of specialized institutions? I will return to this in article 1.

The conceptual history of 'voluntarisms' reveals voluntarism as neither belonging to a static 'sector' with well-defined boundaries to state and market and a specific role vis-à-vis these sectors, nor as a normatively desirable principle in itself. Rather, it appears as a political practice whose ideological form and place in society is inherently contested and is struggled over to this day, where public workfare policies and economic austerity once again challenge actors to rethink voluntary practices in light of their visions of the future.

The analysis has shown that the bonds among the volunteers emerged along with the boundaries established to state-run provision – and with the boundaries established around a community of obligation. Some were within these boundaries and met with specific expectations in return for the help given, and some fell outside the perimeters of obligation. This was related to the emergence of the dichotomous semantics of deserving and undeserving poor. While the semantics was only emerged in the second half of the 19th century, the distinction between groups of poor was not. I will explore the development of these distinctions during the 19th century up until the breakthrough of voluntarism in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 Welfare in state and voluntarism: The fluctuating principles of the 19th century Danish moral economy and gift-giving practices

Chapter three explored the emergence of voluntarism by way of a history of the hopes invested in this new form of provision and the conceptual interventions in the voluntary practices. One finding was that the concept was applied in contrast to state driven social provision. In this chapter, I will show how, in what sense, and how far the voluntary practices did or did not constitute a break with previous forms of state run provision. In doing this, I change the analytical focus from *voluntary* to *social* in voluntary and state run social provision, from concepts to relations, and particularly from the *bonds* of voluntarism to the *boundaries* of obligation towards the poor. I do this to provide a background for understanding how the new types of collective action emerging from the Copenhagen entrepreneurs altered or continued existing forms of social provision, and thus also as an empirical stage setting for the articles. I will also provide a theoretical elaboration of the boundary-defining relation between giver and receiver in social provision and voluntarism's role in shaping the greater moral economy that further helps define the role of voluntarism in shaping welfare practices.

The chapter starts from a criticism of the Marshallian idea of a progression of rights from civil (18th century) to political (19th century) to social (20th century). I argue that this teleological narrative that has been part of the foundation of much scholarship on the welfare state tends to neglect the role of ideas, the role of obligations as well as rights, and the continued role of voluntary associations in shaping welfare practices, and also neglects those that continue to be excluded from welfare: The undeserving. I propose instead a return to the relational and institutional thinking of Karl Polanyi and Marcel Mauss and their concepts of moral economy, gift giving and reciprocity. Much literature has focused on the causes of the development and the institutionalization of universal rights, but I want to highlight the *relations* that are established in different forms of welfare provision between the state and the marginalized and between giver and receiver of voluntary social provisions, and how these relations overlap, differ, or are mutually dependent in an overall moral economy. I then present an analysis of the development of the moral economy of welfare provision in Denmark during the 19th century to show how the relations to the undeserving poor have historically been embedded in varying ideas about the role of the poor in society that have delimited the boundaries in terms of the

'who' and 'how' of expectations to give and to reciprocate: Who were included in or excluded from social provision schemes and how where the poor expected to reciprocate in order to be considered deserving of help? The analysis relies on existing literature, but reads this with the specific aim of showing the role of the undeserving poor and the relations established to them. The analysis provides an alternative to the teleological narrative. It shows how the Danish moral economy of welfare historically was influenced by oscillating movements of inclusion and exclusion as expectations for how the poor should reciprocate the gifts of social provision changed; as new ideas of community and society were introduced; and as new divisions of labor between private and public appeared, in turn leading to different 'welfare temporalities' for different groups in society. It finally shows how and to what extent the Christian social work of the late 19th century represented a break with the existing moral economy of welfare.

The relational moral economy-paradigm will not be applied in the articles as such, but the analytical grid works in the background to help analyze at an actor level how reciprocal relations are instituted and changed over time, just as I will return to this perspective in the conclusion. The chapter in this way aims to show through the theoretical framework and the empirical analysis the character of the in-group – out-group relation between giver and receiver of voluntary social provision and social work and its embeddedness in state and voluntary relations.

4.1 Four critiques of Worlds of Welfare

T. H. Marshall stated in his much quoted lectures *Citizenship and Social Class* that "the modern drive towards social equality is, I believe, the latest phase of an evolution of citizenship which has been in continuous progress for some 250 years" (Marshall 1992, 10). He saw an evolutionary pattern in universal citizenship from the formation of civil rights in a 'long' 18th century, the gain of political rights in the 19th and finally the rise of social rights in the 20th century. This progressive imaginary has come to dominate much research in the modern welfare state, where the Nordic welfare states in particular are seen as the full development of this teleological journey. We should 'get to Denmark' to quote outside the strict welfare literature (Fukuyama 2012, 14).³¹

The emphasis on universal social rights as the defining characteristic of a welfare state has been particularly central to the comparativist power resource school of welfare research. The

³¹ See also (Steinmetz 1993, 31f) for a critique of this 'Whig' history of the welfare state.

questions here are often related to the timing of the introduction of universalist rights and their scope that are sought to be answered through comparative methods and attributed to causes such as the strength of labor, coalitions, election rules, and the size of national economies with an eye to developing typologies such as 'liberal, 'corporatist-statist', and 'social-democratic' (Baldwin 1999; Esping-Andersen 1985, 1990; Huber and Stephens 2001; Korpi 1983; Korpi and Palme 2003; Wilensky 1975). These are not teleological narratives in a Hegelian sense, since they strive to explain the driving forces behind the development: The 'power resources' available to the labor movement and social democracy. Still, they are mainly focused on how some countries 'got to Denmark' (or Sweden) and why others did not.

While this very brief sketch does not amount to a proper literature review, I will contend that teleological thinking dominates these kinds of narratives, and that they thus have little to say about the contingent elements in the development of welfare: The 'other side' of rights, the obligations that accompany rights, the role of ideas in explaining the *why*, but especially the *what*, the content of the legislation and its designation of rights and obligations, the larger welfare 'mix', especially the role of voluntary organizations in the development of welfare, and the position of the most marginal groups in this mix. These authors are mostly concerned with the rights of groups such as the unemployed, the elderly, and the disabled, but have relatively little to say about those that continue, or continued for a long time, to be excluded; the 'least employable' such as alcoholics, prostitutes, the perceived lazy or unwilling. In other words, they do not have an eye for the greater 'moral economy' of welfare arrangements.

Gøsta Esping-Andersen is perhaps the most renowned welfare state scholar today. In his famous book *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Esping-Andersen 1990), he takes Marshall's definition of the welfare state, stating that social citizenship is the "core idea of the welfare state" (ibid., 21), and elaborates the definition by way of Polanyi's concept of de-commodification. While liberalism and the capitalist system had turned labor into a 'fictitious' commodity (I will return to this below), the advent of the welfare state meant that labor was finally 'de-commodified' since the social risks of unemployment, disability, sickness etc. involved in the market based system were now carried by society rather than the individual. In Esping-Andersen's account, it is especially the strength of 'labor' in its organized form of Social Democracy and its ability to forge alliances with the 'green' rural parties that has been made the independent variable for the development of the 'universality' of regime types (Esping-

Andersen 1990, 18), while other forces such as Catholicism in the South had an impeding effect on the mobilization of labor.

The inspiration from Polanyi is, however, very selective and several important features of Polanyi's original study are neglected: The role of ideas in welfare arrangements, the role of marginalized groups, the emphasis on reciprocity, and the role of civil society organizations. I will now deal with these issues in turn by introducing other strands of welfare research that have contributed with alternative approaches to the study of welfare.

First, a focus on industrialization and class actors has led to a neglect of the changing principles for a moral economy that these actors advanced. Social democracy did not promote the same principles in the 1870s as they did in the 1930s. In the early days of the socialist movement in late 19th century Europe, the movement focused on organization-building rather than pushing for universalist state reform.³² The labor strategy was not to argue for a radical reform of the state's existing social 'welfare' systems, but to build their own organizations where membership was restricted to the strongest of the class, leaving the *Lumpenproletariat* without coverage or representation. Influenced by revolutionary ideas, the workers' unions in Germany thus preferred insurance schemes to any state remedy (Münnich 2010, 144), while the Danish Social Democratic Party's 1876 *Gimle*-program (leaning heavily on the German *Gotha* program) required the state to take care of sick, old, and disabled, while claiming the administration of unemployment insurance schemes for themselves (Lahme 1976). The 'reserve army' was considered a threat since it could be used by the ruling classes to undermine workers through ideological influence, undercut wages, and sabotage strikes. The strategy emerging from this 'ghetto' strategy was put forward at the Lausanne Congress at the 1st International in 1867: the slum proletariat should be disciplined through the workers' own organizations (Esping-Andersen 1990, 65). In the 1920s, Danish social democracy pursued a universalist strategy locally, where programs of tax-financed schools and hospitals were put in place. On a national level in the 1920s and 1930s, a thinking more along the lines of the Swedish *Folkshem* and the Webbs in Britain was pursued, where the nation was thought as a community where everyone contributed equally, whereas universal social rights were only implemented on a large scale after the Second World War (Christiansen and Petersen 2001; Dybdahl 2014; Kolstrup 1994; Petersen 2014). Furthermore, social democracy as well as other central actors have been

³² In Denmark, Hartvig Frisch's analysis of the failure of German socialism caused by a neglect of the nation-state level famously addressed this issue (Frisch 1998 [1950]).

inspired or influenced by changing ideas on the nature of social problems, that is, of the causes of poverty. Whereas basically Malthusian ideas of disproportionate population growth among the lower classes were still active in the 1930s, it was not least changing ideas in the social sciences that lead to the breakthrough of universalism in the 1950s and 1960s (Seip 1981). There is, in other words, no immediate causal link between specific societal actors and specific ideas, such as universal social rights. Scientific and normative ideas as well as strategic considerations enter into the equation as well. Such avenues of inquiry have been followed by Foucauldians who have sought to show the varying rationalities of government that have been adopted in social politics and pointed to the independent role of ideas that define social problems in specific ways, and thus render certain forms of intervention into the social possible and condition action in certain directions (Dean 1992; Villadsen 2007). In a US American context, the role of ideas in the formation of welfare programs have been increasingly acknowledged (Skocpol 1992; Steensland 2006).

It also mattered for the institutionalization of welfare states what ideas other political actors relied upon. While Esping-Andersen takes Catholicism into account as a factor in the development of the corporatist welfare regimes, he neglects the influence of Reformed Protestantism. Later welfare state literature (Kersbergen and Manow 2009; Manow 2008) shows how confessional cleavages explain some of the 'anomaly cases' of the Worlds of Welfare approach that are not easily placed within the worlds (especially the Dutch, British, and Swiss cases). In other words, rather than operating solely with a north/south divide (Catholic/Protestant), we should also be aware of the west/east divide (Calvinist/mixed/Lutheran). This mainly has to do with the 'negative effect' of the Reformed Protestant tradition due to its anti-étatist stance. The church/state cleavage was never central in the Nordic countries because of their religious homogeneity, meaning that the churches never felt threatened when the state took over social obligations (Knudsen 2000) – as opposed to Catholic countries and countries marked by reformed Protestantism. It is thus necessary to broaden the vision of the emerging welfare state to include other types of actors and ideas than the purely political.

This leads us to a related second objection: that the welfare state research tradition has thought in terms of rights rather than in rights and *obligations*, where the principles underlying the link between the two is informed by certain ideas or social imaginaries. Precisely this point is taken up by Sigrun Kahl in an upcoming book. Here, she seeks to show how Polanyi's depiction of an

abrupt break with all moral elements of the economy should be moderated. Rather than a complete break with reciprocity, when it comes to social assistance there is a 'deep continuity' from the poor laws until today. The economy has always been embedded in reciprocal relations as well as ideas about these relations. Rather than analyzing only the 'rights' side of reciprocity, we should also be looking into the 'obligation' side, Kahl argues (Kahl *forthcoming*). The focus for Kahl is the benefit of last resort, namely the social assistance program. Here, Kahl points to how views of 'deservingness' vary across cultural contexts. While deservingness seems to be a universal societal *criterion* – there are no societies that do not consider both rights and obligations – it is the *classification* of people as deserving or undeserving that varies. Whether people are seen as willing or unwilling, or as able or unable varies depending on how the schemas for classification change. The classification of the poor depends on a number of factors, such as the rate of unemployment, which means that the able-bodied are considered more deserving when unemployment is high, but cultural factors also play a large role. In the case of welfare-to-work programs, there are thus marked varieties between countries: In the US, there are no federal welfare benefits for someone who is 'just' poor. Here, as in the UK, the problem of the least employable is construed as a problem of people being 'lazy'. In France and Italy, this is viewed as a structural problem that should be solved through social integration, whereas in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the support of the least employable is viewed as a state responsibility, while work is viewed as the solution. Kahl defines the three solutions as 'work', 'welfare', and 'work-fare'. The differences in approaches cannot be explained by the countries' 'welfare regime', since social assistance programs do not follow the logic of the regime: the UK and Denmark, for instance, have similar rates of expenses, even though they belong in different regime types.³³ As Skocpol has shown in a US American context, who is deemed deserving hinges upon who is considered to contribute to society, whether through motherhood or military service (Skocpol 1992), just as the failure to introduce a guaranteed basic income in the US in the 1960s and 1970s failed because of prevailing cultural schemas related to 'deservingness' (Steensland 2006).

In a Danish context, attempts have been made to characterize a Pietist 'social contract' drawn up in the 18th century that promised generous social benefits without means testing in exchange for obedience and hard work (Sørensen 1998), or a Lutheran 'civil religion' that in much the

³³ In an earlier article, Kahl has traced these country-specific variations to Christian 'ethics' to explain long term views of the poor, as evidenced in the spread of workhouses and in the attitude towards alms giving and outdoor relief (Kahl 2005).

same way should undergird the welfare state and prevent rent-seeking behavior (Petersen 2003b); a contract or civil religion that the authors believe has deteriorated as the welfare state idea has freed itself from its mechanism, leading to a chase for entitlements and rights rather than deservingness (Petersen 1998, 2006, 2016a). If and to what extent this has in fact been a problem I will not discuss here. Suffice it to say that the current welfare regime has changed the premises for this discussion radically (Hansen 2017). The take-away for now is only that social rights, even in the most generous system, are mirrored by informal or formal expectations of obligation. I consequently find that researchers should pay more attention to the principles of inclusion and exclusion – the demands that are formally or informally put on the receivers of social provision.

Third, the focus on policies such as old age pension, disability pension etc. has led to a neglect of the most marginal, the 'least employable' or those with a 'questionable' lifestyle; those that do not meet the principles of inclusion. The person in breach of both the formal laws and the informal or 'cultic' civil religion resembles the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben's figure of 'Homo Sacer' that he finds in ancient Roman law; a person who is banned and may be killed by anyone, meaning that the person lives beyond the laws of Gods and men (Agamben 1998), and thus comparable to people living in states of exception today. Unlike Homo Sacer, however, the lazy, drunken and frivolous have continually been brought back into the social order through various techniques of inclusion. Even if the Danish old age pension law from 1891, which is often seen as a milestone on the road to universal rights, exempted individuals aged 60 from the disenfranchising consequences of the poor laws, there was still an obligation to have led a respectable life for the previous ten years and to have contributed to a sickness benefit or insurance associations. It was not until the post-World War 2 reforms, the old age pension of 1956 and the Public Assistance Act³⁴ of 1961, that such disenfranchising criteria of deservingness were abandoned in general; and 'chronic' alcoholics were not exempted from the marriage clause until 1969 (Thorsen 1993, 116). And even then, expectations for the unemployed did not vanish, e.g. the informal expectation to be willing to work hard. The critique by Sørensen and Pedersen above may be viewed as an expression of a disappointment of this expectation; as a feeling that the welfare recipients were guilty of a 'breach of contract' in relation to the generous public relief system insofar as they began to use it to their own advantage rather than working for the common good.

³⁴ *Lov om offentlig forsorg*

While wage earners have unions and political representatives who can speak for them, the undeserving poor living on the margins of society are most often not capable of representing their own interests in political negotiation processes or in political protests. Those unable or unwilling to contribute to society are dependent on the classifications of deservingness set by others. Such classifications, as I will show below, historically have not followed a teleological developmental schema where social rights are the crowning achievement in the 20th century after civil and political rights had been assured in the 18th and 19th centuries (Marshall and Bottomore 1992). Rather, civil, political, and social rights have been intermingled and made contingent upon each other. If one plays a little with the teleological way of thinking, one might perhaps invoke Koselleck again and say that there is a 'contemporaneity of the noncontemporaneous' (*Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*) (Koselleck 2004a, 90), where different 'welfare temporalities' exist for different groups in society. While those with a publicly accepted lifestyle were en route to the 20th century with the pension system from 1891, others who could not show a virtuous track record were left behind in the 19th.

The final criticism relates to the neglect of the continued influence of the so called 'third sector' in welfare arrangements. This has to do in part with difficulties in actually defining 'welfare states'. Most comparativist scholars define welfare states and regimes by certain key forms of legislation like old age pension and social insurance laws. The voluntary types of social support fall short of this 'thin' definition. Moreover, they do not contribute to 'de-commodification' and have as such been neglected. In a different, but similar way, Danish historical sociologists have claimed that religious philanthropy only had little impact on society since the state had in large measures taken over the responsibility for poor relief and education that were politicized in other countries during the first decades of the 20th century (Kaspersen and Lindvall 2008). This is only partially the case. The second half of the 19th century marked the emergence of voluntary welfare initiatives that laid the organizational groundwork for much of the welfare state's social work. This happened as the state took over or started subsidizing and regulating these private initiatives in the first half of the 20th century. After the second world war, then, the universalist, professionalized, and specialized welfare state developed, and many private initiatives were cast in the role of mere service providers and became more thoroughly regulated and funded by the state, in turn changing the role of many organizations from help to advocacy (Henriksen and Bundesen 2004). Recently, Danish welfare historians have discovered religious voluntary groups as important influences in Danish welfare history (Hansen et al. 2010; Petersen 2003b, 2016b;

Petersen and Petersen 2013; Petersen et al. 2014).³⁵ These studies point to the aforementioned 'social contract', analyze the views of the 'church people' of the emerging welfare state, or present the voluntary social organizations rooted in revivalist circles as taking on the role of 'spokespersons' for marginalized groups in society in opposition to the oppressive disciplinary and punitive regime of the state in mid-20th century Denmark (Petersen 2003b, 15).³⁶ I believe that by not paying attention to this side of the 'welfare mix', the vision of the welfare state is seriously impaired. We should seek a more inclusive perspective on welfare that includes both sides, but which pays closer attention to the actual consequences for those afflicted by their 'services' and not just their 'role' at a macro level. One way to do this is to bring the two types of welfare into the same analytical framework. I will suggest that the moral economy and gift-giving frameworks as developed by Karl Polanyi and Marcel Mauss, respectively, could do this. Both focus on reciprocity, mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, and especially Polanyi also changing societal ideals. Moreover, from the perspective of the undeserving, the two types of provision are not that different. While Ignatieff has argued that the "bureaucratized transfer of income among strangers has freed each of us from the enslavement of gift relations" (Ignatieff 1984, 17), I would argue that the two are not that different where the undeserving are concerned. Since the 'undeserving' are low on resources and in general lack political representation as they are outside or on the boundary of formal and informal social order, they will typically be dependent on some kind of patronage, gifts, or advocacy, whether by state authorities or civil society organizations.³⁷ The contemporary frustration and anger often reported in Danish newspapers directed at caseworkers testifies to this feeling of impotence.³⁸ While bureaucratically institutionalized universal rights should supposedly secure a more 'dispassionate' approach, those who set the goals for bureaucracy may very well, and in most cases do, distinguish between types of people, just as we saw voluntary organizations do in 19th century Copenhagen, who also applied bureaucratically systematic procedures in their work. In both cases, the 'undeserving' poor are left to accept the changing criteria of inclusion: To reform or to accept what is handed to them. There is of course a difference between a giver that is committed to legitimize the decision to give in a public sphere and at elections and a private

³⁵ Church historians have similarly carried out studies in the field (Malmgart 2002b; Olesen 1976, 1996).

³⁶ As I described in chapter 2, these welfare historians tend to have an overly positive valuation of religious actors as spokespersons.

³⁷ This does not mean that they cannot act collectively. Recent examples in Denmark of collective organizations for receivers of social assistance are *Næstehjælperne* (the 'Neighborhood helpers') and *Jobcentrets Ofre* ('Victims of the job centre').

³⁸ See e.g. (Ugebrevet A4 2010)

organization that does not have to, and rights may have a certain inertia due to their legal codification and be endowed with a special status and aura qua deep-seated beliefs in fundamental rights. However, as I will show below, there is no Marshallian teleology involved in the acquisition of rights. Rights can be taken away, and political rights can be made contingent on not using one's social rights, i.e. receiving poor relief.

4.2 The moral economies of welfare: Dis- and re-embedding reciprocal relations

I have argued for a 'thicker' understanding of welfare than the comparativist school usually deploys; an understanding that takes into consideration obligations as well as rights, voluntary social provision as part of the welfare mix, and the role of ideas in shaping the relations to those in need, and does not focus only on the 'strongest of the weak', but also on those that have been deemed undeserving of help throughout modern history. I will now show how such an approach can best be accomplished by starting with Karl Polanyi's and Marcel Mauss' relational and reciprocal ontology and their analyses of the moral economy and the gift, respectively. This provides a refinement of the question of in-group and out-group boundaries that I introduced in chapter 2. In the articles, I will show on an actor level how these reciprocal relations emerged and developed in specific situations in Denmark in the 19th and 20th centuries. For now, I want to theoretically show how welfare can be understood as reciprocal relations, as 'gift games', embedded in larger moral economies, and in the next section provide a historical background of the developments of the moral economies of welfare.

In *The Great Transformation* (Polanyi 2001 [1944]) from 1944, Polanyi analyzed the historical changes in the moral economy, even if he did not use this term.³⁹ The 'double movement' he describes constitutes two transformations of primarily the English moral economy: First the ideologically driven transition to a market system in the 19th century that undermined the basis of society through exploitation of man and nature, and then the 'spontaneous' countermovement starting in the 1870s that had to go through two world wars and fascist regimes to finally re-embed the market in society through various types of legislation to protect

³⁹ The term 'moral economy' has a history starting at the latest in the 18th century (Götz 2015), but it was E. P. Thompson who brought it into prominence when he used the term to designate an economy where food riots under specific circumstances were considered legitimate (Thompson 1963, 1971). It has since been used by various authors to designate the way that economic activity is embedded in institutions: tradition, norms, and values that secure principles for distribution and fair relations in economic dealings (Scott 2000), or elsewhere authors have applied the same type of analysis without using the term (Moore 1978).

man (*sic*) and his (*sic*) environment; a countermovement that Polanyi could only see the initial beginnings of when he wrote.

As Marcel Mauss before him, Polanyi shows the ‘embeddedness’ of the economy first through a description of economic institutions in the small societies of the Melanesian Trobriand Islands.⁴⁰ What both authors notice is the lack of ‘economic man’ in these societies. Polanyi highlights the principles of reciprocity and redistribution guiding society to a degree that economic self-interest became unthinkable (Polanyi 2001 [1944], 48–53), while Mauss’ in his essay from 1925 analyzes the function of gift-relations to uphold all social relations (Mauss 1990, 7). The aim of the individual in such a society is social prestige rather than economic gain, and prestige is achieved through generosity, as in the competitive ‘agonistic giving’ of the potlach practiced by indigenous people on the Western coast of North America, where chiefs battled to give away or destroy riches to settle a hierarchy (ibid., 6f). Polanyi shows how throughout European history, towns, guilds, and later the mercantilist state built on extra-market institutions: tradition, status, regulations. The normal state of affairs, according to Polanyi, is that man “as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships” (ibid., 48). This changed as the expansion of the market pattern in the 19th century, driven by Malthusian and laissez-faire market ideology in combination with the industrial revolution, created a market for land, money, and, most significantly in this context, labor, turning them into ‘fictitious commodities’ (ibid., 75).⁴¹ Labor was ‘freed’ from the norms of reciprocity and redistribution that had once secured a bearable existence and was made entirely dependent on the market. The market-industry system could not work without a completely free labor market. However, neither could a completely free labor market function in and by itself, as it undermined the very fabric of society. This lesson was only thoroughly learned, however, when the counter-movement sat in from the 1870s. Here, a range of initiatives were taken to limit the damage to society: Factory laws, insurance schemes, and laws on hygienic issues were passed to protect workers. In the end, it was only when the international market was dismantled through the fall of the gold standard that a new system could be built where markets were embedded in society and not vice versa. What Polanyi teaches us, besides the empirical insight that capitalist markets cannot exist in and by themselves, is that the economy cannot be understood independently from the social relations that it is embedded in – or from the ideas of these relations. Markets cannot be analyzed

⁴⁰ Polanyi leans heavily on Bronislaw Malinowski’s study of tribal society, as did Mauss (Malinowski 2014).

⁴¹ ‘Fictitious’ because the commodities can never be truly separated from the ‘owners’ (man and nature).

adequately independently of the social relations and moral codes that they depend on and are shaped by, and welfare arrangements cannot be analyzed adequately without paying attention to the greater moral universe of rights and obligations that they are part of. Social prestige, status, and ideals are always involved in defining rights and obligations.⁴²

Polanyi concludes that while the ‘first movement’ that initiated the liberal era in the West throughout the 19th century was a deliberate attempt to use the state to enforce a specific liberal market ideology, the ‘collectivist’ reaction that became evident after 1860 was on the other hand pragmatic and spontaneous; an act of self-defense on the part of society (Polanyi 2001 [1944], 141–50).⁴³ While this may be the case – that various actors from different standpoints saw the untenable nature of the situation – we should not neglect the role of ideas in this process as well. Just as social democracy promoted different principles in different periods, the state’s social provision has relied on ideals of community that define the boundaries of obligation. These boundaries reflect a perception of the role of the givers as well as the role of the receiver.

While Polanyi, like Mauss, was engaged in the cooperative movement at this time, in *The Great Transformation* he does not mention the voluntary initiatives that sought to mitigate the negative consequences of a liberal market economy. Nor does he consider the reciprocal relations that are established in the new moral economy that emerged after the onslaught of liberalism. He indeed seems to limit the reciprocal ‘principle of behavior’ to small-scale personal relationships, while on larger scales, redistribution and householding are at work (Polanyi 2001 [1944], 45–58). Reciprocity does however also play its part in redistribution as “gifts are given and reciprocated according to the rules of etiquette” (ibid, 50). I will extrapolate from this and say that reciprocity plays its part in every form of redistributory system. While Polanyi had a clear vision of how the expansion of the market undermined such reciprocities, Marcel Mauss was more attuned to the continued workings of reciprocities in modernity. Mauss started from the same anthropological insights as Polanyi, namely that people are embedded in their social relations, but developed a more nuanced analysis of the reciprocities involved in gift-giving and has become the spiritual father of a research tradition that explores the gift’s relational logics in various spheres of society, including modern philanthropy.

⁴² In the sociology of the market, Viviana Zelizer has pursued such a line of inquest (Zelizer 1978, 2000, 2000).

⁴³ I believe Polanyi underestimates the role of reflection and ideas, but that is not the focus of the analysis here.

The Maussian tradition usually adheres to the basic characteristics in gift giving relations fleshed out through interpretations of Mauss' essay on the gift (Adloff 2006; Ben-Amos 2008, 5; Bourdieu 1998, 92–126; cf. Mauss 1990; Silber 1998): The gift is seemingly given freely, but actually entails obligation. This obligation is triple: to give, to receive, and to return the gift. As opposed to market transactions, reciprocation is undetermined in regards to both when and how the gift should be returned. Gifts establish social bonds by creating a 'debt' that cannot be cancelled; the gift given in return can never be exactly equivalent to the first gift, and thus any attempt to cancel debt through gifts only establishes new debts. Due to the obligations involved in gift-giving, social bonds of solidarity as well as power and status relations are established. In Mauss' original analysis, the obligation to receive was important since ritual gifts between tribes had the function of establishing peaceful relations. A rejection to receive a gift could consequently lead to war. When considering historical forms of social provision as gift-relations, this part of the analysis is of less importance (even if one could speculate that an expansion of the analysis in this direction could be relevant for the study of revolutions as established forms of social provision are rejected). Instead, the obligations to give and to reciprocate come to the fore. Mauss himself saw social insurance systems not as gifts to workers, but as counter-gifts from society, since the workers' wages were not sufficient to repay what they had given to society – their labor. Conversely, he thought that if one viewed social policy as charity, this only humiliated the poor who could not reciprocate. Mauss also argued against charity, as this would only humiliate the poor, who were barred from reciprocating the gift (Adloff 2016, 26). We see from Mauss' own valuation of gift relations that the symbolic dimension of gift-giving is interwoven with actual status and power relations. The interpretation of social policy as a gift or a counter-gift matters for the relation between giver and receiver. I will in the following, at odds with Mauss' own intentions, use the gift-giving paradigm to analyze both state welfare and voluntary charity and philanthropy as forms of gift-giving; regardless of whether or not this was perceived as gift relations by the actors themselves. I justify this by the fact that in the 19th century, the inequality between giver and receiver was so great that any distribution of wealth could in fact only be viewed as a gift, since hardly anything could be demanded on the part of the poor: Social provision would have to be given (seemingly) freely. I will distinguish three types of gift giving relations that are of particular importance: The first gift that initiates a new relation, the horizontal gift among peers, and the socially distanced vertical or asymmetrical gift. The obligation to reciprocate is of special interest in these relations.

The first gift is always risky, since there is no guarantee that it will be reciprocated. While norms may guide how the debt that the gift installs can be sought to be annulled (giving a birthday present to someone who has giving you a birthday present) (Gouldner 1973, 242), there is always a risk that this will not happen. The first gift may however also be seen as constitutive of new social norms and relations. If accepted, the first gift thus has 'normalizing' capabilities and is constitutive of the 'game' of gifts, where new reciprocal relations are established. In its most egalitarian and democratic version, the first gift constitutes an extra-ordinary extension of trust; as a way of acting *as if* a relationship is already established. Here, the gift game does not work because norms and sanctions are already in place; norms evolve in the reciprocal relationship instigated by the first gift (Adloff 2016, 93ff).⁴⁴ First gifts can, in the context of the study of social provision, be interpreted as 'authorship': The authors of new social policies hope to create new rules for the gift game, thereby hoping or predicting that recipients will reciprocate according to formal or informal norms of 'good citizenship' or 'homo economicus' and with certain effects for society, economic or otherwise. The 'authors' of philanthropic endeavors may similarly hope to establish new relations by giving in a spirit of care for the whole of man (as we have seen) or through scientific approaches targeting the structural causes of inequality. Voluntary endeavors may hope to receive gratitude or the reward that is inherent in doing what one feels obligated to do spontaneously or according to a moral principle. There may however also be more specific strings attached to the gift, as I will return to in a moment.

In horizontal relations, gift giving relations can be akin to communism, where one is obliged to reciprocate in the way that one best can, if only through gratitude (Adloff 2016, 123f; Graeber 2011, 94–108). Civic associations are also emblematic of such horizontal processes, where individuals pool their resources and commit to a cause and thus exhibit the characteristics of horizontal gift giving: Voluntariness and commitment (ibid., 94). We may however also distinguish less egalitarian forms of horizontal gift giving where communal sharing is limited to certain groups: Households, neighborhoods, the systems of patronage and friendship, as well as guilds and parishes that have delimited the boundaries for who is included in the obligations to give and to reciprocate; boundaries intimately linked with status and social prestige. In these types of social provision, the poor who are taken into consideration as potential beneficiaries will have to establish some kind of link to these social spaces. For instance, the guilds allowed

⁴⁴ Gift giving theory thus suggests one solution to the free rider problem of the provision of common goods that is not anchored in a third party (the state), norms, or pure altruism (Adloff 2006, 417; Sahlin 2011, 170f).

almost exclusively male members, and only in special circumstances were, for instance, widows of a former guild member invited to take part in the annual feasts (Ben-Amos 2008, 310–15). The poor who could not establish a link to a status group were left to vertical types of charity.

Vertical or asymmetrical types of giving are characterized by social distance and unequal power resources. As Mauss noted, receiving charity in a state of powerlessness means that one is not able to reciprocate, except by gratitude or by whatever demands are put on the receiver by the giver, resulting in the emergence or reproduction of hierarchies and patronage. This inability to reciprocate may lead to displays of gratitude, but may just as well lead to feelings of anger and frustration (Douglas 1990). Pierre Bourdieu has most skillfully analyzed how gift-relations may work as cover for market-like exchanges that reproduce social hierarchies (Bourdieu 1998, 92–123, 2008). The concrete effects of the gift should however be analyzed empirically (but theoretically informed, of course) rather than be decided by the theoretical framework. Vertical giving may rely either on ascriptive criteria or ‘achievement’ criteria for giving, based on status group or individual behavior. The middle-class widow or the single mother may each qualify because of their status, while the unemployed ‘earnest worker’ may qualify because of his presumed desire to work.

The vertical gift may further be distinguished according to the relations between the giver and her/his peers on the one hand, and the relations to the receiver on the other. While informal and quasi-formal support systems such as the household and the guilds rely on proximate and direct giving, organized charities typically rely on more distanced and indirect forms of giving. The more indirect, the more the ‘status game’ and the self-image of the giver may become detached from the receiver (Silber 1998). A gulf emerges between the bonds of the in-group and the boundaries to the out-group. In 18th century UK, for instance, the new associational philanthropy established several charities: charity schools, workhouses to create employment (not primarily to deter the poor from receiving benefits), pawnshops, hospitals, and even funds for poor prisoners in London. These new types of charities involved more abstract sets or indirect links of reciprocity that reached beyond the immediate social networks. Social standing in the eyes of an emerging public came to constitute the obligation to give annually, and often anonymously, to the subscription lists of the new associations (Ben-Amos 2008, 134–42). Such displays of giving can confer an aura of altruism and generosity to the giving party, thereby achieving ‘symbolic profits’ (Adloff 2016, 156ff).

All gift-relationships, except maybe the first gift – the open-ended invitation to cooperation – rely on expectations for the receiver to reciprocate in a certain way that is different than in the market contract. Vertical giving will often come with strings attached, as I mentioned above. It is, however, far from certain that the ‘game of gifts’ will unfold as planned, that the receivers will act as hoped or anticipated, or that the game will be played in the spirit that it was intended. The giving party may, especially when it comes to the undeserving, the morally flawed or those expected to be lazy, only give the gift on specific conditions for reciprocation: That the receiving party give up civil or political rights, that they agree to specific changes in behavior or that they subject themselves to institutionalization. It may also be the case, as described above, that the givers feel that the gift is not received in the spirit it was given; that recipients are felt to take advantage of a generous public system (‘rent-seeking’) or spend their money on amusement rather than saving and investing. The gift game may, however, also inadvertently change, for instance when institutions established with the intention of moral reform deteriorate over time to have merely custodial functions (Rothman 2002). Evidently, a continuum exists between on the one hand a gift where expectations are so defined that the relationship is more akin to a contract or where the power relations are so unequal that we can talk about straight out coercion, and on the other hand, the freely given gift akin to love, where expectations of return are considered.

The requirements for reciprocation raises interesting questions for the analysis: When a receiver is unwilling or unable to reciprocate, what kinds of sanctions are then put in place? And what does the interpretation of the failing reciprocation, as inability or unwillingness, mean for the relation? What does one do with those that are undeserving of the gift – the ‘Homines Sacri’, as it were?

Now, the rights and obligations in state welfare and gift giving relations in philanthropy and voluntary social provision cannot be understood adequately if they are analyzed separately. Mauss and Polanyi must meet. They form part of the same moral economy where the jurisdiction of state and private organizations has varied historically according to changing and sometimes conflictual perceptions of the role of the two – as we saw in the conceptual history of voluntarism (see also Hall 1992). Just as the gift relationship itself has factual properties (differences in power and status) and symbolic properties (the interpretation of the gift relation by giver and receiver, and informal expectations on both sides) so the relation between private and public also has a symbolic dimension; it is embedded in moral interpretations. In the US, for

instance, the institutionalized script of good citizenship continues to guide how national crises and challenges are met. National reciprocity relies on the understanding that the giver is part of the imagined community of the nation.⁴⁵ The experience of disasters has institutionalized a model 'charitable citizenship', where the act of donating is a way of performing citizenship, just as this type of generalized reciprocity has become part of the US American governance regime, where for instance emergence relief is delegated to voluntary sector organizations (Clemens *forthcoming*; 2006; 2011). Questions of how best to deal with relief, through government action or through voluntary spending, reflect different understandings of what it means to be a citizen, just as government organized charity practiced in a democratic society historically has been a delicate subject because it is a form of dependence that may stand in contrast to a democratically organized national society and thus potentially undermines individuals' self-respect (Clemens *forthcoming*; 2011, 101–5).

Particularly relevant for this thesis, religion has provided strong universalist community ideals that have challenged and been interwoven with the boundaries of existing communities, including the nation. The Quakers constitute a paramount example in recent history. Quakers have created some of the first rehabilitation homes for prostitutes and were active in the antislavery movement, just as they have been leading figures in establishing NGOs such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace, and the Danish *Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke* (now part of ActionAid). Quakers have on the one hand stood in a tense relationship with the nation states due to their refusal to go to war, on the other hand, Quakers, due to their neutral status, were active in providing aid during the Spanish civil war (Maul 2016a) and on behalf of the US after WW1 (Maul 2016b).

Considering social provision, whether traditional, state driven or voluntary, in the same conceptual framework enables analyses of the way that the different types of provision have established various relations between giver and receiver, and furthermore provides a way of seeing the different types as one moral economic settlement where the different forms of gift giving have intersected, competed, challenged each other or worked in cooperation, as well as how changing ideas and ideals of community have influenced these settlements. This framework has an eye for the undeserving, and the obligations that are the other side of rights, and it avoids teleological thinking as each moral economy always reproduces an outside of the

⁴⁵ See (Koefoed 2014) for a similar analysis of how gender, citizenship, and charity were connected in 19th century Denmark.

community of givers and receivers that it envisions.

I will now show how the moral economy of social provision developed in the 19th century until the emergence of voluntary social work at the end the century – both to provide a background to the articles and to see if and how the voluntary social efforts of the Christian Copenhageners constituted a break with previous forms of social provision.

4.3 Welfare, gift giving and the semantics of deservingness in 19th century

Denmark

In Denmark, the first traces of a ‘countermovement’ towards a welfare state, from civil society and state authorities alike, coincided with the emergence of the semantics of the deserving and undeserving poor in the latter part of the 19th century. This semantics helped specify the obligations toward the undeserving and the ways of dealing with those unable or unwilling to reciprocate not only in the state sphere, but in civil society as well. As has been demonstrated by a number of researchers, historically the civil and the state spheres have been intermingled via tax rules (Hall 1992) in terms of a co-development of types of social support (Ben-Amos 2008, 378–81) and philanthropy (Silber 1998, 145–47). When reading the history from the point-of-view of the undeserving, this history does not read like a Marshallian history of progress towards the social rights of the modern welfare state, but rather as periods of inclusion and exclusion, generosity and austerity, and the emergence of different welfare temporalities for different groups. In this section, I will give an account of the changing reciprocal relations with the poor, focusing especially on the demands for reciprocation by the undeserving (*avant la lettre*) across societal spheres in the period leading up to the onset of the countermovement.

The main arena for the changing approaches to the poor throughout the period is the central administration, whose poor reforms from around 1800 came to form the basis of the system almost until the Social Democratic reform of 1933. The government reforms were, however, continuously contested by local authorities in the municipalities, who carried the economic burdens of the reforms, and later by the Estate Assemblies. Local moral economies also showed resistance towards the reforms, while the charities and philanthropic endeavors emerging in the latter half of the 19th century both supplemented and challenged the state-driven reforms. While these developments warrant a thorough analysis of all forms of relief in the period, I can here only give an account of the ‘big picture’. I focus on Denmark as such, but pay special attention to the development in Copenhagen in the latter part of the century.

18th century poor relief: Beggars and local moral economies

As a background for the developments in the 19th century, I will first sketch elements of 18th century poor relief. This was characterized in large parts by local traditional moral economies, where the power and status differences between giver and receiver were small, and by the relative weakness of state authorities to enforce their regulation of the area.

Before the 18th century, it was especially the problem of beggars that concerned the law makers and the public. During the 16th century, begging had been established as a 'profession' that could only be practiced within the boundaries of a specified area, often the parish. This was the state authorities' response to the proliferation of beggars in the wake the breakdown of the Catholic poor relief institutions in the wake of the Danish Reformation (1536), and consequently also a break with the Catholic church's benevolent view of the poor (Petersen 2016a, 23f). Begging still was the main source of income for the poorest part of the population, and poor relief was largely a matter of direct gift-giving. State authorities continuously sought to organize poor relief, and in 1698 begging was outlawed in Copenhagen except for the disabled or old, who were given permission to obtain an income in this way. A countrywide ban was issued in 1708 (Lützen 1998). The ban on begging meant that the authorities had to find other ways to provide for the poor – and to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving. A distinction between the 'proper' poor that had a legitimate claim to provision and the poor that did not now emerged, and the poor were divided into three or four classes, depending on the extent of their need. The proper poor were the blind, bedridden, orphans and other similar disadvantaged groups, while those who were responsible for their own situation through "drunkenness or other vices" were sent to the 'pesthouse' in Copenhagen (Jørgensen 1975, 5–12). Those worthy of relief was decided by an inspection of the poor, and those found not to be the 'proper' poor would have to get by on their own or be sentenced to hard labor if caught begging. It was the obligation of the local authorities to care for their own and mandatory for all citizens to contribute a sum of money to the public poor relief funds (Hansen 2008, 181).⁴⁶

It soon proved next to impossible to enforce these laws as they were met with resistance from large parts of the population that continued to give alms, obstructed the authorities' attempt to arrest beggars, assaulted the state representatives responsible for rounding up beggars, freed beggars from state institutions, and refused to pay the contribution to the public funds, just as

⁴⁶ The approach was much the same as in the Elizabethan poor laws.

the practice of making beggars go door to door on Saturdays to collect alms was continued by market town authorities. The practice was institutionalized through a mix of biblical teachings and the relative power of beggars to demand alms under threat of burning down houses or bringing down leprosy on a household, but was most likely also part of a popular moral economy based on direct gift giving. In some ways, it resembled an insurance scheme, since a good part of the population risked falling prey to poverty themselves (maybe as much as 75% in 18th century Copenhagen). Beggars were not yet seen as 'lazy', but simply as part of the economy. The practice was also guided by a literal reading of the bible as a way of pleasing God through catechisms, and even incorporated into traditional songs that prescribed that the birds and the poor should also be fed (*Marken er mejet*) (Hansen 2008, 189ff). The ban on begging was reissued several times during the 18th century without much effect.

18th century central administration was (as in Germany) dominated by a mixture of absolutism and a social policy inspired by Pietism. Christian VI (1730-1746), a devout Pietist, banned entertainment on Sundays, enforced obligatory church attendance, and introduced the confirmation ritual. In social policy, he established orphanages and put together a commission that proposed a mandatory school system, which was a forerunner of the system implemented in 1814 (Sørensen 1998, 368). Since the Reformation, the church served as a direct link between the ruler and the population, since the king or prince was also the head of the state church. In this way, the clergy worked as administrators of the poor laws and as civil servants preaching the official version of Christianity from the pulpit, and were obliged to warn the king's subjects not to give to beggars, for instance, as well as collect (often in vain) money for public poor relief (Hansen 2008).

The local 18th century poor relief for the weakest in this way resembled Polanyi's and Mauss' Melanesian moral economy in the sense that beggars were embedded in the local communities through tradition and beliefs, and the difference in power between beggars and local peasants was relatively small compared to later periods. The reciprocities between the local givers and receivers of alms were thus characterized by relatively horizontal relations that could be both agonistic and solidary. The solidarity with the local beggars seems to have been greater than with the central authorities. The 18th century however also saw the first attempts at a public poor relief system that would lift the poor out of the local relations and into the state system. This was prompted by the social problem of beggars and interpreted through the lenses of Pietism, which led to the first distinction among the poor: The 'proper' poor were set apart and

classified in terms of need, while beggars, drunkards, and other depraved poor were considered criminals. The local subjects of the king, however, preferred to rely on the traditional moral economy of direct giving, rather than contributing to the public system. The 18th century reforms were thus largely unsuccessful.

19th century: Paradoxical workings of the Enlightenment: Inclusion, discipline and civil rights infringements

The 19th century would open in a spirit of benevolence towards the poor, since earnest efforts were made for the first time to provide actual material support that the poor could live off, and to provide jobs and education rather than primarily relying on the criminal justice system to deter beggars. A new and more inclusive 'game of gifts' was initiated by central authorities inspired by Enlightenment ideals.

Around 1800, the absolutist approach to poor relief culminated with an ambitious plan for Copenhagen in 1799 and a plan for the rest of the country in 1802 and 1803.⁴⁷ Now, all the poor (except Jews) should be provided for, not just the 'proper poor' (Nørgaard 2015, 103). While it has been claimed that these reforms were directly influenced by Pietism (Sørensen 1998), they were in fact implemented at a time when Enlightenment ideas influenced the state, and where administrators had gained power because of the mad king Christian VII (1766-1808). Empirical studies point to the interpretation that it was from the circles of Rationalist priests, the 'arch enemies' of Pietism and the Enlightenment bureaucracy, that the ideas behind the new poor laws emerged just as the *Zeitgeist* was one of patriotic ideals of the obligations of citizens, along with a new belief that poverty was not God-given and inevitable (Henningsen 2010; Jørgensen 1975, 28f; Nørgård 2015).⁴⁸ As for the Copenhagen reform, the ideology of Cameralism – the mixture of Enlightenment thought, social management, and economic growth – influenced the 1799 reform and contributed to a strong emphasis on work as key to self-reliance, and also a more inclusive and educational approach (Nørgård 2015, 86; 94). The new approach to poor relief was itself a mix of 'temporalities'. On the one hand, it pointed forward to the 20th century rights-based approach in its aim to include every deserving poor in the system, and one might even say toward the late 20th and 21st centuries as there were elements akin to the 'workfare'

⁴⁷ For towns and rural areas, respectively. The Danish administration system consisted of three separate administrative levels that were subject to their own legal regulation: One for Copenhagen, one for the rural areas and one for the market towns.

⁴⁸ The laws were similar to the Speenhamland system, pointing to another international inspiration (Jørgensen 1975, 20ff).

programs emerging in the 1990s, emphasizing prevention and education (Johansen and Kolstrup 2010, 184f; Seip 1994, 30–33). On the other hand, it pointed backwards, as one of the main purposes was to eliminate begging practices through increased policing (Henningsen 2005, 45ff). The financing of the system also pointed in both directions as poor taxes were introduced alongside the reliance on voluntary contributions.

The authorities now sought to provide for everyone through outdoor relief⁴⁹ in people's own homes, free primary education, public hospitals, and healthy meals in schools. The program aimed to remove stigma from the public system, and even as a Malthus-inspired ban on marriage was discussed in intellectual circles (Villadsen 2007, 38ff), no civil rights were infringed upon as a consequence of receiving poor relief (Sørensen 1998, 369). The only restriction was a restriction on movement; the poor should as before stay in their municipality. In Copenhagen, as in the rest of the country, there was a renewed emphasis on work as the way out of poverty, and a distinction between temporary and permanent need was made. The central administration in Copenhagen envisioned a life cycle where any need at any time was foreseen. Training programs and preventive measures to become good productive citizens were put in place. Exemption rules for temporary need were introduced in order to keep people out of the poor relief system and not to make them dependent on it: Education for poor children, birth support for pregnant women, and medical aid were offered free without the receivers having to register in the poor relief system (Nørgård 2015, 111). The reforms of the poor relief system in the countryside followed the same path as in Copenhagen, albeit more leeway was given to the local authorities in terms of how to provide work for the unemployed. Poor committees headed by the priest and the chief police officer, and old forms of provision such as the 'turn-taking' of farmers to take in and feed the poor, prevailed for a long time (Kolstrup 2010, 221f).

Despite the modern emphasis on work as the way to inclusion, poor relief was explicitly thought of as an act of gift-giving and specifically called 'mild gifts', independently of whether they were collected as taxes or were actually gifts. This testifies to the public system's own view that these were benevolent gifts that the poor had not deserved as such. Similarly, the taxes to the system were framed as gifts, even if they could be collected by force (Jørgensen 1975, 40; Nørgård 2015, 109).

⁴⁹ Sørensen insists that it was paid in cash, when it was actually mostly paid in kind (Johansen and Kolstrup 2010, 221). Whether it was one or the other seems to have had more to do with fluctuations in food prices (Jørgensen 1975, 401f).

The developments can be viewed as the inclusion of the poor in the national community based on patriotic and Enlightenment ideals. The process of inclusion, however, only made the problem of the undeserving appear in a new guise: The drunk, the lazy, the disobedient, and the beggars, those who were able to work, but resisted the system, would have to be dealt with all the same. The forced labor institution now emerged as the solution to this problem. As opposed to the existing workhouse system, where labor was provided for individuals during the day on the terms of the market, the forced labor institutions were 'total institutions' aimed at instilling the virtues of work in the paupers. They were inspired by prison facilities in the US where strict discipline was enforced, including total silence, which was thought to create a desperate need to work (Kolstrup 2010, 228–37; Nørgård 2015, 112ff). Whether the inclusion of the undeserving in the poor relief system rather than the criminal justice system was perceived as progress in the eyes of this group is doubtful. The vertical 'mild gifts' offered by the Enlightenment elites were conditioned by very explicit demands for reciprocation in the form of a willingness to work and educate oneself. Those who fell outside the boundaries of the envisioned community of productive citizens were disciplined to re-enter the gift game on its intended premises. The moral economy would, however, become harsher as liberal(ist) ideas and relations proliferated during the 19th century.

Polanyi's 'first movement' of liberalist ideology, economic strain, and changing class relations soon thwarted the generous poor relief programs at the threshold of the 19th century. With the 1799/1802-3 reforms, both the deserving and undeserving poor were now included in the public poor relief system, which had the unintended consequence that as the 'workfare' Enlightenment ideals behind the system dwindled, less distinction was made between types of need, and eventually old and young, disabled and able-bodied were treated the same – and increasingly by the deterring and disciplining technique of the workhouse (Jørgensen 1975, 68; 81). An ongoing battle over the interpretation of the poor laws ensued between the more generous central administration and the financially restrictive local poor commissions (Johansen and Kolstrup 2010, 135–38).

In the countryside, deterrence through restrictions in movement and relief at a minimum were pushed by new 'authors' of the gift game: the agrarian class of farmers. At the estate assemblies starting in 1835, farmers pushed for a change from outdoor to indoor relief and were eventually granted permission to build workhouses in the countryside, leading to more punitive type workhouses, or work farms that mushroomed from the 1860s to the 1890s. It was argued that

these would have a deterring effect on some poor and an edifying effect on the drunkenness, licentiousness, infidelity, and laziness of the poor. Malthus' ideas probably influenced the rural entrepreneurs, but it never led to a desire to dismantle the system of 1803 based on a locally organized and relatively generous system. Rather, it was a question of cutting expenses through deterrence and discipline not only for the undeserving, but for all the poor, as well as an attempt to shift the burden of social support to the family when possible and a belief in the productiveness of the workhouses. When complaints were lodged against the local authorities, the central administration would often rule in favor of the plaintiff, testifying the more restrictive approach of the local administrators (Jørgensen 1975, 61-69; 270-312).

The urban system changed as well. The Enlightenment patriotic ideology behind the system started to give way to romantic nationalism during the first half of the 19th century. The Cameralist workfare program had intended that no stigma be attached to indoor provision in a workhouse. As the support for this system dwindled, the workhouse changed its function and became a means for isolating the dangerous poor (drunkards, criminals etc.) and for simple provision for all sorts of poor people rather than specialized education of the poor (Nørgaard 2015, 143-158). The gift game became less sophisticated, as the individualized approach was left in favor of an overall belief in hard work and deterrence as a universal means for alleviating poverty.

The giving practices were however conditioned in other ways as well. Throughout the 19th century, full citizenship became increasingly reliant on steering clear of the public relief system. Receiving benefits had consequences for one's legal status related to restrictions on the right to marriage, to property, and eventually to political rights of voting and being elected for office. While absolutism had relied on the principle of equality before the law, in the dawning liberal era this changed (Jørgensen 1975, 53-6).

The first restriction in civil rights occurred in relation to marriage. At the turn of the century, there had been broad public discussion of Malthus' ideas on the 'natural laws' of population growth and the inefficiency of poor relief as a consequence of these laws: Like animal populations, the human population would always increase when resources were plenty. Poor relief was futile, as it would only lead to a rise in birth rates and a corresponding fall in wages, condemning the poor to always be at the brink of starvation (Kolstrup 2010, 242). These ideas would lay the ground for later eugenic ideas and legislation targeting especially the mentally ill,

but also prostitutes and alcoholics. Particularly interesting for our case is the reception of Malthus' suggestion to prohibit paupers from marrying. Premature marriages were considered a cause for poverty, since broken marriages were viewed as a burden on the poor relief system, and a marriage where the male provider was not able to support the household financially would inevitably lead to reliance on public support. Danish intellectuals (lawyers and theologians in this case) at the start of the century had preferred warning and counseling (or the 'natural' punishment of the ensuing distress) to an outright prohibition (Villadsen 2007, 38ff). As the capitalist farmer class grew, the Malthusian ideas gained influence: Stricter rules for *alimentation* (child support in case of divorce) were enforced in 1819, in 1824 an age limit was set to marriage (20 for men, and 16 for women), and restrictions on the right to marry for persons who had received poor relief were put in place. These individuals had to obtain permission from the local poor committees to marry (Jørgensen 1975, 54f).⁵⁰ This legal 'innovation' was to set precedence for the liberal and social democratic eras alike.

The second restriction was related to property. In the poor laws of 1799/1802-3, a clause stated that the poor authorities had a legal right to make claims on the estate of a deceased pauper who had not repaid his or her poor relief. This was in turn interpreted in such a way that the poor were legally incapacitated from disposing of their own possessions, meaning that they could not avoid this debt by giving away their estate (ibid., 87f).

Finally, the constitution of 1849 gave the vote to propertied males aged 25 of unblemished reputation.⁵¹ While the same constitution guaranteed the state's responsibility to provide for all citizens, individuals who received poor relief, had not paid back the relief, or had it canceled were denied the vote and could not be elected for office.

For the poor, 1849 was no historical *caesura*. The gift game and the overall moral economy did not change significantly. The principles of the poor laws were continued in the constitution, upholding the state's obligation to provide for the poor, while the punitive elements remained. Local administrations continued to interpret the laws as strictly as possible, and the central administration that employed the same officials as before the constitution, now the Ministry of the Interior, continued to be lenient when complaints reached their offices (ibid., 89-96). The

⁵⁰ The rules were often interpreted as strictly as possible in the local municipalities in order to save expenses to the poor, whereas the intention of government had been a more lenient interpretation.

⁵¹ i.e. had not been punished for a disgraceful act.

different 'welfare temporalities' mentioned above were a reality: While the elites in society moved toward the 20th century, the poor were stuck in early 19th century.

The Enlightenment in Denmark had two interlinked, but not identical, effects that contributed to disembody the poor from traditional local moral economies. On the one hand, a 'workfare' system that was especially ambitious in Copenhagen was launched that aimed to integrate all the poor into society through educational programs rather than punish them through the criminal justice system. On the other hand, the Enlightenment reforms that created the new independent farmer freed from the village's production community meant the rise of the 'Janus face' of the Enlightenment: The utilitarian liberalist approach to provision and with it the increased use of the deterrence and discipline of the workhouse on all classes of poor people. While the first was in effect an attempt to re-embed the poor into a national moral economy based on Enlightenment principles, the second was very similar to Polanyi's description of the market ideology that would deteriorate the foundations of the economy and included no vision of a larger community. As the second approach gained ground, a harsher view of the poor came to dominate, as evidenced in the increased use of the workhouse and the infringement of civil rights. Receiving poor relief in itself came to be seen as morally questionable and a sign of undeservingness – even if the individual claims were lawful. The efforts to include the poor in society rather than treating them as criminals had backfired so that the poor now had limited possibilities of reciprocating the help they received. They could do so only by repaying what they had received, and the relief system now carried almost the same stigma as the criminal justice system. This would in turn lead to new efforts of distinction.

The semantics of deservingness: Exemption laws, horizontal and vertical philanthropy

The semantics of deservingness only explicitly arose as the poor relief system had become so demeaning that it became clear for even the most Malthusian that there were individuals in the system that ended up there even when they had led a morally impeccable life. A distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor now made its way into the poor laws, eventually leading to the exemption of certain groups from civil rights. It is at this point that we encounter the various types of voluntarism and philanthropy that I described in the conceptual history. As we saw, these types of voluntary initiatives claimed to be better equipped to handle the deserving poor than random benevolence and state authorities. The philanthropic and benevolent societies presented a new dimension of a moral economy that had so far consisted

mainly of traditional ways of providing for the poor, the modernizing efforts of the central authorities, and the attempts of local poor committees to spare costs.

The first explicit legislative distinction between deserving and undeserving poor was made in May 1848 as a consequence of what in Denmark is known as the First Schleswig War (1848-1851), which was a war over the authority over the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Here, soldiers were exempt from the legal ramifications of receiving poor relief.⁵² During the rise in the costs of living in the early 1850s, similar exemptions were made for the poor in general (Jørgensen 1975, 98-101), and this law of exemption was continued until poor relief funds with the aim of relieving short term needs were established in 1856 as a way of distinguishing more clearly between deserving and underserving poor (ibid., 103ff). The principle of distinguishing between deserving and undeserving now became widely recognized, especially in terms of exempting the old and those suffering from sickness, even if it was not firmly established in law until 1891.

The deterioration and stigma of the system also provoked philanthropic endeavors in civil society: New associations were founded to keep the deserving poor out of the workhouse. These practices were mainly *horizontal* in so far as 'deservingness' was linked to the old status groups; it was essentially a continuation of 18th century informal insurance-like reciprocity, where the state and market bourgeoisie as well as the crafts sought to keep members of their own group out of the public system. These types of charities had existed since the mid-18th century, i.e. in the form almshouses or 'charitable housing', but were intensified and supplemented by new forms of charitable societies that provided monetary support from the mid-19th century (cf. Hansen 2014; Koefoed 2014).

However, new types of *vertical* philanthropy were also emerging, the spokesmen of which we encountered in the previous chapter. In Copenhagen, an outbreak of cholera in 1853, where 415 people died in the General Hospital that provided for the poor, served as an impetus for the growth of vertical charities in the 1850s. A major development was the establishment of a relief society aimed at the destitute urban poor in the parish of Christianshavn in 1866 (Lützen 1998, 184–94). This model was soon copied in other parishes. In 1874, the Copenhagen relief society united the various relief societies in Copenhagen in one organization in an effort to streamline the criteria for relief. The individualized 'proximate and distanced' approach of the voluntary

⁵² This is similar to what Skocpol has described for the US (Skocpol 1992).

associations that we in the previous chapter saw priests and philosophers invoke as the strength of voluntarism became a means in the emerging Copenhagen moral economy to distinguish the deserving from the undeserving poor, and was integrated as such into the Copenhagen social relief system. The ideology of the Copenhagen priests was not a revolutionary philosophy, but rather a critique of the state's inability to discriminate between different groups of poor people. Not only did the state undermine the citizens' sense of obligation, but the morality of the poor was undermined as well, as the deserving and undeserving poor were treated the same. The truly undeserving should feel the natural consequences of laziness, namely hunger, or be put to hard work if the public system were to feed them (Dalhoff 1900, 134f). A division of labor was thus envisioned and put into practice where the public system would care only for the undeserving, while private benevolence would help the truly deserving. The distinction of the two groups was to be achieved through the use of home inspections, as was the practice in the benevolent society in the parish of Christianshavn, where the inspectors would scrutinize whether or not the poor had a legitimate claim or were feigning (Munck 1869, 68f, 78f). In the process leading up to the establishment of the Copenhagen relief society, there was close collaboration between the private philanthropists and the municipal reform committee. There was a shared understanding that public relief carried a stigma, and that private philanthropy could be used for keeping the deserving poor free of the system and educating the undeserving.

In the moral economy of late 19th century Copenhagen, the poor were once again demanded to reciprocate the gifts of the volunteers by a change in conduct. While the religious and civil principles might in the first instance seem to be at odds, they actually enforced each other. The principles of economic self-reliance and the religiously motivated efforts to help the poor coalesced in the division of labor between public and private systems of relief. The religiously activated resources of the congregation, as well as secular philanthropy, were charged with taking over the educational and discriminating tasks that the early Enlightenment public system had envisioned. Those that would not reciprocate as expected were left to the stigmatizing public system – or to feel the natural consequences of their rejection of the gifts.

It was in their redefinition of the relation to the undeserving poor, however, that specific groups of Christian entrepreneurs were truly innovative and most radically presented alternative principles.

Beyond deservingness? Revivalist social voluntarism

Alongside, or overlapping with, this emerging consensus between public and private philanthropy, another more radical strand of benevolence emerged within revivalist circles in Copenhagen, especially the Home Mission (CHM) (est. 1865). These targeted not only the deserving, but also the undeserving poor, and did so through new means. The Mission was from the onset active among prostitutes, soldiers, sailors, and the youth (Olesen 1964, 12), but voluntary social work particularly took off from the 1870s. A program targeting the youth, the sick, and the poor, as well as the criminals, the drunkards, and the prostitutes was envisioned by the leader-to-be of the CHM, Harald Stein in 1876. A home for prostitutes was established by the CHM, and other initiatives were taken, such as Sunday schools, youth associations, and missions among female factory workers and servants. A borderline philanthropic initiative to build new churches for the growing population was undertaken by the 'Church foundation' (1890) with overlapping social circles to the CHM. In Aarhus, Denmark's second largest city, a counterpart to the Home Mission in Copenhagen, the Stefanus Association, was founded in 1876 and engaged in many of the same activities (Malmgart 2002b).

In the Copenhagen congregations, new initiatives were taken in opposition to the public-private philanthropic settlement. Somewhat surprisingly, the centralized Copenhagen Relief Society had – under protest from the priest-led chapters – been organized on a secular basis, which in turn led to a revival of poor relief (support for equipment for confirmation, nursing, sowing associations etc.) organized around the local congregations. These were initiated by priests associated with the Home Mission in Copenhagen (Lützen 1998, 200f). In 1902, they formed a new association, the Cooperating Parish Charities (*Samvirkende Menighedsplejer*), targeting children, the old, and the sick.

Inspiration for many of these new initiatives was sought abroad, both in terms of organization and in terms of cultural interpretations of 'what was going on' in providing relief. The Salvation Army established a chapter in Copenhagen in 1887, and other international organizational templates were adopted, such as the YMCA & YWCA (1878/83), Church Army (1912), and the Student Settlement Movement (1911), which sought to establish personal relations between students and the poor by 'settling' students in poor neighborhoods, as well as the protagonist of the articles two and three in this thesis, the temperance organization the Blue Cross (1895), which started self-help groups and established treatment facilities for alcoholics.

The dividing line between these initiatives and the philanthropic initiatives targeting the able-bodied through home inspections in a 'private-public partnership' is not entirely clear. Many of the entrepreneur priests would support both types of efforts. The dividing line is not demarcated by individuals, but by the new approach. These types of Christian philanthropy combined vertical and horizontal principles in so far as on the one hand they sought to reach across class boundaries, and on the other relied on personal involvement in the work with the poor that were otherwise considered undeserving. Rather than seeing drunkards, prostitutes, and criminals as unwilling, they would see these groups as 'fallen', as having been led into temptation by the vices of the city. This kind of social work marked the beginning of a changing view of the poor and the undeserving poor in particular. They thus broke with the kinds of expectations of reciprocity – the obligations to give and return – that had become a wide consensus, and broke with the division of gift giving labor between public and private. The priests and laymen 'gave' more: They engaged with the poor to a larger degree than the poor inspectors through their occasional visits. The temperance people abstained from alcohol consumption in solidarity with the alcoholic, they committed themselves to working in Sunday schools, homes for prostitutes, and in self-help organizations. They also expected less in return. The specialized efforts meant that they did not label the 'undeserving' as morally flawed and left them to their own devices, but sought to address the individual as well as 'extra-individual' causes of their problems. This was done through contentious action such as lobbying for prohibition and a ban on prostitution, but especially through 'non-contentious' action as shown above. And they expected failure. The Blue Cross records show that they at best hoped to dry out a third of the alcoholics they treated, but that they still found it worth the effort. This did not mean that no discipline was imposed. The everyday life in the treatment facilities for prostitutes or alcoholics was highly regimented, and the 'fallen' women were trained in the image of the middle classes. The imitation of a middle-class life must, however, have been a more comfortable way of reciprocating charity than being placed in a public forced labor institution. An indication of this would be that the homes for treating alcoholics established by the Blue Cross did not have trouble filling up to capacity. *At least* this was better than the alternative. As I will show in the articles, the Blue Cross, along with the social democrats, also spoke out against the legal sanctioning of beating so called 'bullies' at the beginning of the 20th century, testifying to their opposition to the harsh approach towards the 'undeserving'.

One might see the Christian entrepreneurs in social work as offering the risky 'first gift': The gift that has no guarantee of being reciprocated; that has not been institutionalized yet, but has the potential of changing the rules of the gift-giving 'game' – an offer to cooperate in a new way (Adloff 2016). The new type of social work thus changed the expectations for how the undeserving poor should reciprocate, but also the way that giving should proceed, and in turn contributing to changing the overall moral economy of welfare in Denmark as regards the most marginal groups in society. The first article will deal explicitly with the breakthrough of this new type of religious social work.

4.4 The oscillating moral economies of welfare or temporalities of gift-giving

The changes in the moral economy regarding the 'undeserving' poor over the 19th century that I have outlined here can of course merely be a sketch, the purpose of which is to set the stage for the continued negotiations of inclusion and reciprocity analyzed in the articles. Nonetheless, it is possible to see how attention to ideas, rights *and* obligations, a *thick* definition of welfare that includes private and voluntary actors as well, and a focus on the 'Homo Sacer'-like underserving, the most marginal who are at the same time included and excluded from society, leads to another narrative than the teleological version that ends with the Nordic welfare states based on universal rights in the 1970s that characterizes much of the comparative welfare literature. Now, however, the 1970s welfare state seems like an exception as spending on social assistance is cut and an increasingly demanding workfare program is implemented.

The narrative laid out in this chapter rather depicts an oscillating movement in the moral economy, where the obligation to reciprocate on the part of the poor changes as new groups emerge with new ideals of community and society, or lack thereof, as these principles enter into conflict with each other, and as new divisions of labor between the private and public appear, in turn leading to different 'welfare temporalities' for different groups in society.

The 18th century was characterized by local moral economies with relatively small differences in power and resources between giver and receiver, making the gift-game relatively equal, and (in this regard) a weak central administration unable to limit the practices of begging through the criminal system. This changed as the Enlightenment reforms around 1800, based on visions of the obligations of patriots and the values of work, sought to include all the poor in a public 'workfare' system where aid should be provided for those in need and labor for those who were able to work. The poor were now expected to reciprocate by taking the work appointed to them

and by entering educational programs. Those deemed unwilling to reciprocate, the morally flawed, would have the desire to work instilled in them through the new techniques of the forced labor institution. The Enlightenment reforms had intended that no stigma was to be attached to poor relief recipients, but inadvertently and inevitably reproduced the undeserving category.

As the 19th century developed, the poor would be expected to reciprocate the public gifts by abstaining from receiving them. As the Enlightenment system deteriorated and the legal and disciplining sanctions became harsher, informed in part by Malthusian ideas of the futility of social provision for the poor, the view was gradually established that the public system was only for the undeserving, while the deserving were expected to rely on other types of assistance. The 1849 constitution gave the right to vote and be elected for public office to propertied males with an unblemished reputation, and the consequences of receiving poor relief became even more pronounced as the poor were now met with restrictions in civil and political rights: The right to property, to marry, to vote, and to be elected for office. There was simply no way to reciprocate except by paying back the poor relief that was owed to society, resulting in different welfare temporalities for different groups: The middle classes were on the way to the 20th century, while the poor were stuck in the 19th. These harsh conditions in turn provoked the explicit distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor, which had so far been implicit or designated by terms such as the 'proper' poor. The distinction enabled efforts to exempt from the disenfranchising consequences of poor relief those that were seen as 'inherently' deserving qua their class affiliation or status in society (e.g. soldiers), and those of the working classes who were viewed as exhibiting a desire to contribute to society. Some groups would now be supported by the public without legal consequences, but until the end of the century, the deservingness-distinction led to the public-private understanding, where philanthropy would work horizontally and vertically to keep the inherently deserving and the deserving 'by achievement' out of the public system.

There were, however, certain groups that from the second half of the 19th century ventured beyond the perimeters of the established moral economy. These were revivalist Christian groups that relied on a mix of vertical and horizontal gift giving practices; of personal involvement with the poor rather than distanced philanthropy. These groups acted on visions of a universal community that went beyond existing class boundaries or individual qualifications for inclusion. In this way, they offered the risky 'first gift' that had no guarantee of being

reciprocated; an offer of cooperation within the congregation and an extension of the boundaries of Christian obligation.

The whole process can be reconstructed as a continued negotiation of the boundaries of obligations toward the poor between central and local administration, communities, and philanthropic bodies; a process of inclusion and exclusion, and a negotiation of the understanding of the poor and the proper means with which to deal with them. The development took place through changing visions of community and the kind of behavior that could be expected in return for social provision. The undeserving constituted the other side of the perimeters of the community; the boundaries on the other side of which social obligations ceased to apply, and other types of relations started, i.e. those of the harsh public system or the criminal justice system.

It was only with the poor and pension laws of 1891 that a process was started to exempt an increasing number of groups from the disenfranchising consequences of receiving poor relief. A time limit was now put on the marriage clause so that a receiver of poor relief who had not repaid would have to wait five years before he could marry without having to obtain permission from the authorities. Corporeal punishment in poor houses was stopped, while the use of straitjackets continued to be allowed. The old age pension law granted individuals from the age of 60 who had no outstanding debt to the public system and had contributed to an insurance fund for 10 years the right to social benefits without forfeiting their civil rights. The year after, in 1892, came the law on sick-benefit associations that subsidized these associations (Jørgensen 1975, 191–226). Two things are of particular interest: First, that the principle of exempting certain groups from the loss of civil rights was now in place, which paved the way for future exemptions, and second, that the state took over financial burdens in caring for the poor. This meant that the poor were less dependent on local authorities, which were often reluctant to fulfill their legal obligations. The poor were, however, still expected to reciprocate: Old age pension for instance was contingent on a contribution to insurance schemes and a respectable life. The marriage clause continued to be in effect for alcoholics until 1969, and marriage in Denmark is today still limited for individuals under guardianship. The third article will analyze how alcoholics entered into this game of gifts in the first half of the 20th century, while the first article shows the role of creative interpretations of Protestant ideas to shape the boundaries and expectations to the groups targeted by the revivalist volunteers.

Chapter 5 The historical study of the emergence and effects of religious ideas

The preceding chapters have served as historical background and as an empirically and theoretical unfolding of the definition of voluntary social action established in the second chapter as non-contentious collective action in which certain internal bonds and external boundaries are established in specific reciprocal relationships. I will now focus on the last aspect of the definition, namely the influence of *Protestant* ideas and how they have served to move voluntary bonds and boundaries and establish new reciprocal relationships.

I will start by introducing two seemingly contradictory aspects of (monotheistic) religion: A universalist ethos and a subjectively convincing experience. I argue on the one hand that Christianity inherently claims universality, and that this universalist aspect makes it particularly apt for changing bonds and boundaries of obligation. On the other hand, religion appears to the individual as inherently convincing. I establish that inherited cultural forms mediate between the two, and that these received ways of interpreting the message of universal responsibility are continuously re-interpreted by actors in specific situations. I then introduce a valuation-genealogical approach to study these cultural forms in action. This methodological framework is inspired by Hans Joas and John Dewey's writings on genealogy and valuation, respectively, and serves as the normative foundation connecting past with present meaning. I then as a first step of the genealogy consider how values and ideals may emerge contingently in action situations. Second, I synchronically analyze three overall ways that ideas may synchronically influence bonds and boundaries of obligation, before, third, I introduce the methodological implications for diachronically tracing the development of evangelical voluntary non-contentious action in specific creative junctures and problem situations in Denmark from its emergence in the late 19th century to its institutionalization in the first half of the 20th century.

This approach allows the researcher to understand how concrete actors, conservative revivalists, reinterpreted a Christian ethics to enable an engagement in voluntary social work in a contingent historical process, how Christian voluntary social work was institutionalized and legitimized in a field of tension between the evangelical Home Mission milieu and the secular

Danish state, and how revivalist Protestant ideas were adapted to other modern ideational orders: Social democracy and the emerging eugenic science.

5.1 Religion: Experience and universalist principles

Religion has in general been neglected in historical sociology since the 1970s (Gorski 2005), even if there have been pockets of historical sociology concerned with explaining secularization and historical change (Bellah 1957; Casanova 1994; Finke and Stark 1988; Stark 1996; Wuthnow 1988), the role of religion in the development of welfare states (Kahl 2005; Kersbergen and Manow 2009; Manow 2008), in the development of the state as such (Gorski 2003), in social movement studies (Young 2006), and the emergence of humanitarianism (Dromi 2016). In this section, I will highlight two features of religion that are only seemingly contradictory, namely the 'rational' feature of universalist religion and the 'emotional' feature concerning religion as a particular kind of experience. Both may contribute to pushing community bonds and boundaries.

5.1.1 Religion as universalist principles

Inspiration for principles of community guiding non-contentious collective action have historically, of course, been drawn from a wide variety of ideational sources: Political ideologies, scientific principles, ideas of natural rights etc. have served to inform vocabularies of obligation and repertoires of action. Religion, however, has historically been a particularly transformative force in expanding perceptions of obligation. The generation of German sociologists that established sociology as a discipline engaged intensely with the question of religion's universalizing (and rationalizing) effects. The most famous example is probably Max Weber's 'Intermediate Reflection' (Weber 1988 [1920]). Here, Weber describes how rationalized, world-denying salvation religion challenges local solidarities by imitating kinship relations and creating an abstract bond of brotherliness. Local obligations are transferred from the local community to the congregation and the 'brotherhood of faith'. Through the idea of salvation in the next world, the in-group/out-group divide is broken down and universalized to the idea of a universal brotherhood of believers – a communism of love – and the simple reciprocity in the local community is replaced by an attitude of *caritas*: "love for the sufferer per se, for one's neighbor, for man, and finally for the enemy" (Weber 1959, 331).

It is these universalizing qualities of the 'salvation religions' that have since been discussed as the emergence of an 'axial age'.⁵³ The thesis of a historical Axial Age was systematically put forward by the German philosopher Karl Jaspers in 1949 (Jaspers 2010). The concept itself means 'pivotal turn' and indicates that something consequential happened in history. Joas has aptly defined this as *the age of the emergence of the idea of transcendence* (Joas 2011, 11). During the 4-5 centuries in the middle of the first millennium BC, the role of religion changed so that whereas the Gods in the mythological era were part of the world or lived in a world similar to the world of man and thus could be influenced directly, with the 'salvation religions' and philosophies, the divine was now thought to a sphere radically different from the mundane world.⁵⁴ Furthermore, this sphere was thought to constitute the 'true' reality, while earthly life was secondary (Joas 2014, 6). The radical split between this side and the other had the consequence that political leaders, kings and pharaohs, could no longer claim divinity as such, but would have to legitimate their status through interpretation of the divine will. The possibility of questioning and rebelling against the existing political order was opened, and priests, prophets, and philosophers came to have a more significant role as interpreters of the faith. The Axial Age ushered in a new, more dynamic era (ibid., 6f). Controversially, according to Jasper's original conceptualization, this turn included all the world religions as well as the emergence of ancient Greek philosophy. Various authors have made different characteristics central for the age: Transcendence, critique, reflexivity, and moral universalism, and an increased understanding of symbols *as* symbols (indicating the increased distance to the Gods) (ibid., 18).

Christianity thus presents a potential for alternative visions of encompassing solidarity, alternative sources of legitimacy, and an openness to hermeneutical efforts and reinterpretations. The fact that the gospel is not solely for a specific nation or culture, but – seen from the point of view of the believer – contains a promise of redemption for mankind as such means that Christian principles may at certain historical junctures enter into conflict with existing political and social orders. It is of course not difficult to find historical evidence for the conserving or oppressive role of Christianity. While the universalist aspirations show a great potential for change, inclusion, and 'de-centering' of the individual (Joas 2013, 108), they also

⁵³ For insight into the debates on the Axial Age thesis see (Bellah 2011; Bellah and Joas 2011; Eisenstadt 1986).

⁵⁴ The timing of the 'age' seems to be one of the most controversial aspects of the discussion, where especially the role of Islam constitutes a problem as it is a late comer (Provan 2013).

carry the danger of subjecting society and individuals under an abstract ideal – they are ideologically polyvalent to paraphrase Foucault (Foucault 1998). For example, the doctrine of original sin has been used to justify slavery, private property, state authorities, and patriarchy (Liebersohn 1988, 136). Closer to home, the pulpit in the Lutheran Danish state church after the Reformation became a valuable platform for the king to spread a hierarchical and patriarchal ideology to the social body (Koefoed 2017). My aim here is not to decide whether Christianity as such is a conserving or a progressive force in history, but simply to point to the fact that it represents a potential for establishing alternative visions of a universal community.

5.1.2 The emergence of principles in action

In contrast to the later Weber, I will claim that universalism and rationalization do not constitute meta-narratives of history. Ideational traditions “(...) generate nothing. What matters is how they are appropriated by contemporary actors in their specific circumstances and amid the field of tension in which they find themselves, made up of practices, values, and institutions” (Joas 2013, 162). It has become tradition to refer to another of Weber’s suggestions, namely his metaphor of ideas working as ‘switchmen’, laying down the tracks along which action proceeds (Weber 1946). With Joas, I will contend, however, that while ideas do have independent consequences in so far as they shape the immediate desires of individuals and groups acting habitually, it is in fact *people* who work as switchmen. It is not ideas in themselves that change the paths of history, but those that come up with or alter ideas in historical situations.

I already developed to some degree how conceptual change comes about through creative reinterpretations of existing ideational traditions. I will now elaborate on this and argue that new valuation practices come about in the interplay between experience, ideas, action, and context in historical situations. Following the general pragmatic action model, value-orientations are neither arbitrary nor predetermined, but arise as an evaluative response to situations that actors find themselves in. Value-orientations differ from mere individual preferences or norms external to the individual in that they entail an evaluative attitude to our preferences, reflecting whether a certain desire or course of action is morally desirable or not (Joas 2000, 16ff). Dewey has stated that whenever there are ends-in-view, there is *affective-ideational-motor* activity (Dewey 1939, 31), meaning that when discrepancies between actual and intended consequences of an action towards an end are experienced, intellectual reflection enters into the picture; we learn from our experiences. Dewey here only relates to ideas as emerging in the action situation and not to the way that the experience of others handed down as culture is

used in action situations. Let us first consider how ideals may emerge from experience before turning to the question of how ideas enter into action situations.

John Dewey in his work *A Common Faith* (Dewey 2013 [1934]) describes how religious experience occurs in action situations.⁵⁵ For Dewey, religious experience designates not merely a passive psychological phenomenon, but an active and imaginary relation to an ideal carved out of the inherent possibilities in the world. It is in a sense the most radical example of value emergence. Every action situation is characterized by the possibility of evaluating the means and the goals of actions when the usual way of acting does not hold up any longer. Values are thus reflexive, giving the opportunity to distinguish between mere desires and what is considered to be 'desirable'. As such, the goals set are not only colored or altered by the means available, but also by the desirability of our goals. 'Inclination' and 'duty' are not completely separate in Dewey's view, but influence and alter each other. Now, religious experience differs from the generic action model in that actors stand in a special kind of relationship with their environment. Dewey distinguishes between two basic types of relations with the world: A relation where the actor *accommodates* behavior to an unchangeable world, and *adaption* of the world to the actor's needs and desires. In contrast to these types, the religious experience constitutes a third type characterized by an *adjustment* to the world, a 'passive voluntarism', a change not *in* will, but *of* will, as a holistic experience of self-transformation. This complete transformation of goals and desires into a perceived unity is simply the effect that Dewey calls 'religion'. Dewey sees this uniting of the self through religious experience as an imaginary relation to oneself. It is an accomplishment where imagination opens up the inherent possibilities *in* reality (ibid., 15–18). The religious in this view is thus neither a projection by the individual nor a transcendent sphere, but an active-passive relation between an individual (or groups) and the world: The world is experienced as an integrated whole; as an external force that compels the individual, but the individual is active in creating this wholeness through the imagination. The religious experience is thus an experience of being seized by an external force, which is nonetheless the outcome of the active engagement with the world (Joas 2000, 115ff). To Dewey, religious experience is not an empty objectless mysticism, which he considers a 19th century invention (Dewey 2013 [1934], 34), because what seizes the imagination is an authoritative ideal. The religious experience is thus about actively experiencing a moral content – a principle or an ideal as possessing an authority over the way we live our lives. Since 'God' is

⁵⁵ I rely here both on Dewey's original text and Hans Joas' interpretation of it (Joas 2000, 103-123)

simply a label that is put on this object of experience, other ideals can take its place, such as science, art, or democracy. Such experiences are inherently creative since ideals are not simply 'out there', but are realized through this active-passive process. Put concisely, the emergence of values and ideals can be understood as "*creative processes in which contingent possibilities are idealized*" (Joas 2000, 114) (Joas' italic). Such processes should not be seen as simply the accomplishment of individuals, but also involve collective experiences of emotional intensity and elevation (Durkheim 2008; Sewell 1996, 865), just as communicative processes hold a moment of self-transcendence, of perspective-taking and enjoyment of shared experience (Joas 2000, 118f).

Such experiences create the foundation for a revival of ideational traditions, for defining universalist principles anew. Every situation entails moments of creativity since no two situations are alike. There are, however, some situations that call for particularly creative action. I will consider such situations in the following section.

5.1.3 The emergence of religious voluntary social work as an event

Seen from the perspective of the actor, the formation of values and ideals are thus a specific kind of experience. From a third person perspective, such instances show themselves as 'events'; cultural transformations where new conceptions of what is real, possible and good come about in moments of heightened emotions (Sewell 1996). While events cannot be predicted, it is possible to point to conditions of possibility for such events to happen. It is a core insight of pragmatism that habitual behavior often proceeds according to plan until an outside event disturbs the routines and new, creative paths of action are called for. In 'unsettled times', for instance, the existing cultural 'tool kit' for action may become problematic, and explicit ideologies proposing more consistent answers to social challenges emerge to compete over the direction of the future (Swidler 1986)⁵⁶. Such an account relies to some extent on the old idea of an 'external shock' disrupting an otherwise self-reproducing system. While such shocks may certainly disrupt the flow of action, social orders and institutions in and between themselves provide ample opportunities for creative action simply because of the multiplicity of orders that actors are placed in at any given time. Inherent mutability, incongruity, and contradiction in society may provoke imperfect reproduction or creative 'transposing' of schemas from one area of the social body to another (Clemens 2005, 448–53; Sewell 1992, 16–19). In both cases,

⁵⁶ This is in fact not far removed from Koselleck's vision of a 'saddle time' – a more dynamic time of conceptual renewal in the transition to modernity.

certain groups may be more exposed to the changes or feel the conflict between orders more directly than others; some actors can be structurally disposed to question and reinterpret accepted knowledge. While individuals with no access to material, cultural, human and other resources have limited opportunities for organized action, individuals firmly established within the existing order are more disposed to rely upon existing schemas for action. It is from groups and individuals 'in-between' that we should expect creative responses to a changing situation. Young has demonstrated that this was the case for the antebellum evangelicals involved in the abolitionist and temperance movements: They were not entirely outside the institution of the church, but not entirely established either (Young 2006, 34).

The revivalist priests and laymen in late 19th century Copenhagen were in much the same situation. The leading figures belonged to the educated parts of the citizenry. They were thus on the one hand firmly embedded in established institutions. On the other hand, they were young and as such not entirely settled within the institutions yet. Some were well-educated laymen with a deep, but unorthodox religiosity, and others were priests who belonged to the revivalist branch of the church or had been involved in other kinds of diaconal work. Moreover, the laymen and laywomen in the revivalist circles represented a dynamic element where career concerns were not immediately at stake in their engagement.

Besides being on the fringes of institutions, the role of the church in society was also changing. The ties to the state had been loosened with the 1849 constitution, which granted freedom of religion and wide room for interpretation and practice within the Lutheran national church. Several other legal changes increased the liberties within the national church: The possibility for individuals to choose their own parish (1855), the option for local parishes to choose their own priest (1868) and the passage of a law demanding that every parish should have an elected parish council (1903). A settlement of the relation between church and state authorities had been promised in the constitution, but has to this day not been found, leaving a wide variety of solutions to this problem open to public debate. Moreover, in 1867, priests were no longer guaranteed a place in the municipal poor commissions, meaning that their role as administrators of the state's poor relief programs decreased (Villadsen 2004, 121). The influence of the church was thus waning in several areas of social life. At the same time the emergence of the social question, the breakdown of the guild institution for social provision, the increasing capitalist modes of production, increasing opportunities for consumption and leisure, the state sanctioned or accepted system of prostitution, the increased consumption of strong beer and

especially distilled spirits as the result of industrialized production processes, the liberalization of regulation of public houses, the concentration of and increased visibility of social problems in the city, and the emergence of socialism as a competing ideology (Christiansen, Johansen, and Petersen 2010; Eriksen 1990; Gundelach 1988; Lützen 1998; Bøge Pedersen 2007; Villadsen 2007) all created a situation that called for action and for a redefinition of the role of the church, the priests, and the active laymen.

The actors in Copenhagen themselves described the changing circumstances they faced. As we saw in chapter 3, they feared the influence of ‘the devil’s socialism’, they lamented the waning influence of Christianity in state institutions such as schools and hospitals, and they were abhorred by the frivolous life in the city and its consequences for the those who fell into prostitution or were infected by venereal diseases, for the youth that was easy prey for criminals while their mothers worked in factories, and for those who succumbed to easily accessible public houses. It is also easy to feel the enthusiasm, the idealism, and the sense of collective purpose when one reads the programmatic statements, diaries and retrospective descriptions of the events by the central actors. They clearly sensed that they were breaking with old institutions and creating something new and more adequate to face the changing societal conditions (Lange 1920, 1955b; Stein 1882; Westergaard 1885).

A more thorough analysis of this situation and the evangelicals’ position in it is required to fully appreciate the situation, but for the purposes of this thesis, this sketch suffices to demonstrate that the conditions were ripe for creatively reinventing the role of Christianity in social work; conditions that were acted upon and in retrospect can be recognized as an ‘event’ where groups of people engaged to change cultural perceptions of reality, possibilities, and ideals.

5.2 The effects of ideas: Cultural schemas and action (synchronic view)

While ideational traditions do not generate anything in themselves, they do provide the building blocks for creative reinterpretations; reinterpretations that when institutionalized put strain on and create possibilities for future action. Even creative action does not create from nothing, and ideal principles are not simply revealed (even if it is experienced as such) and translated unmediated into action. Principles need to be concretized in specific situations, and experiences must be articulated in the vocabulary available in the specific historical period. This was observed by Dewey as well as Weber. The interpretation of religious experience is “derived from the culture with which a particular person has been imbued. A fatalist will give one name to it; a

Christian Scientist another, and the one who rejects all supernatural being still another” (Dewey 2013[1934], 12), and Weber put an emphasis on interpretation’s consequence for action when noting that especially if the religious experience constitutes something supreme, irrational, and essentially incommunicable, the language or ‘system of thought’ that is available for articulating this experience becomes even more important in terms of its practical implications (Weber 1904, footnote 152).⁵⁷ Cultural forms concretize principles and guide action. In this sense, people are switchmen, but the ‘ideational tracks’ they lay down have effects beyond the context of their emergence.

I have already in the conceptual history chapter laid the groundwork for saying that concepts as a cultural form layer experiences and provide direction for future action. This can be supplemented by referring to Weber in saying that ideas on the one hand have consequences that can be derived from their structure, so that it is possible to identify concrete ideas whose cognitive content can be described and delineated. On the other hand, such ideas have consequences that first show themselves in specific contexts. A Protestant ethic proscribing a lifestyle of self-discipline and orientation towards work in itself has a structure that influences the behavior of individuals, but at the same time the concrete consequences of this idea depends on the context in which the idea is ‘applied’, so that this lifestyle practiced among members of a sect or a business community has different outcomes in each setting (Lepsius 1990). It is, however, only in tight-knit sect-like groups that there is *one* guiding principle or one coherent worldview where ideas are tightly connected to action. In contrast to such ‘intensive schemas’ (Young 2006, 31), where motives, actions, and experience are intimately interwoven, most schemas are extensive in that they are able to travel from context to context, meaning that in a given action situation multiple interpretations are already available. I thus find it more fruitful to view religious doctrines and techniques not as closed rational systems, but as so many more or less internally consistent schemas. While one can then still operate with ideal types such as Reformed Protestantism and Lutheran Protestantism, this approach opens up a more detailed view of how religious ideas – confessional practices, schemas for interpreting conversions etc. – are not tied to the ideal type, but overlap and ‘travel’ between confessional divides.

⁵⁷ Dewey would not agree to the label ‘irrational’, but rather ‘a-rational’, as a relation to the world involving both emotions and intellect.

I find that such a view of ideas as multiple, overlapping, and travelling corresponds to many of the insights of the cultural schemas approach, most influentially formulated in historical sociology by William H. Sewell Jr. (Sewell 1992). Whereas the 'framing' approach as noted earlier connotes a strategic use of interpretive frames, the cultural schemas approach deals with culture on a more substantial level: Cultural schemas may not only cognitively frame an issue in a certain way, but are indeed embodied by actors; they are not merely a strategic device to be deployed to obtain certain ends, but constitutive of our way of relating to the world; they guide meaning, motives, and action (ibid., 842). For instance, whether the congregation is considered a gathering of believers for worship or also as a resource for social action is guided by cultural schemas related to the meaning of being a Christian, the obligations this entails, and the available repertoires of action for Christian benevolence. Cultural schemas constitute generalized social structures that are intersubjectively available, proscribing ways of acting across action situations.

Cultural schemas are also central for how human and material resources can be generated and put to use. Polanyi's fictitious commodities 'man', 'nature', and 'money', for instance, came about partly as the result of a changing understanding of what could be considered commodities on a market. In the same vein, as we saw in the conceptual history, the congregation in late 19th century Copenhagen was activated as a resource for social action through schemas such as 'deaconry' and 'Home Mission'. Resources on the other hand also shape and reproduce cultural schemas, in so far as fictitious commodities or the active congregation as schemas are sustained by the people and buildings that embody these schemas. If people start organizing work or charity in different ways, 'labor' as a commodity and 'deaconry' would cease to be relevant for guiding action (ibid., 12f).

I will now elaborate on the various functions of cultural schemas, while at the same time returning more directly to the question of how such schemas help redefine internal and external group reciprocities, bonds and boundaries. I will do this by introducing a simple model used by Gorski in his study of Protestantism's role in the development of the Dutch and Prussian states in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Gorski shows in his study how especially Calvinist, but also Pietist doctrines and 'disciplinary' techniques served to mobilize the elites, pacify the masses through techniques of the self, rationalize the bureaucracy, and served as a means of social control through army and schools

(Gorski 1993, 2003). In the case of Prussia, he demonstrates how Calvinism and the Pietism of Spener and Francke helped the House of Hohenzollern (especially Frederick William (1640-88-1740) and Frederick William I (1713-40)) build the effective Prussian state, first through the recruitment of Calvinists to the central administration in order to build a corruption free bureaucracy independent of estate interests, and later through political austerity, Pietist-led school reforms and techniques of discipline inspired by Pietism, such as keeping a diary (ibid., 285–302).

As Eliasoph and Lichterman did in relation to ‘civic action’, Gorski distinguishes between the role of discipline in a group’s internal life and in its external relations. Internally in the group, he distinguishes between the characteristics of the group that ‘carries’ the ideas (political elites in his case, evangelicals in mine) on the one hand and the disciplining techniques applied to the group itself on the other. Externally, he distinguishes between horizontal ‘strategies’ vis-à-vis competing groups and vertical ‘techniques’, which refers to the disciplining of the population through institutions (ibid., 270f). Now, Gorski is concerned with political groups that utilize disciplinary techniques in order to achieve political goals. It is another matter to face the social question rather than the question of state-crafting. It is however possible to use Gorski’s distinctions in this different context to pinpoint how religious ideas may shape the internal bonds of socially engaged revivalists and the external relations to those in need of assistance. Rather than ‘discipline’, I prefer the generic ‘cultural schemas’ as explained above in order then to specify the function of each of these schemas. I have already briefly introduced the characteristics of the ‘carriers’, or rather ‘entrepreneurs’, of ideas in my case. I will thus focus first on the internal ethics and then the external relations.

5.2.1 Ideas and in-group bonds

How do cultural schemas contribute to the interpretation of communal obligations to act on behalf of others, and what are the consequences of such interpretations? The short answer is that cultural schemas provide collective languages of commitment and vocabularies of motive that guide experiences and provide answers to questions about why we should feel obligated and what this obligation consists of. Such schemas are available across, but specified in, contexts. They are embedded in established institutions, but also available for less organized groups and individuals to interpret their experiences through.

Robert Bellah and his collaborators in 'Habits of the Heart' (Bellah et al. 1985) sought to find out how Americans answered questions such as 'how ought we to live' and 'who are we, as Americans' (ibid., xli) in order to detect a common moral vocabulary. What they found was that the 'first languages' of individualism in their utilitarian and expressive forms were much more easily accessible than the communal 'second languages' of republicanism and religion, and a discrepancy between the respondents' actual moral lives and their ability to give moral reasons for this life. Bellah et al. considered the loss of a language of community relating to the common rather than the individual good to pose a threat to the basic solidarity of modern society. The study points to two important characteristics of communal languages: There is no simple connection between language and actions, and the need to justify action mostly occurs when such action is questioned.

These insights are expressed in the term 'vocabularies of motive' (Mills 1940). Vocabularies of motive exist independently of the individuals and groups making use of them in specific action situations (ibid., 904). Motives should consequently not be studied as the driving force behind people's actions, but as essentially sense-making tools used by actors to interpret their own conduct and the conduct of others. In most action sequences, it is not necessary to deliberate on motives. Only when habitual action sequences are interrupted do questions of motive appear as means to explain reasons for doing something. Vocabularies of motive are situational in the sense that some motives are socially accepted in certain contexts and in certain social groups, while they are frowned upon in others. In this way, the articulated reasons that are motives provide answers to why we as a group are doing certain things and not others. The discrepancy between action and language creates room for hypocrisy (Bourdieu 1998, 99), for influencing the behavior of others by making them conform to certain reasons for acting, but also for creativity in re-inventing the vocabularies. The intellectual historian Quentin Skinner has theorized from a Peircean speech act perspective such creative reinterpretations of moral vocabularies (Skinner 2002b). In a re-casting of Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis, he proposes to understand espoused moral principles as speech acts that serve to legitimize questionable social action. Through an analysis of the change of the moral vocabulary in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, he sees Weber's early European capitalist entrepreneurs as 'ideological innovators' that successfully applied rhetorical strategies – changing the evaluative meaning of certain words, applying favorable terms to own behavior – in order to justify their actions to

their social environment. Here, professed ideals and motives were reinterpreted to legitimize what in the eyes of contemporaries appeared as 'questionable actions'.

Vocabularies of motives are then highly contextual in nature. They appear as collective representations of reasons for specific types of action that usually surface when such actions are put into question. Vocabularies of motive at the same time make evaluations of these actions possible. Both Mills and Skinner, however, focus too narrowly on the strategic dimensions of motives with only a spurious connection to behavior. In Skinner's account, language serves only to legitimize action that actors are already engaged in – based on interests that are exogenously given.

Contrary to these positions, Nina Eliasoph and Paul Lichterman have developed a more nuanced theory on how vocabularies of motive and collective self-representations shape group bonds beyond conformity to norms or strategic legitimization (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003). Drawing especially on Goffman, they use the terms 'group style' and 'culture-in-interaction' to point to the delicate connections between language and action. In contrast to the findings of Robert Bellah and his research group, who found that the disappearance of communal languages and the dominance of the language of individualism made it hard for Americans to engage civically, Eliasoph and Lichterman have found in their studies that when the language of individualism was applied, what the participant actually *meant* was civic engagement. Their position is close to Mills' in saying that vocabularies of motives must be understood situationally through their function in a group. In contrast to Mills, however, the languages used are not merely functions of social control in social groups, 'ex post facto lingualizations' (Mills 1940, 907). Rather, the collective representations are actively developed as groups work out who they are and how they relate to the world around them. In this way, it is only seemingly a contradiction when languages of individualism are used to further civic action. In the local context of activist groups, the language of individualism can serve as an empowerment of individuals to speak up and voice their opinions (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003, 756). The social character of vocabularies of motives can thus serve not only to bolster group identity, but also to facilitate ongoing sense-making processes related to group bonds and their engagement with the world. New experiences can be 'tested' against existing vocabularies of motives that can be reinterpreted if they are found wanting, or more radical new cultural inventions can be created. Through such creative processes, group bonds are established, providing a sense of a common ideal and mission.

The Christian principle of 'love' represents an excellent example of a vocabulary of motive. 'Love of thy neighbor' clearly provides a language in which to express commitments to act. This vocabulary has been interpreted in specific historical situations to serve specific purposes. We will see in the analyses how 'faith, active in love' became a rallying call for the Copenhagen Home Mission; a coupling of motive ('faith'), experience ('love'), and action ('active') that built on the Lutheran tradition, but expressed it in a new and more appropriate way to a situation that called for the active engagement of the congregation. That this was an appealing vocabulary for parts of the population who were engaged in the social question can be exemplified by Harald Westergaard (1853 – 1936), one of the most active on the Copenhagen evangelical scene and an internationally renowned statistician and political economist. He was from the beginning of his career as a statistician concerned with and involved in social issues, but denounced religion as untenable qua his scientific education. This changed as he in 1885 published a confessional book with the Kierkegaard-inspired title "From Offense to Faith" (*Fra Forargelse til Tro*) (Westergaard 1885), in which he publicly announced his faith. A visit to the English Christian Socialist Malcolm Ludlow had convinced him that an experiential Christianity could provide justifications for his value commitments that science was not able to. The great systems of Darwinism, Hegelianism, statistics, and economic liberalism had proved inadequate in his view in terms of meeting their own grand claims. What was left for science to do was to answer limited empirical questions, while religion provided answers to value questions (Schädler Andersen 2012, 45–54). While Westergaard thus might have continued to be engaged in social questions on a purely scientific foundation, he found in Christianity a vocabulary of motives better suited to justify his engagement – not as a result of conformity to existing norms, but as a creative act that broke with the beliefs of many of his peers.

In voluntary social work, ideas may thus contribute to defining the internal bonds of volunteers through collective languages and vocabularies of motive. Such vocabularies constitute cultural schemas that connect the motives, experience, and action available for reinterpretation and re-appropriation in action situations. They provide answers to questions about 'why' we are engaged and what our obligations are. They thus have 'effects' of their own, setting certain paths for action, but only as long and in so far as they are enacted by actors who find them appealing as ways of expressing their experiences. They must moreover be studied in the concrete since a specific language may be applied in a counter-intuitive way.

5.2.2 Ideas and out-group boundaries

It is not only group bonds, the interpretations of experiences of collective obligation, that are shaped culturally. Group boundaries, the relations to those intended to be helped, as well as to competing projects, are also informed by available schemas of interpretation. In this section, I will focus on the relation to the subjects of non-contentious action, while returning to the competing projects in the next section.

The specific reciprocities established in voluntary social work, the mutual obligations and expectations between helper and helped, are informed by ideas about who 'we' and 'they' are; how and if 'they' can be helped, and what kind of behavior is expected in return for the 'gift' of help. I will distinguish between criteria of deservingness, techniques of intervention, and techniques for moral conversion, while finally considering the role of doctrine in linking various schemas.

I described in chapter 4 how criteria for deservingness seem to be central to every society, but that cultural schemas for classification vary historically (Kahl *forthcoming*) and define the boundary between socially accepted 'pure' behavior and socially rejected 'polluted' behavior (Douglas 2005). More specifically, such interpretations of the 'target group' of social work rely on both normative 'principled beliefs' as well as cognitive 'causal beliefs' (Goldstein and Keohane 1993; Haas 1997; Münnich 2010). As in any action situation, ideas about what ought to be done, what 'the case' is, and what is feasible enter the picture. The assignment of blame and the interpretation of causes of poverty or so called deviant behavior is key to whether groups are deemed deserving of help or even capable of being helped and consequently in proscribing specific types of intervention. The interpretation of the poor as 'lazy' or 'fallen' offer two very different diagnoses, and likely suggest different 'cures'. The relation between the moral and cognitive is not clear cut, however. Moral principles guide the search for specific causal principles of intervention, just as beliefs about the nature of 'man' or certain groups may guide moral convictions. Moral convictions about prostitution may lead to a search for specific scientific explanations and solutions to the problem, while conversely scientific theories about the inherent laziness and promiscuity of the poor may inform moral beliefs about the poor. A firm commitment to helping everyone, an ethics of conviction, may support sustained efforts to help despite evidence of the futility of such efforts. Most often, however, such beliefs will not only intersect, but cannot be entirely separated. Michel Foucault, of course, has provided some of the most influential accounts of how forms of knowledge have worked in a dual process to

form both subjectivities and modes of intervention in the social body: Interventions that in turn can become the place for collective identities and agency (Foucault 1998, 19–35; Polletta 2008, 87). The interpretation of the consumption of large amounts of alcohol as a physiological and hereditary affliction pertaining to ‘alcoholics’ as a group has consequences beyond the immediate action situation in so far as this label and its connotations is taken up by the group itself, its interest groups, or other groups who have an influence on the treatment of alcoholics in society. Finally, the ideational foundation on which volunteers act may also lead to the rejection or acceptance of the gift that is offered (cf. chapter 4). Receiving a gift when one is not able to reciprocate may in itself lead to feelings of frustration and anger (Douglas 1990). The identity of the sender can further contribute to the interpretation of and reaction to the offer of help. A convinced socialist may likely reject an offer of help if the help comes from a conservative religious group, while conversely the religious identity of a service provider can serve as a source of trust (Anheier and Kendall 2002). Further, the perception that what is handed out as gifts in fact ought to be a right can further add to frustration and indignation rather than gratitude (Clemens 2011).

Not only ‘abstract’ interpretive schemas of cause and effect and moral conviction influence these boundaries. Schemas closer to action, techniques for intervention, may also exercise an independent influence on out-group boundaries. Techniques of intervention such as outdoor-relief, the asylum or self-help and abstinence-in-solidarity in themselves suggest specific ways of acting on the social. They constitute ‘micro-theories’ of causality or recipes for action (Haskell 1985, 357ff), relating ‘diagnosis’ to ‘cure’, that are physically embodied in the arrangement of buildings, timetables in asylums, or rituals and practices in self-help groups (Anhorn 2007; Foucault 1995). In this way, techniques in fact come close to ‘causal mechanisms’, only that ‘technique’ does not designate some deeper level of reality: Techniques can be deployed intentionally to achieve certain purposes, like the US American populist revivalists’ inflammatory sermon techniques, or one can become aware that a certain technique is used to procure social order and subject it to critique. Techniques are not influential because they are ‘deep’, but because they are effective – and maybe because they seem to travel easily. While certain techniques have affinities with certain ideational traditions (such as the Panopticon and Benthamite utilitarianism), they may also travel across ideational spheres. The pledge of abstinence was thus a staple of the Danish temperance movement across political and religious divides, but was adapted to fit the beliefs of the specific branches depending on whether they

allowed drinking of low-alcohol beer traditionally drunk among the working classes or whether it was perceived as a breach of the Christian covenant of baptism. Techniques may however also have a 'ricochet' effect back on the in-group and its propensity to engage. While the experience of a need to act on the basis of a collectively felt obligation may lead groups to seek inspiration on how to do it, the mere availability of the tools to act may also help interpret experiences in the direction of action: The realization that you have the tools to put moral principles into effect may actually lead to moral principles being acted on (cf. Haskell 1985). Principles of self-help, abstinence in solidarity and as an example, or specialized institutions for alcoholics or prostitutes, Sunday schools or even the holding sacred of the Sabbath – all of these forms of action constitute a repertoire that voluntary social work can draw upon or reinvigorate. Each form helps to reshape the relationship between the volunteer and those in need.

A special class of schemas are 'moral conversion' techniques. Just as the religious protest motif of 'bearing witness' today is continued in a secularized form (Young 2006, 198–207), so can templates for conversion experiences also serve to inform certain types of change in moral behavior. The underlying cultural template has consequences for the form that such religious or secular conversion can take. Again, experience and cultural schemas are intertwined. So, for instance, the original Prussian Pietist notion of conversion or 'awakening' was that of a 'Busskampf' – a struggle for redemption. This was a specific once-in-a-lifetime experience where the Christian came out with a new and deeply felt Christianity and a new pious life in abstinence from drinking, games and other vices brought about through a violent inner struggle that could be reconstructed in four successive steps; an event that was so specific that it could be placed at a precise point in time (Shantz 2015). In contrast, the idealized conversion experience as developed by the Moravian brotherhood's leader Zinzendorf (1700-1760) and the founding father of Methodism, John Wesley (1703-1791) promised an instant conversion without a prior struggle; an easy conversion experience in which you would leave your former life behind as easily as you would take off a coat (Olesen 1996, 81–87). Such schemas do not make the experience of awakening or conversion less real, but provide a way of interpreting the experience. As we will see, schemas for moral 'conversion' from Reformed Protestantism were imported by the Danish temperance movement and mixed with forms from the Lutheran tradition.

Publicly available reasons for acting may, however, also enter into conflict with the experience of the need to act in new ways. Reconfigurations between in-group bond and out-group

boundaries require the connection to be worked out both in practice and intellectually; new ways to connect the 'why' with the 'what' and 'how' of obligation-interpretation. In Protestantism, this has revolved around the reworking of the interpretation of faith and 'good works'.

In Lutheranism, the doctrine of 'sola fide' or justification by faith alone entailed that being in a state of grace could only be assumed through an inner conviction, and not be interpreted from outer signs such as fortune in business dealings or secured through good deeds. Luther emphasized in his teachings that even though salvation was solely a matter of faith, good deeds played a part in as much as faith must 'bear fruit' (Gorski 1993, 292). Catholic relief was condemned or met with suspicion as a kind of 'justification by deeds'.⁵⁸ Luther himself was mainly concerned with theological questions, but eventually he had to concern himself with more worldly matters (Grimm 1970), and here he condemned begging as a misuse of brotherly love. This led to a strict divide between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor, but also to a legitimization of the institutionalization of state provided outdoor poor relief (Kahl 2005). In Calvinism, the central role of the doctrine of predestination contributed to an even less tolerant view of the poor.⁵⁹ God's unconditional election that prior to birth creates every human being as either damned or saved has historically been linked to a kind of 'blaming the victim' logic in poor relief. Poverty among the able-bodied in areas influenced by Calvinism was interpreted as strictly self-inflicted, and they were even considered sinners that ought to be corrected through the institution of the workhouse (UK) or poorhouse (US), used most extensively in the Anglo-Saxon world (Kahl 2005; Katz 1996). In England during the 17th century, the general opinion became that beggars ought to be whipped rather than housed (Tawney 1972, 261f). I will show in the first article how this tension between faith and works continued to exist as voluntary social work broke through in Copenhagen.

Cultural schemas of deservingness, techniques of intervention, and techniques of moral conversion all contribute to defining the boundary between in-group and out-group, giver and receiver. They provide a language in which to turn the experience of suffering and the collective

⁵⁸ The matter of 'works' was only settled officially between the Catholic Church and the Lutheran World Federation in 1999 with the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification – a declaration that the Danish National Church did not join.

⁵⁹ Weber describes (briefly) how Calvinism made an end to the Christian's friendly attitude toward beggars, how unemployment came to be seen as self-inflicted, and how the 'caritas' for those unable to work was rationalized and put on display in honor of God (Weber 1921, 355).

sense of obligation into action, just as action is prompted from available techniques of intervention. In turn, the causal and principled beliefs help shape the relation to the receiving group by making possible a specific kind of agency and shaping the conditions for receiving or rejecting the offer of help. Changes in the relations between in-group and out-group can create tensions in terms of the theological justification of the relation, prompting new expressions of this relation by re-interpreting existing doctrines or bringing to the fore doctrines that have been neglected. Conversely, doctrinal innovations can be used to push an altered relationship between in- and out-group.

All of these interpretive efforts can be viewed as specifications of the universalist Christian tradition under changing circumstances. Such ideal projects, however, exist in the real world, and in order to succeed they must make use of the 'means of the world' and thus make compromises, forge alliances and be institutionalized in specific ways. This is the last category Gorski introduced: The strategic relations to other influential actors and structures, which I will turn to now.

5.2.3 Institutionalization: Opportunity structures and multiple orders

In order to have an effect in the world, collective actors engaged in idea-based voluntary social work will have to take into consideration other out-group relations and consider the wider context of actors and ideational orders in which they operate; actors and orders who may represent competing claims to universality, sources of authority, claims of jurisdiction, and principles of inclusion.

To Weber, rationalized religion was doomed to be forever unable to live up to its own rationalized ideals. The forever increasing universal brotherhood ethics must in Weber's view inevitably clash or compete with the rationalized worldly value-spheres of economy, politics, aesthetics, eroticism, and 'intellectualism' – and every institutionalized religion will have to compromise with the existing orders. The concessions that religion would have to make to other rationalized spheres of society meant that it could never achieve theological consistency. While this was a disappointment to Weber, his contemporary and collaborator Ernst Troeltsch viewed this as the strength of axial religion. The forever disappointed eschatological hopes vested in the kingdom of God forced the early church and Christianity ever since to make fruitful and creative compromises that institutionalized the universalist ambitions in concrete social ethics (Cho 1998, 72; cf. Liebersohn 1988, 122; 132; Troeltsch 1992).

In social policy, at least two competing value spheres with a claim to universality became increasingly influential during the second half of the 19th and especially during the first half of the 20th century: Science and new political ideologies.

It has been shown how the 'expertization' of the Nordic welfare states from the 1930s onwards significantly pushed them towards universalism; away from means testing and towards social benefits as rights (Kolstrup 1996, 346; Seip 1991). I have already touched upon how Malthusian ideas came to influence the view of the poor in the 19th century. This view was intensified as theories of heredity of social traits and related eugenic policies became influential toward the end of the century. As I will show in article 3, especially the groups traditionally targeted by voluntary social work were in influential circles considered through the lenses of biological heredity: The alcoholic, the prostitute, and the poor as such were seen to be hereditarily predisposed for their deviant behavior. From a purely abstract logical perspective, a number of *possible* conflicts (cf. Weber 1988 [1920]) between science and religion can be discerned in relation to authority claims, the jurisdiction of religiously based social initiatives, and the ethical principles informing these. The authority of the Bible is the most conspicuous area in which to search for a latent conflict with science. The question of whether the Bible should be read literally or historically was a subject of heated discussion in the church the in late 19th century Denmark (as abroad), and especially those groups most frequently engaging in social work, the evangelicals, stood firmly on a literal reading of the Bible, some heavily criticizing the lax historical approach that dominated the theological faculty (Schjørring 2012, 474). In social work, projects such as the US American 'scientific philanthropy' of the same period can be seen to challenge religiously based initiatives in that they seek to promote an 'efficient' solution to the causes of poverty rather than the symptoms (Bremner 1956). Such endeavors could be seen to challenge the authority of the Bible as the legitimate basis for charity and thus also the moral vocabulary that provides motives and a common language for this kind of action. Consequently, the jurisdiction of religiously informed social initiatives would also be challenged: Is it the job for priests and religious laymen or social researchers to define and come up with solutions to social problems? (cf. Abbott 1988). Perhaps most importantly in this context, scientific approaches to social problems can be seen to challenge the principles of inclusion and exclusion of religious benevolence. Once again, it is Michel Foucault who has most effectively shown how the advent of modern science changed the principles of inclusion from (a probably idealized) traditional society to modern society influenced by science. In *Madness and Civilization* (Foucault 1988),

the lunatic was shown to have been robbed of his place in society as possessing another kind of insight that presented a mirror of society and was consequently forced to adapt to the scientific ideals of modern psychiatry. One should, however, be careful not to take this account at face value. What Foucault presents as a kind of violation on the part of modernity may also be viewed as a process of inclusion where the mentally ill were no longer seen as sub-human or radically different, but as a part of the human species that could and should be restored to full humanity (Joas 2013, 59–63). The universalist and inclusive potential of science allows for both readings, depending among other things on one's own value commitments.

Modern political ideologies may also be said to have axial qualities. With a conservative concern, Koselleck in *Critique and Crisis* (1988 [1959]) pointed to the subversive dangers of the French 18th century bourgeois Enlightenment critique that in Natural Law found an authority beyond positive law that would in turn challenge the authority of the state. Similarly, in the 19th century, socialism emerged with hopes of an equal and free society beyond capitalism. While not transcendental in the sense that the 'real reality' resides in some other sphere, other authoritative ideas like the romantic view of human nature as playful or a world historical logic challenged religious and political authorities. It has been noticed by conceptual historians how socialists took over certain religious terms and rituals. Marx and Engels, for instance, deliberately adopted the term *Bund* when establishing their *Bund der Kommunisten*, a term that since Luther had only been used in a religious sense, just as the draft to the communist Manifesto was originally put in catechetical form as 'articles of faith' (Koselleck 2004a, 87–90). Similarly, in the social democratic movement we find a secularized use of rituals and symbols, and a sacralization of certain texts that mimic that of religion (Joas in Sevelsted 2016, 89). I mention this not to cast socialism or social democracy as a kind of pseudo-religion, but to point to their universalist ambition. In its most extreme forms, as is well-known, socialism has claimed universal jurisdiction. Perhaps stronger than other ideologies, there was and is a clear soteriological ambition, an ideal of this-worldly salvation, not just for the proletariat, even though this class was cast as the 'universal subject' and thus the vehicle of change by Marx and his followers, but for humanity as such – whether this was thought of in so called 'utopian' terms or a world historical logic. This entailed clearly altered principles of inclusion. 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need' (Marx 1989 [1875]), or the principles of Robert Owen and the cooperative movement; each challenge the very principle of benevolence and social work: A just distribution of wealth and organizing of labor would serve to make

charity obsolete – although parts of the labor movement were of course also engaged in non-contentious action, for instance in the temperance movement.

Such orders may present, and have historically presented, competing value spheres or social orders from which instructions may be derived on how to deal with poverty and processes of social exclusion, i.e. alternative ways of dealing with prostitution, alcoholism, poor relief etc. through alternative normative and causal beliefs and recipes for action. Each of the tensions regarding authority, jurisdiction, and principles of inclusion are, however, only logically deduced and historically informed *possible* tensions. From the perspective of the actor, these tensions may not have been seen to be tensions; or creative solutions to the tensions have been worked out. Actors with strong commitments to one ideational tradition will, however, from time to time be confronted with claims derived from alternative visions and will have to engage with these competing orders, either rejecting or adapting ideas stemming from these. Such adaptations can be brought about through creative processes where specific tropes from one's own ideational framework are highlighted to show the congruency with other traditions, to make them 'resonate' as it were, or by other processes that can be termed bricolage, fusion, transposing, bridging, linking (Carstensen 2011; Clemens 2007:537; Sewell 1992; Snow et al. 1986), depending on the characteristics of the process. Paradoxes may exist at the level of logic, but empirically they are resolved through meaningful action.⁶⁰

What is interesting in the Danish case is that some of the central figures in the emerging settlement of social provision had overlapping identities: Scientist and evangelical, social democrat and scientist, social democrat and evangelical (a bit rarer). I will show in article 3 how the demands of these potentially tension-filled orders were handled in practice.

In a sense, navigating potentially competing social orders requires the same creative effort as is required when realizing something new from existing possibilities, as described above, only that new considerations enter into the picture when action is institutionalized. On the level of organization, more strategic considerations must be taken. Alternative social orders are promoted by competing actors or networks of actors, and here it is necessary to form alliances, to 'translate' the interests of these through persuasion, cunning, compromise or other available means (Callon 1984; Latour 1984), just as the field of actors and their relation to each other represent specific opportunity structures for success (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008; Fligstein and

⁶⁰ As Luhmann, of all people, has pointed out (Luhmann 2004, 92)

McAdam 2012). As we will see in article 2, non-contentious collective action will often belong to a field of 'moral reform', a field of struggle over the proper means and ends of change in individual moral behavior, where both state and civil society actors will be stake holders. Cultural schemas again play their part: The choice of organizational form, for instance, will on the one hand help shape the identity of the group in question, while on the other open up certain opportunities for influence in certain arenas and on certain actors and close off other opportunities (Clemens 1997; Clemens and Cook 1999). During the first half of 20th century Denmark, an era of public-private partnership existed. In this era, the state began to develop more elaborate policies on social issues, just as the political system and society were increasingly governed by democratic principles of social rights; principles that entailed that no one should be dependent on the arbitrary kindness of strangers and thus would increasingly be at odds with the principles of voluntarism and charity (Clemens 2011). Religious voluntary initiatives were thus faced with a situation where competing projects by civil society actors, the secular middle class or the labor movement, as well as by the state and municipalities challenged the revivalist initiatives and principles. Strategies would thus have to be developed to overcome or enter into alliance with the competitors (article 2).

I have now identified specific ways that cultural schemas help specify in-group bonds and out-group boundaries in voluntary non-contentious collective action. Each of these can be considered ways of articulating experience and translating experience into action on the one hand, and on the other hand specifying universalist principles such as 'love of thy neighbor' layered, as it were, in inherited cultural schemas.

5.3 A valuation-genealogical approach (diachronic view)

I will now introduce what I call a 'valuation-genealogical' approach that guides the historical inquiry in the three articles. The valuation-genealogy is intended to sensitize the analysis to the creativity of actors in specific action situations and the contingent outcomes of these situations, just as it represents a situated mode of evaluation more adequate to an otherwise 'awkward' type of collective action than the two positions described in chapter 2 that cast the revivalist entrepreneurs as either heroes or villains. The approach takes its lead from Dewey's concept of valuation and Joas' affirmative genealogy and aims to establish a sense of connectedness to a historical meaning that 'calls out' not just for description, but for active engagement as well. It does so by seeking out specific creative moments or situations where new values and practices

emerge and by tracing the effects of such moments as the ideals and practices are institutionalized and organized and thus come to constitute central parts of the action situations for later collective action.

5.3.1 Value relations in historical research

A central question in any historical approach is how the researcher as observer should relate to the interpretations and ideals of those observed. One strategy has been to seek to eliminate the perspective of the observed altogether, for example by applying comparative historical methods to secure sociologists the role of objective third-person observers who, akin to scientists in their laboratories, can isolate causes and effects, ultimately with a view to prediction (Skocpol 1979, 33–40). In contrast, other scholars have pointed out that rather than seeking a neutral role, sociologists should seek to give voice to the ideals and arguments of actors themselves (Hansen 2016).

The difference can be illustrated by briefly contrasting Max Weber's and Ernst Troeltsch's approaches to studying the influences of Protestantism on the modern world. While they in principle both agreed on a 'constructionist' approach in forming their concepts through ideal types, they differed in regard to the 'spirit' with which they carried out their projects. While Weber's ideal types were 'value related' (Bruun 2007), the pessimistic attitude with which he conducted his research increasingly led him to conclusions about the inevitability of rationalization and disappearance of ideal values from the world. Troeltsch noted many of the same effects of Protestantism in the modern world as Weber did (Troeltsch 2010), but this did not lead him to the same defeatist conclusions; based on a commitment to the values of Christianity, he aimed to revitalize the Protestant tradition under modern conditions (cf. Joas 2013, 116–57). Put coarsely, the pessimist Weber drew other conclusions than the optimist Troeltsch; conclusions that in turn had consequences for the possibilities of action, leading to 'realist' resignation (or hopes of the appearance of a charismatic leader) or 'idealist' revivalism. This gulf between the two different approaches to sociological inquiry is mirrored in sociology today. In France, the Bourdieusian sociology of objective relations in social fields has been challenged by a new generation of sociologists that seek to develop a program of 'non-normative critique' that reconstructs actors' own justification for their actions (Boltanski 2011; Hansen 2016). In the US, Steinmetz has drawn on Bourdieu to launch a critique somewhat similar to the ones launched *against* Bourdieu in France. In opposition to the earlier objectivist comparative paradigm, he has sought to develop an engaged position that draws on Bourdieu's

combination of subjective and objective elements to overcome the distance between the observer and the observed (Steinmetz 2004). Despite these projects' many epistemological differences, I concur with the attitude to move away from the scientific position and towards the engaged position.

Joas has, with inspiration from Ernst Troeltsch, developed such an engaged approach in historical sociology through what he calls an 'affirmative genealogy' intended to renew a sense of connectedness to certain values, specifically human rights, by showing how they emerged historically and thus point to how these values can be revitalized in the present (Joas 2013).

Joas' genealogy is both a methodology for historical inquiry and a demonstration of a moral philosophical argument, namely that questions of moral validity cannot be separated from questions of the context in which value commitments emerge. This insight need not, however, lead to moral relativism, since values may still claim validity and even universal validity despite or indeed because of being contingent historical phenomena. With inspiration from Dewey and others, he argues that values cannot be found in a transcendental sphere or be decided upon in communication. Rather, they owe their validity to the subjective or collective experience of self-evidence. When the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was proclaimed by the UN in 1948, this clearly happened as an interpretation of the experiences of atrocities of the Nazi regime, as can be deduced from the wording of the declaration (Joas 2013, 85–92). This does not mean that such value commitments cannot be challenged with arguments, but the binding force of values comes from their origin in specific action situations; from negative experiences such as persecution or cultural trauma, or from 'positive' exhilarated experiences of collective ecstasy or personal transformation and transgression. This is a way of recognizing the historicity of all values without ending up in a historicism that claims that all values are equally valid because they are historically contingent (Joas 2000; 2013).

The insight of the contingency of values has two consequences: First, recognizing the contingency of historical developments means that historians cannot treat such developments in a teleological fashion as necessary steps towards an end goal. To reconstruct historical developments necessarily means taking into consideration the 'futures past', as Koselleck put it: The possibilities inherent in reality that were or were not realized. This realization logically leads to a second insight: the 'inevitable self-positioning of the historian' (Joas 2013, 141–44). If 'past history' was the result of contingent developments by creative actors, so our 'present history',

including the historian's reconstruction of past events, must also recognize its own contingency. As actors in the past created history on the basis of their experiences-in-action by acting on facts and value commitments, so historians are similarly involved in history-making. The historian's own decisions regarding choices of subject and approach may be subject to future historians' laying bare of the contingency of these choices. One could invoke Koselleck once again to remind us that our choice of concepts is no less an intervention in social reality than were the concepts we study historically. Historical development in this view becomes a "teleology of the will that molds and shapes its past into the future out of the present." (Troeltsch in Joas 2013, 144) – where 'will' should not be misinterpreted as 'decision', but as the result of a reflection of its own conditions of emergence. The historian must thus position her/himself historically, and can in fact only do otherwise with great difficulty. Since all historical meaning is potentially current meaning that 'calls upon us', compels us to respond, we cannot help but relate the meaning of historical facts to our present situation and let it affect our actions (Joas 2013, 143).

Second, the contingency of historical developments and the emergence of ideals and practices also means that values and ideals are inherently fragile. If they emerged historically, they may also disappear once again. There is no extra-historical guarantee that values that have come to constitute the core of our beliefs (that express what we hold sacred in Joas' terms), like the principle of the inherent equality of all human beings, might not prove to be a fleeting historical occurrence that fade into oblivion. The contingency of history and history writing means that it is the inevitable task of the historian not only to describe, but also to intervene in history and the present by engaging actively with the meaning that calls out from history and to relate it to our present-day situation.

According to Joas, the method proper to the insight of historical contingency is 'affirmative genealogy'. Such an approach on the one hand takes seriously the fact of contingency, the openness of action situations, while on the other hand avoids moral relativism by "(...) affirming the way in which historically formed ideals call upon us" (ibid., 148). It seeks to realize, in the present, values and ideals that may have faded away or may be professed, but not adhered to, by reconstructing the context in which they first emerged and showing how 'positive' or 'negative' experiences were acted upon in order to give life to these values and ideals. This is done by seeking out historical action situations where value commitments have emerged through creative action. Inspired by Ernst Troeltsch, Joas calls such situations 'creative junctures' (Joas 2013, 148).

Now, doing an affirmative genealogy becomes a bit trickier when dealing with an ‘awkward phenomenon’ such as evangelical voluntary social work rather than universal human rights. Not only principles of civic engagement, but also paternalism, patriarchal values, and a conservative ideology are part of the historical meaning that calls out to the present-day sociologist. While preserving the insights of the affirmative genealogy in terms of the lessons of contingency and an active relation with the past, I will propose to alter this approach slightly through what I call a ‘valuation-genealogy’. The sociology of valuation and evaluation (SVE) is an emerging field in post-Bourdiesian sociology, where practices of evaluation and valuation are researched not as practices of distinction, but as collective efforts of attributing value economic, academic, cultural and other social phenomena (Fourcade 2011; Lamont 2012; Lamont, Beljean, and Chong 2015; Stark 2011). I will not discuss this literature here, but rather rely once again on John Dewey, who first expressed the general attitude of this new field of sociology in his *Theory of Valuation* (Dewey 1939). In this text, Dewey distinguishes *evaluation* as only a case of the general human practice of *valuation*, of interpreting the desirability of desires and interests, but at the same time a special case: a second order (not Dewey’s term) valuation of valuations (Dewey 1939, 20). The basic framework does not differ much from Dewey’s analysis of the emergence of values described above: Every valuation emerges in the course of action sequences where impulses towards certain goals are reflected upon and reevaluated according to the preliminary goals or ends-in-view set and the means to obtain such goals. Dewey then introduces two meanings found in the concept of valuation, and to illustrate this he distinguishes between practices of prizing and appraising, where the former designates an emotional and personal activity, as when someone is said to hold something dear, and the latter describes an intellectual attitude of assigning value to an object that explicitly or implicitly is comparative, illustrated by the act of appraising the value of a house on the market (ibid., 5). Evaluations of valuation practices belong to the latter category as valuations of valuations, but are different from setting a prize on houses since they are evaluations of propositions of action that may not have occurred, but describe certain things as good in an existential and generalized sense (ibid., 22ff). Dewey holds that as a reflective element enters into considerations of desirability, valuation practices can be reconstructed as value-propositions: Propositions about a future state that is intended to be obtained through specific means, and which can be evaluated like any other proposition (ibid, 51). I find that such a valuation of valuations to be instructive for guiding a situated genealogy that seeks not to affirm, but to appraise the emergence and effects of an ambiguous historical phenomenon. It is, however, necessary to nuance the

Deweyan position with insights from the affirmative approach since in the version sketched here, it carries an intellectualist bias.

The intellectualist bias emerges out of an ambiguity in Dewey's own position on evaluation. On the one hand, there is an inbuilt perspectivism in his theory: The valuation of a specific good is always situational. When two persons value something, they do not do so independently of their specific context: "The valuations of the burglar and the policeman are not identical" (ibid., 19). On the other hand, Dewey insists that it is theoretically possible to render all evaluation practices commensurable, and science is "the supreme means of the valid determination of all valuations in all aspects of human and social life" (ibid., 66). I do not believe that Dewey's way out of perspectivism (in this text) is sound. The scientific 'second order' evaluation only pushes the question a step further back as a question of the values of the scientist and does not reflect sufficiently upon the situatedness of the researcher.

Rather than an evaluative approach, I propose a valuative approach that does not claim a privileged position in relation to the valuation practices studied. I will rather reiterate the lessons from the affirmative genealogy: Valuations of historical practices cannot be separated entirely from the researcher's own value commitments. The comparative element in a valuation-genealogy should be viewed as the result of historical meaning that calls upon researchers and forces them to compare their own beliefs and values to those observed. There is no God's eye view from which to judge all values, but a meeting of interpretive horizons. The tension that emerges in the meeting should be used productively in an open-ended process of valuation, which should lead to a clarification or maybe even a modification of the researcher's own value commitments and consequently an appraisal of history: What can be learned? What in the valuation practices is worth conserving or reviving and what should be abandoned? Such an ambition requires a thoroughly contextual approach that is sensitive to both the context in which valuations emerge and their consequences as they are institutionalized in competition with other valuing spheres and actors.

Dewey did not himself develop procedures for (e)valuation, but sought to develop a theoretical foundation for such procedures. We can, however, from his text reconstruct at least three steps in such a procedure. The first step of a valuating process is to provide knowledge of valuation practices. In order to value valuation practices, one must know what ends individuals and groups are pursuing and what means they apply to obtain these ends. Such practices can then

be reconstructed as 'propositions'. In a second step, such propositions can be valued 'immanently' on their own terms: Do the suggested means suffice to bring about the proposed end? And are the ends-in-view still desirable when the 'costs' of bringing them about are weighed? What are the unintended consequences of a given valuation? In a third step, the continued desirability of these valuation practices and their effects for the larger community can be gauged. If, like in Nietzsche's genealogy of morality (disregarding for the moment the empirical soundness of his findings), one finds that such practices are the historical result of the interests of specific groups and serve to uphold group privileges, then this would lead to the reevaluation of the values. If, on the other hand, values are found to contribute to the common good of the larger community, then such values should be reinforced (ibid., 59). Relating this to the genealogy that I will unfold in the three articles, I will propose that it is fruitful to distinguish between three levels: 1) The collective action and its bonds expressed in vocabularies of motive as a form of civic engagement, 2) the boundaries of commitment established and the relations within these boundaries with those who were otherwise considered 'undeserving', 3) the role of this type of voluntarism in the wider society, its historical achievements and its lessons for the present. I will return to these three levels in the conclusion.

5.3.2 Genealogy of creative junctures and problem situations

The considerations of contingency and the value-related self-positioning of the historian are evidently intimately linked with the way we think about causality in historical developments. The historian's choice of subject and approach in reconstructing historical developments is intimately linked with the historian's own situatedness. On the other hand, historical events also possess a 'stubbornness' that resist arbitrary construction. Actors in historical junctures do not create from nothing, but from possibilities limited by the situation they find themselves in. Such actors are dependent on the interpretations and actions of their predecessors within their specific ideational tradition. I now wish to consider causality as a matter of shaping future opportunity structures.

How to understand the effects of ideas in history has of course been a matter of academic dispute since Weber, Troeltsch and their colleagues acted as midwives in the birth of historical sociology. In particular, the causal relations at work in Weber's essays collected under the heading of 'Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' have been the subject of much debate ever since their publication (Lehmann and Roth 1995; Steinert 2010; cf. Weber 1987). Was capitalism a byproduct of the Reformation as such, only a product of Calvinism, or did in fact a

strict Protestant inner-worldly ascetic ethic only exist in a few Protestant sects in England in the 17th century, contributing in a small measure to the possibility of a capitalist work ethic (Steinert 2010,22, note 4)? The nature of this causality was also unclearly made by Weber. He invoked battle metaphors, developmental concepts, functional explanations, as well as emotional influences to designate these relations (ibid., 191-205).

More recently, causality has been at the center of much methodological debate in US American historical sociology. During the 1970s and 1980s, a specific regime dominated historical sociology tied together by the comparative case study approach, research questions devoted to state building and revolutions, and a specific reading of Marx and Weber (Adams, Clemens, and Orloff 2005, 1–73). This relied on an understanding of causality as a relation between variables that could be isolated to determine why certain events like revolutions would come about or not (Skocpol 1979, 33–40). Ideas in this conceptualization are either ignored, enter into history as one more variable, or are included as part of the narrative without methodological reflection (Skocpol 1992; see Steensland 2006, 1280f). The problem with such a ‘laboratory’ approach is clearly the idea that contexts can be held constant. Context-independence has proved a futile ambition not only because of the embeddedness of events in contexts, but also because of the ability of people, as opposed to inert nature, to learn from each other, meaning that most often cases cannot be isolated from each other. The idea of revolution that emerged in its modern sense in France in 1789 informs and shapes actors who are now able to see themselves as engaged in ‘revolutionary’ activity (Sewell 1985, 1990). This leads *de facto* to a transformation of the research program from one of isolating causes to a study of the diffusion or contextual interpretation of ideas and practices.

A more recent approach has set out to find ‘causal mechanisms’; mechanisms that mediate between causes and effect and can be found across various settings (Hedström and Ylikoski 2010; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001, 201; Steinmetz 2005, 152). A good example of such a mechanism is Merton’s self-fulfilling prophecy, where for instance a bank run may occur based on an initial false belief about the soundness of the bank, which in turn becomes real because individuals act on this belief (Merton 1968). Such mechanisms, however, are also dependent on a context that has been ‘encoded’ (Abbott 2001, 294ff) in a specific way where a specific type of market has been developed with specific institutions and expectations for the behavior of these institutions (cf. Gross 2009). The influential critical realist approach to mechanisms does recognize the context-dependence of mechanisms, and consequently contingency in the

outcome of mechanisms. These mechanisms, however, are said to be at work at the deep levels of the social, where the 'real' is found in contrast to the actual events and the experience of concrete actors (Steinmetz 2004). Steinmetz, for instance, declares his ambition to do a "depth-realist comparison" of three 19th century colonial states, where one of the 'mechanisms' identified is "precolonial ethnographic discourse or representations of the to-be-colonized" (ibid., 394) that have an effect on native policies. Ideas in this framework primarily work, however, in combination with a hermeneutics of suspicion that explains the surface level of discourse with the objective relations between the colonializing elites (ibid.). For all its advantages, the mechanism approach is still 'mechanistic' in so far as the real workings of the social takes place behind the actors' backs, only to be revealed by the sociologist (cf. Gorski 2015).

The preceding pages should have made clear that I will follow a different path. I will propose to simply take the consequence of the context-dependence of causes and effects and change the research program: It is not ideas as context-independent variables or causal mechanisms that should be at the heart of the sociological quest, but rather a context-sensitive analysis of the *emergence* and *effects* of ideas in action.

The genealogical approach in its generic version is not only interested in the emergence of historical phenomena, as described above, but also in the *effects* of these phenomena; how they continue to affect us today.⁶¹ I have already described how the valuation-genealogical approach seeks to relate such effects to their intended effects and their continued desirability. In order to do this, however, it is necessary to analyze both intended and unintended consequences as well possible secondary effects that lie beyond the immediate situation (Lepsius 1990, 37). In the strong version of Weber's thesis, capitalism was an unintended and secondary effect of the Protestant ethic as this ethic was diffused and transformed outside the sect-situation in which it first emerged.

When studying an ideational tradition, one must thus take into account how effects of the interpretations made and actions taken by actors in certain critical situations come to form a crucial part of the action situation in which future adherers to this tradition find themselves. As opposed to Weber's interpretation of the effects of Protestantism on capitalism, the effects of

⁶¹ Genealogies have been written with varying intents about the modern state (Skinner 2009), citizenship (Somers 2008), Christian morality (Nietzsche 2008 [1887]), modern forms of discipline (Foucault 1995), liberal poor policies (Dean 1992), and human rights (Joas 2013).

the first Copenhagen reinterpretations of Protestant ideas did not create an entirely new dynamic where the old ethic did not hold sway anymore.⁶² Rather, the effects of actions condition future action situations as they inhibit certain paths and encourage others and thus create certain structures of opportunity. As described in the institutionalism-literature, institutionalized social action both negatively constrains action and facilitates specific patterns of interaction; the latter by positively contributing models, schemas, and scripts for action (Clemens and Cook 1999). Once again, we can distinguish between the effects on internal bonds, boundaries of obligation, and the external relations to other influential actors and structures. Internally, the reinterpretation of motives creates certain 'discursive opportunities' (Ferree 2003) for those that take up the tradition; a specific starting point for new, creative adaptations of what it means to be a Christian engaged in social work at this particular time and place. The boundaries of obligations and the reciprocal relations established to the groups intended to be helped within these boundaries are also dependent on previous interpretations. The cultural schemas applied in interpreting the nature of these groups have effects beyond the immediate situation. Once an interpretation of alcoholism with schemas found in science or religion has won general acceptance, alternative interpretations will first have to challenge the established interpretations before new approaches can be launched. Finally, the strategic alliances and ideational adaptations to external stakeholders and ideational formations create certain moral economies endowed with their own inertia; the specific configuration of state-voluntary relations that are settled historically, for instance, create the context of the action situation that new generations will find themselves in.

The valuation practices of previous generations thus create the conditions of possibility for new generations, who will have to reflect on and position themselves in relation to this tradition under changed circumstances. I take Joas' lead in focusing in the three articles on three specific situations that the actors engaged in religious voluntary social work faced. As mentioned, Joas names such situations from which novel principles and values emerge 'creative junctures'.⁶³ In my genealogy, it is only the first of the three articles that analyzes a creative juncture 'proper', showing the emergence of Protestant voluntary social work in late 19th century Copenhagen through several interpretations of the Protestant tradition. The second and third articles rather

⁶² I also believe that Weber overestimated the autonomy of the laws of the market society.

⁶³ Joas' historical project identifies three central junctures in the process of the 'sacralization of the person', the history of universal human dignity: The 'ethical' emergence in the Axial Age, the 'formal' emergence with the American Declaration of Independence, and the transnational institutionalization of these after the Second World War (Joas 2013, 2015).

deal with historical problem situations where the tradition emerging out of the first juncture is reinterpreted and adapted to new challenges as the Christian temperance movement organization the Blue Cross would have to engage with the social orders or value spheres of science in the form of eugenics and political ideology in the guise of social democracy (article 3) as well as create a place for themselves in a field of moral reform among other actors: the state, adversarial revivalist movements, and secular existing treatment initiatives (article 2).

This is a developmental narrative in so far as the many initiatives that emerged from the 'voluntary explosion' in late 19th century Copenhagen each in their own way took up and reinterpreted the ideas and practices developed first in Copenhagen at this point in time. Only, development is not understood as a germ that unfolds, but as a relation that is created both as decisions and creations of the early Copenhageners shaped the opportunity structures for later generations and as these generations reinterpreted the Copenhagen ideas and practices under changed circumstances. The situations in which the Blue Cross entrepreneurs found themselves during the first half of the 20th century, the challenges they faced, were different than the original context in which the ideas had developed. Ideal concerns would mix with strategic decisions in order to gain influence and develop methods for treatment: How could scientific explanations of alcoholism and religious beliefs about the nature of the victims of alcoholism be aligned, and what alliances should be forged and at what price? What compromises are worth making? The study begins with a juncture, but then traces central action situations characterized not by a point in time, but by the structure of the challenges they faced as the movement matured and encountered competing ideals and actors as described above. Each of these situations required creative adaption to the new situations and reinterpretations of the inherited ideational tradition; of the vocabularies of motive, the idea of moral change, central doctrines, and means of treatment.

While each article has its own focus, they together contribute to this developmental history; a history that in turn permits a valuative attitude to the past in order to inform the present in terms of prizing and appraising this type of collective action, its consequences for marginalized groups, and its role in a modern welfare state.

5.3.3 Data and method

The individual articles each have their methodological section. Rather than reiterating these, I will here present some central methodological considerations and insights into the data collection and research process. I will present these in a narrative form that allows the reader to follow my reasoning in the different phases of the project. This shows concretely how my own commitment to principles informed the choice of subject matter and approach and adds transparency to the research process.

The research process started with a dual puzzle. As I began research on voluntarism and welfare in Denmark, I became increasingly aware of the impact that revivalist Protestantism had had on this field. The welfare state so praised and vilified was undergirded by a range of private organizations that carried out social services for the most vulnerable groups in society. This was not in itself a great surprise, since every Dane is familiar with these organizations from occasional media appearances and from the secondhand shops found in every larger town in the country. The greater surprise came from the realization that many of these initiatives seemed to have emerged from a relatively small group of people found in and around the Copenhagen Home Mission in the second half of the 19th century. The first puzzle thus emerged from a curiosity to find out what happened in Copenhagen at this point in time. Why and how did this intensive social engagement happen here, and why in these specific religious circles? How were these initiatives able to grow and spread across the country and survive the emergence of the welfare state? And what effect had they had in relation to those that they sought to help and to the 'welfare mix' in general? As I studied the literature further and started focusing on the Blue Cross as an initiative that emerged out of the Copenhagen milieu, I felt myself challenged in my valuation, to use the Deweyan expression, of the initiatives taken by the Protestant groups. I found that their role was complex and not so easily confined to the roles of the villain or the hero that I found in the literature. I found that on the one hand they adhered to commendable principles of civic engagement, but on the other that their initiatives conflicted with the principle that social provision should not be left to the arbitrary decisions of private groups, but be a matter of social rights. Not only to the literature, but to me personally and as a matter of principle, the Protestant movement was awkward. This gave rise to the second puzzle: How could and should these initiatives that seemingly entailed conflicting principles be valued?

These empirical and normative puzzles in turn had to be turned into methodological reflections about how to best unfold, if not solve, the puzzle and get answers to my questions. I chose to focus on what I have called the bonds and boundaries of voluntary social work as well as the relations established to other significant actors in the fields in which the Protestants were involved.

A couple of methodological challenges would have to be dealt with. First, especially related to the 'bonds'-question: How does one deal with the professed values of groups? The first article on the emergence of Protestant social work relied on programmatic texts from the Copenhagen Home Mission's leaders, biographies, organizational biographies by the organization's own historians, and texts on the Danish and European developments written primarily by church historians. I approached these primary and secondary sources with a hermeneutical intent of understanding, but should they be read from a hermeneutics geared to understanding and fusion of horizons (Gadamer 2004), a hermeneutics of suspicion intent on revealing interests hidden to the actors themselves (see Ricœur 1979), or critically read for ideological distortions of communication (Habermas 1990)?

As shown above, I did not set out to find the true intentions behind the professed ideals of the individuals engaged in social work. People may have several reasons to join a specific project: Principles, boredom, or career considerations, and joining an organization may thus fulfill several functions or serve various purposes in the life of the individual. It is not that I subscribe to a constructivist position that says that it is impossible to analyze the intentions of individuals: It can be made plausible that professed ideals are indeed anchored in deeply held convictions by observation over time (Dewey 1939, 15ff) or 'tests' related to the plausibility of beliefs, motives, and coherence (Skinner 2002a, 119f). The more interesting question was, however, how a vocabulary of motives emerged in action that allowed voluntary social work to become a Christian obligation. Rather than reading for the 'first things', the intentions or interest, I read to understand the 'last things', the vocabularies of motives as effects of the action-situation guided by my empirical and normative research interests.

Second, a methodological issue that occurred especially in relation to the 'boundaries'-question was how to provide documentation for a situated valuation of the relations that the Protestants established to the marginalized groups. I can illustrate this by giving insight into the process leading to the second and third articles on the Blue Cross, especially article 3 on the role of

eugenics in Protestantism (and social democracy). When reading the Blue Cross' own historians' accounts of their organization's history, I had encountered complaints about the lack of resistance from medical doctors to the harsh laws on forcible commitment and loss of civil rights put into force in 1930 and 1933 (Granum-Jensen 1979, 139). At the same time, however, the literature also revealed in footnotes that the Blue Cross already in 1914 had passed a resolution that allowed for forcible commitment of alcoholics to their facilities. To explain this discrepancy, I decided to go to the archives of the Blue Cross placed in the basement of their headquarters in the town of Silkeborg, neatly arranged by a former member of the leadership and now historian, Kurt Frost, who became my gatekeeper and secured my access to the archives. I spent several weeks in the archives copying hundreds of pages from the relevant volumes of their Members' Magazines, handwritten protocols of the central board, minutes of annual meetings of representatives, and fictional educational short stories. I also had the opportunity to gain insight into the present-day organization through formal and informal interviews, observations of everyday life and the interior design of the headquarters.

My reading of the texts was guided by the empirical and normative research interests related to the question of what kinds of relations was established to the alcoholics, spurred by the discrepancy in the existing literature between the self-image of the Blue Cross historians and the accounts of the early condoning of forcible commitment, and further with an interest in how this small organization had managed to grow big and enter into an alliance with the state and other actors. The plot in relation to the first question quickly thickened as scientific evidence was put forward in the pages that related the causes of alcoholism to theories of hereditary degeneration. This posed new methodological challenges. The development of eugenic science and the enforcement of eugenics-inspired legislation in the form of detainment and sterilization has been the matter of discussion in Danish sociology between two professors emeriti: Historian Lene Koch, who has written the most comprehensive work in this field, and sociologist Heine Andersen. Koch approached her subject matter through a Gadamer-inspired principle of *Verstehen*, claiming that her research-interest was in understanding the past as an anthropologist would a different culture rather than evaluating this culture, combined with the symmetry-principle from Science and Technology Studies that culture and science should be studied within the same theoretical framework and thus not judged by different standards (Koch 2000; 2014; 2015). Andersen on his part from a Habermasian standpoint criticized Koch's hermeneutical approach and pleaded for a critical scrutiny of the moral and scientific reasons

given for the policies, claiming that the eugenic science did not meet the standards for scientific inquiry even in their own time, while the moral arguments lacked a proper testing in open debate (Andersen 2015). On the basis of my (at this time embryonic) valuation-genealogical approach, I sought something like a third way: An approach that on the one hand did not bracket my own value-commitments in pure 'Verstehen', but on the other hand did not posit an abstract ideal of communicative rationality as a normative standard, the impediment of which should be sought in ideological distortion. Instead, I used my commitment to principles of individual and social rights actively to detect transgressions of these principles and to understand how an organization that saw itself as spokesperson of the alcoholics could condone infringements of their rights. By analyzing the context of emergence and the resonance between the Blue Cross' community ideals and scientific theories, I sought to understand how degenerative theories and drastic methods of treatment could become appealing. In this way, I sought a more nuanced valuation of the relations established to the alcoholic than I believe a discourse ethical test of arguments can provide.

Concretely, I re-read the different genres in the archives several times and categorized them according to genre, theological tropes, scientific explanations, public statements, perceived effects of alcohol on the individual, family, and society, methods of treatment, public and internal issues of discussion etc. and documented the development over time in relation to strategy and stance on specific issues. In this way, I slowly gained insight into the Blue Cross' ideas that went beyond the organization's self-image presented by its own historians: The causal and normative beliefs regarding causes of and remedies for alcoholism, their ideals of community, attitudes and decisions in relation to the state and other actors, as well as the different voices in their internal discussions. I describe this in the articles as well.

A central limitation in working with archives is that the researcher can only work with what the creators of the archive and the texts have decided to put in it. Delicate questions may have been discussed, but never put forward at the general assemblies or in the protocols. Furthermore, the texts in the archives are to be considered as speech acts that the authors have had specific intentions in uttering, such as showing a united front or presenting a specific image of themselves. The question of forcible commitment as well as the conflict-ridden relation between the Blue Cross and the Home Mission that I describe in the articles could have caused the Blue Cross to be cautious about what to put down on paper. I have sought to overcome this obstacle by triangulating the findings in the members' magazine with those of the protocols that

were not intended for general public scrutiny, just as the fictional short stories give insight into the worldview of the authors that cannot be obtained from theological or scientific articles. Furthermore, if dissonance, conflict, and controversial stances on delicate issues such as forcible commitment have been toned down in the texts, this only means that conflict and controversy have in fact been more widespread than I describe.

Finally, a word on how representative the cases are and in what way. I have chosen the late 19th century Copenhagen Home Mission and the Blue Cross in the first half of the 20th century as the cases that illustrate the emergence and development of the Christian-social movement, but how representative are they? The first case is the most straight forward. This was the time and place, where the Christian-social movement emerged in the main. There were, however, forerunners in *Diakonissestiftelsen* (1863), a hospital and educational center for deaconesses, where Harald Stein served as priest before becoming chairman of the Copenhagen Home Mission, H. L. Martensen (1808-1884) had published early on on the social question (Martensen 1874), and priests such as Hans Knudsen (1813-1886) and Peter Rørdam (1806-1883) were engaged earlier and outside the Home Mission. In Jutland, as mentioned, the Stefanus Association was active shortly after, but also related to, the Copenhagen Home Mission. Still, the bulk of social initiatives emerged from within the Home Mission circles.

The Blue Cross I have taken to represent the 'third wave'. This does not mean that other first, second or third wave initiatives faced the same challenges as the Blue Cross did, but they have co-experienced the same developments in science, welfare, and the religious landscape as did the Blue Cross. The Blue Cross case can thus serve to illustrate the types of situations that other initiatives may have faced in relation to actors and social orders and possibly, then, a first step toward a more comprehensive work on the movement as such. The case may also provide the first step towards comparisons with other national developments: How did temperance organizations in other countries face the challenges that science and political ideology posed here? I will expand on this in the conclusion.

Summing up, the genealogy presented as three articles constitutes an answer to the dual puzzle of the emergence and effects of the revivalist milieu in Copenhagen on voluntary social work and the challenges it presents to principles of civic engagement and civic, political, and social rights. The valuation-genealogical approach has guided this inquiry as I have studied the texts left behind by the Protestant entrepreneurs in a spirit of active engagement.

5.3.4 Summary and progression of the genealogy

In this chapter, I have sought to show at a theoretical level how universalist Christian principles can form the basis for voluntary social action as inherited cultural schemas are reinterpreted in light of experiences of changing societal situations; reinterpretations that can be reconstructed as events and analyzed as creative junctures and problem situations. I have shown how cultural schemas have effects for 1) the interpretation of in-group bonds as vocabularies of motives are developed, 2) out-group boundaries, where the limits and principles for social obligation are settled vis-à-vis the groups that are sought to be helped, and 3) the kinds of relations that can be established with potentially competing value spheres and collective actors who adhere to alternative sources of authority, claims of jurisdiction, and principles of inclusion, specifically science and social democracy. In the presentation of the valuation-genealogical approach, I proposed to analyze these synchronic relations as well as the diachronic developments from the early Copenhageners to the Blue Cross work that emerged out of Copenhagen through an attitude of active engagement where the historical developments are reconstructed through an awareness of the self-positioning of the historian who answers the call of historical meaning. The normative 'awkwardness' of the Christian voluntary social movements called for a situated approach, which I with Dewey called 'valuative' and which seeks to cast the Christian groups neither as villains nor heroes, but rather to appreciate the ambiguity of their endeavors. Concretely, I rely on archival material as well as publicly available primary and secondary sources to show how the Copenhagen innovations in Protestant cultural schemas created certain opportunity structures for the revivalist generations to come, and how these generations reinterpreted these cultural schemas in light of new problem situations.

The genealogy consists of three articles centered on the first creative juncture in which revivalist voluntary social work emerged in late 19th century Copenhagen and two historical problem situations that the Blue Cross, as a case of the social work that emerged out of the Copenhagen revivalist milieu, faced.

The first part of the genealogy, the first article, forms a particularly creative juncture. The guiding question here is the question of emergence: How were Protestant ideas in The Home Mission Copenhagen translated into voluntary social work aimed at those that were otherwise considered 'undeserving'? The article shows how voluntary social work in late 19th/early 20th century Copenhagen emerged as the result of several creative re-interpretations of the cultural schemas of revivalist Protestantism as urban revivalists faced the social question. The

translation of a strictly religious vocabulary into organized collective action required several reinterpretations in terms of doctrine, ideals of community, and recipes for action. It is shown how Lutheran revivalist ideas at the same time encouraged, constrained, and shaped the non-contentious collective action undertaken.

As both Weber and Troeltsch noted, 'really existing' religion will have to rely on the means of the world to act in the world. Whereas the type of creativity involved in the first juncture was that of creating a novel type of social action, the creative moment in the problem situation that faced the revivalists in the first decades of the 20th century was the creativity of accommodation and adaptation involved in institutionalizing the social work in the fields of moral reform and medical treatment. In the second article, I show how the religious temperance organization The Blue Cross translated the interests of the Home Mission and the state in order to anchor their organization in all parts of the country.

Other problem situations arose in the 1920s and 1930s with the increased influence of universalist 'community-expanding' social democracy and modern science in the form of eugenics. As opposed to the field article, article 3 focuses not on the resources for action, but on how a value tradition may reinterpret itself when faced with other partly competing values spheres. The article analyzes how the Blue Cross theologically and practically came to terms with these seemingly alternative visions of community and criteria for inclusion. The analysis focuses on the role of eugenics, degeneration theory, and the practice of the forcible commitment of alcoholics for treatment. The empirical data show surprisingly little conflict over these issues in the cooperation between the state and the Blue Cross, and contrary to conventional wisdom and what would be expected from critical theories on the role of civil society organizations, the Blue Cross actually pushed ideas of degeneration and policies of forcible commitment. I show how theories of degeneration resonated with the ideas of the Blue Cross and how an overlapping consensus between the Blue Cross and the state was possible at an ideational level.

ARTICLES

ARTICLE 1

Protestant ethics-in-action: The emergence of voluntary social work in Copenhagen 1865 – 1915

Abstract

This article shows how voluntary social work in late 19th/early 20th century Copenhagen emerged as the result of several creative re-interpretations of the cultural schemas of revivalist Protestantism as urban revivalists faced the social question. Especially central were the changes in the perception of 'sin' and how to combat it. Informed by pragmatist cultural sociology, the concept of 'collective soteriology' is introduced as a way of analyzing the Protestant reinterpretations in terms of doctrine, ideals of community, and recipes for action. It is shown how Lutheran revivalist ideas at the same time encouraged, constrained, and shaped the voluntary social action undertaken. The paper aims to uncover a sociologically neglected European tradition of civic action, contribute to the sociology of Protestantism's influence on civil society, and develop a theoretical framework for analyzing the role of ideas in non-contentious collective action.

Introduction

During the fifty-year period spanning from ca. 1865 to ca. 1915, the Danish capital of Copenhagen saw a wave of social engagement emerge in revivalist circles, dealing with the social problems of industrialization and urbanization: Missionaries targeting prostitutes and their customers, institutions for rehabilitating prostitutes and at-risk girls, the establishment of Sunday schools, societies for the erection of churches, organized poor relief, societies for the promotion of keeping the Sabbath holy, youth associations, and temperance and abstinence associations. The initiatives taken in this period were profoundly new in a Danish context, where social work had for a long time primarily been a concern for the state, municipalities, or the nobility, leaving the local priest as essentially a civil servant in the state-church (Knudsen 2000;

Markkola 2010). The historical importance of these initiatives is shown through the fact that the emerging organizations eventually became a central part of the Danish voluntary sector (Henriksen and Bundesen 2004).

This activity is an early case of civic action, where “participants are coordinating action to improve some aspect of common life in society, as they imagine society” (Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014, 809). More specifically, to distinguish it from the activity of social movements, it will be considered a case of voluntary social action or ‘non-contentious collective action’ (as opposed to what Tilly describes in e.g. Tilly 2012), where the main focus of the activity is not the making of claims that bear on someone else’s interest to a central authority, but the undertaking of social work ‘in the shadow’ of this authority.⁶⁴

The fact that this activity first emerged in Lutheran-Pietist revivalist circles raises a host of questions: What role did revivalist ideas play in the emergence of voluntary social action in Copenhagen? What role do ideas play in the emergence of civic action in general? How was it possible for such voluntary activities to emerge from a Lutheran tradition that had traditionally seen ‘good works’ as primarily an obligation of the state and thought the Christian to be justified through faith alone?

This article seeks to answer these questions and consequently has a threefold aim. First, the aim is to empirically demonstrate the role of religious ideas, specifically in the Lutheran tradition, in the historical emergence of voluntary social action. The historical case of revivalism and voluntary social work in Copenhagen clearly shows how religious ideas both retarded and stimulated this activity, and how it took several innovations in the religious ‘schemas’ to find a formula that both supported the new activities and resonated with the Lutheran-Pietist revivalist tradition. It is thus shown how ideas mediate between the experience of suffering and the action undertaken to alleviate the suffering, so that ideas of worthiness, the span and character of one’s obligation, the justification of civic action, as well as the appropriate means will shape the action undertaken.

⁶⁴ The roots of such activity can of course be traced to a variety of religious sources, in the Protestant areas primarily the benevolent and friendly societies of antebellum United States (Griffin 1983; Smith 1976; Haskell 1985a; Haskell 1985b), and of the UK (cf. Beveridge 1948), as well as the diaconal tradition in Germany (Beyreuther 1962), and the puritan denominations of Quakers, Methodists, and Baptists (cf. Thompson 1963). These developments will be referred to as it is relevant.

The article's second aim is consequently to contribute theoretically and empirically to what seems to be an emergent field of the role of ideas at the level of collective action. Recent research in contemporary civic action has opposed the decontextualized quantitative Neo-Tocquevillian approaches and emphasized the role of action (e.g. Lichterman and Eliasoph 2014), and others have theorized culture and agency in associations on a theoretical level (so called "civil society 4") (Perez-Diaz 2014). There is still much to be done, however. 'Culture-in-action' approaches have been elaborated theoretically (esp. Swidler 1986; Sewell 1992; Mann 2012), but the role of ideas or culture in collective action has only recently been taken up in historical sociology of collective action in the analysis of the emergence of the first social movements in the USA (Young 2006).

The third aim is to renew the attention to European civic traditions. While there has been a great deal of historical-sociological research in civic traditions from the USA, most prominently of course by scholars such as Theda Skocpol and Robert Putnam (Skocpol and Fiorina 1999; Skocpol 2004; Putnam 1994; Putnam 1995; Putnam 2000), research on European traditions is more sparse, and is often concerned with 'deep' hermeneutical studies in the tradition of Robert Bellah (Bellah 1985), (cf. Joas and Adloff 2007), social movements, or relations between state and civil society (cf. Trägårdh 2007), and less with studying the dynamics of non-contentious collective action in itself. Whereas the American research often takes place in a state vs. society discussion (Skocpol 1997), this problem is less urgent in Europe, where the state is more accepted as provider of social services. Here, the problem may be to even acknowledge the civic traditions that do exist.⁶⁵

By going back to 'creative junctures' (Joas 2013), where new forms of acting and thinking were innovated from cultural traditions, in an unsettled period where ideas took on the explicit character of ideology, one might see more clearly how strong civic traditions emerge, and show the role of ideas in this process as 'midwives' helping the experience of the suffering of others give birth to action; ideas that eventually became 'habits of the heart' in civil society (Bellah 1985).

These considerations lead to the following research question, guiding the analysis:

⁶⁵ Kahl reports that civil servants in Denmark, when interviewed, were hardly aware of the existence of a third sector (Kahl 2005, 115, footnote 18).

How did reinterpretations of central cultural schemas of Protestant revivalism contribute to the emergence and form of voluntary social action in late 19th/early 20th century Copenhagen?

The article will first introduce the theoretical framework and methodology before moving on to the analysis of the three waves of revivalism that informed the voluntary social action in Copenhagen at the time.

Analytical inspirations: Cultural schemas and the first US national social movement

Michael Young's study of the emergence of the temperance and antislavery movements in antebellum United States provides an excellent starting point for thinking about culture and collective action (Young 2002; Young 2006).

Young correctly points out the missing focus on the role of cultural ideas in the contentious politics approach of Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, as well as the life politics approach of Giddens, Calhoun and others (Young 2002, 665). In order to remedy this, Young draws on a large host of what you might call pragmatist cultural sociologists (because of their emphasis on action): Mann (Mann 2012), Swidler (Swidler 1986), Sewell (Sewell 1992), as well as American pragmatism (Dewey 1991 [1927]).⁶⁶ He consequently argues that the first national social movements in the USA emerged as the result of a creative "collective adjustment" of cultural schemas in which the affectively intensive schema of public confession merged with the extensive schema of national sin, and was appropriated or 'transposed' to the new context of social movements (Young 2006, 34; 203f). The evangelicals re-interpreted the political, economic, and religious unrest of their time as feelings of guilt that had to be redeemed – feelings that then became the 'sounding board' for the adjustment of cultural schemas (ibid., 37).

In the following I will show how the Lutheran-Pietist cultural schema of sin allowed for a way of engaging with the 'social question' and how innovations in various aspects of the religious schemas allowed missionary work to develop into social work. Further, it will be shown how not all innovations resonated equally well with the existing revivalist schemas. It thus took several re-interpretations until the schemas were found that were able to combine the doctrine of

⁶⁶ Other interesting scholars working within this tradition are Amy J. Binder and Julian Go (Binder 2002; Go 2008).

justification by faith alone with that of good works. While Young seeks to give 'action' a more prominent place in his analysis, I find that the metaphor of the 'sounding board' still assigns a too passive role to his collective actors, who end up merely giving shape to a general societal 'restlessness' (ibid., 39-85). I propose to focus more on the creative innovations in ideas and practices by competent actors who responded to changes in societal norms, depravation, and deprivation than on functions of general developments. I would propose with Joas to interpret the creative innovations analyzed below as the emergence of strong value commitments (Joas 2000). The innovations in cultural schemas are in this case provoked by the experience of the suffering of others, giving rise to feelings that are then articulated in the available moral vocabulary in an interpretative circle that may in turn alter the feelings as well as the vocabulary (ibid., 113f; 133f). This process takes place in a 'quasi-dialogical' relationship between actor and situation (Joas and Beckett 2006, 274), where existing values are not simply 'applied', but creatively re-interpreted. There is thus no primacy to experience, ideas, values, or action, since they occur together.

It is necessary, however, to nuance the culture-in-action approach in order to describe in more detail the role of ideas in this type of collective action. In order to act collectively, the individuals involved need to know why they should act, what the span of their obligation is, and what the appropriate means of action are. Young's 'merging schemas' explanation does not consider theoretically the innovations in doctrine that he does describe, namely the conservative Calvinist doctrine of pre-destination and the Arminian doctrine of free will, that legitimated these religious innovations (Young 2006, 62-65). This means that he does not link his work to the (re-)emerging literature on the influence of Protestantisms in different fields, or consider what is special about religious schemas. I will propose instead to focus on the reinterpretations involved in 'collective soteriology' as an overarching concept for the internal coherence in a religious community's ideas about how salvation is envisioned, including an *Ordo salutis*, the 'steps' necessary to take to obtain salvation. In reinterpretations of such soteriologies, doctrines, ideals of community, and recipe beliefs are developed in light of changing circumstances.

First, religious *doctrines* are central as the institutionalized articles of faith. They form the official view of a community on specific issues. As more recent developments in the Weber-literature tell us, doctrines are 'contextually selective', that is: Foundational texts are constructed and interpreted in specific contexts with specific purposes, and addressing specific audiences (Zaret

1995). This means that doctrines should not be seen as closed systems, but rather as being 'called to life' in action in order to achieve something. This does not mean that they do not have effects beyond the moment they are enacted. Gorski has, for instance, shown how Pietists adhering to the 'sola fide' doctrine were instrumental in bringing about the modern Prussian state during the 17th and 18th centuries (Gorski 1993, 304ff). Likewise, Kahl has shown how Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist doctrines have been decisive in the way that nation states have dealt with poverty, e.g. in their proclivity towards outdoor relief or work houses (Kahl 2005; cf. also Manow 2008; Kersbergen and Manow 2009). So, religious doctrines do have long term effects, but only as a result of interpretations that depend upon actors to enact and re-interpret them in new contexts for new purposes.⁶⁷ Seen in this way, doctrines provide the basic articles of faith (whether religious or not) in terms of a more or less coherent system of ideas around which to rally in specific action situations and are thus central in creating the world view of a group (cf. Swidler 1986, 279). Since doctrines are fundamental, the doctrine invoked in a specific situation has implications for the ideational practices that are undertaken. In a Protestant context, for instance, it matters if you refer to the doctrine of justification or sanctification, because certain ideas of community, reciprocity, and conversion are implied (cf. McGrath 2005).

Second, the analysis focuses on *ideals of community*. Christianity, according to Jaspers and his followers, is an axial age religion and as such a transcendental religion implying the idea of a universal brotherhood of man (Joas 2014). Reiterating the notion of the situatedness of ideas, any commitment to such an idea of universalism must be specified in the context of concrete action (Joas 1999; Joas 2013).⁶⁸ The ideal of community specifies responsibilities and rules for entering and exiting the community to be established (cf. Janoski 1998). The rules of entrance may include certain tests that an applicant may have to pass in order to be accepted in the community, just as there are certain rules that cannot be violated without being expelled from the community. These processes can be swift or prolonged. Once in the community, you are expected to adhere to the formal or informal obligations. This includes the expectations for leaders and followers, and for behavior towards individuals within and outside the community, e.g.: Are outsiders possible converts that can only be saved by joining the revivalist community,

⁶⁷ Interestingly, to my knowledge such a 'Protestant ethic of'-analysis has not been done in the field of social voluntarism. Eriksen (Eriksen 1988), however, has laid the groundwork in the case of the Danish temperance movement.

⁶⁸ If one is not to give everything away, as in the case of Weber's mystic (Weber 1988 [1920], 546).

or can the obligations of the congregation also include the alleviation of suffering without immediate conversion?

Third, the concept of *recipe beliefs* is introduced. Recipe beliefs constitute techniques for how to achieve certain ends, either religious or secular. The term is inspired by (Haskell 1985b), who seeks to show that the modern 'humanitarian sensibility', as expressed in the 19th century antislavery movement, is in large parts the result of the effects of market discipline, or the spread of the norm of 'promise keeping' in contractual relations, as Haskell puts it, and the concomitant spread of technological 'recipe knowledge', effecting both an increased internal moral scrupulousness and an external widening of the span of one's obligations because of the factual ability to affect distant strangers due to technological (in the widest sense) innovations (ibid). 'Recipe knowledge' has affinities to Tilly's 'repertoires of collective action' (cf. Tilly 1993), but the term also implies a sense of causal connection to a specific problem. Haskell's point is that it is not enough to simply adhere to a certain moral principle or convention; you also need to be able to act on your principles in order for them to have any effect. When you (believe to) have a recipe for dealing with some sort of problem, the problem moves from a category of indifference, of moral neutrality, to the category of responsibility.⁶⁹ I prefer, however, to use the term 'recipe beliefs', since what actually matters is the (tested or untested) belief that your actions have an effect – most evident, of course, in the sphere of religion, where one cannot obtain direct proof of how to obtain salvation. The important take away here is that ideas not only influence action, but that possibilities of action also inform and alter ideas, as in this case when various techniques for social work have been historically developed, such as asylums designed as 'homes', the self-help group, or the pledge of sobriety.

Before putting these concepts to work, a caveat is in order: Ideas serve many purposes, and one major divide in the social study of ideas is between ideas as weapons and ideas as resources for action. This article does not focus on ideas as weapons; as external justification in a social context (cf. Skinner 2002, 177). Even if the case definitely warrants such an analysis, since the social volunteers in Copenhagen were engaged in a battle with socialists and so called 'cultural radicals' that based their projects on very different (and atheist) visions of society, the focus here is on ideas' ability to inform actors' experience and action, regardless of the actors' possible bellicose intentions. The article also does not analyze this as a case of 'social control'

⁶⁹ Haskell uses the image of the invention of a technology whereby you were suddenly able to save a starving stranger just by pushing a button. Would it then not be immoral not to do it? (Haskell 1985a, 356).

where a privileged class launches philanthropic endeavors in order to uphold their position (cf. Banner 1973). Many of these pioneers in social work supported the socialists' claims for labor rights, even if they may have shaped their concrete activity, and their 'imagined society', in their own image (Lützen 2002), meaning that the relation between class interest and voluntary action is at least more complex than assumed by some (cf. Haskell 1985a).

The analysis will show how 'soteriological' innovations in doctrine, ideals of community, and recipe beliefs led to the emergence of three distinct approaches to voluntary social work in the Copenhagen case, how revivalist ideas were both enabling and constraining in this regard, and why they were successful or not in terms of 'resonating' with existing schemas, as well as the particular form the voluntary work took on, especially in terms of their 'publicness' and emotional intensity.

Method and analytical strategy

The analysis is a single case study of the role of Protestant ideas in the emergence of contentious collective action in revivalist circles in late 19th century Copenhagen. It has been argued by welfare scholars that cultural explanations in order to 'count' should be able to explain the timing, content, and political fate of social policy (Skocpol 1992; Weir et al. 1988). This study contributes to this end, but the main role of the study is not, however, to identify a 'variable' that works independently of other variables, but to present a contextual account of the ideational innovations necessary for a specific type of action to emerge. Historical action situations are not like laboratories, where causes and effects can be isolated. Even so called 'first cases' that supposedly should be less context-dependent (Steinmetz 1993, 5) also only occur in specific circumstances. The case is thus rather *exemplary* (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012: 127; Villadsen 2006: 101) of such interpretive processes that took place in most Protestant European countries and the US. In every country, the connection between 'faith' and 'works' would have to be renegotiated. The single case study allows for an analysis that is context-sensitive and also takes seriously the role of diffusion of ideas and how ideas are adapted to local contexts (Collier and Messick 1975; McAdam and Rucht 1993). The first developments of revivalist ideas and practices in social work in the period took place in Germany, the UK, and the US, and references to especially the German and the UK context will be made throughout to illustrate the transnational character the new practices and the sources of inspiration that the Copenhagen revivalists drew upon. The case study is most immediately

comparable to other Lutheran contexts, but Reformed traditions had similar challenges of reinterpretation.

In order to understand the experiences that triggered the innovations in schemas, I will start by outlining the situation in the rapidly growing city of Copenhagen, particularly in the cases of alcohol consumption and prostitution that became two focal points of the revivalist voluntary initiatives. Then some background on the special Danish organization of revivalism as 'sects within the church' is offered, before analyzing the innovations of revivalist schemas.

The first part of the analysis relies primarily on secondary sources of the rather well researched organization of the Home Mission, while exemplifying the moral language of the group through a central text by its leader, Beck. The analysis of the second generation of urban revivalists builds on programmatic and autobiographical writings of some of the leading social revivalists in primarily Denmark, but also Germany and the Netherlands, as well as the work of historians. The third analysis relies primarily on secondary sources on the Holiness Movement in Denmark and the US. While the CHM has recently received attention from Danish welfare historians (Hansen, Petersen, and Petersen 2010; Petersen, Petersen, and Kolstrup 2014; Petersen 2016), the third wave has not yet received much scholarly attention beyond the circles of church historians, whose work I rely on. The main empirical contribution of this article is thus a re-reading and bringing together of these strands of literature in an overarching analytic approach.

The situation: The social question, relief systems, and life politics projects in 19th century Denmark

Copenhagen grew explosively from 120,000 inhabitants in 1840 to 234,000 in 1880 (Malmgart 2002, 8). As in other large cities in Europe before, the so called 'social question' emerged. Or rather, social questions emerged, since the question had several aspects and was perceived in various ways, depending on group affiliation. The social question was thus also related to questions of 'life politics', i.e. questions of morality and lifestyle.

The city presented the rural immigrants with a 'float or sink' situation, where the risk of pure material deprivation was intertwined with problems related to new patterns of interaction between strangers and new opportunities of consumption. Here, two main risks came to fall within the purview of the home missionaries: alcoholism and prostitution.

The industrialization of beer production led to stronger types of beer, and the consumption of distilled spirits increased. Alcohol seems to have been a way to cope with trauma and social problems, for instance by soldiers involved in the bloody Danish – Prussian war of 1864 (Eriksen 1991). Furthermore, the new sociality that arose with urbanization meant a relaxing of social control and traditional ways of alcohol consumption, while at the same time making consumption of alcohol more visible and thus easier to construe as a problem (Gundelach 1988, 163). Prostitution had at this time been legalized as a measure to combat the growth of venereal diseases. This meant forcing women who had been caught a third time trading sexual favors for money to register as a 'lady of the night' and to be confined to certain areas of the city (Bøge Pedersen 2007).

The state's social relief systems were not geared towards the new risks of urban and industrialized society. While Pietism and Enlightenment ideas had guided the construction of a generous welfare system without means testing in the late 18th century (Sørensen 1998), the rise of the bourgeoisie to power in 1848/9 led to an increased focus on being able to distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving poor. This was primarily done through the deprivation of civil and political rights, entailing the loss of the right to marriage, the loss of property rights (ibid., 370), and the deterrence and disciplining of poorhouses. These were, however, quite crude tools for dealing with the question of the potentially underserving, the youth that might give in to the temptations of the city, as well as the moral reformation of those that had already succumbed to alcohol or promiscuity (cf. Lützen 1998; Malmgart 2010; Kofoed 2014).

The situation in Copenhagen thus represented a very real call for action due to the emerging social and life politics questions. The political elites thought of poverty in moral terms. One should not encourage the poor to seek relief, but discourage or discipline them through the poor house. However, with this renewed emphasis on moral categories as the access point to social welfare, a new host of problems emerged: Drunkenness, gambling, promiscuity, lavishness, indolence etc. Here, the Home Mission presented itself as an actor that had a vocabulary for dealing with moral issues in contrast to the material focus of the socialists, the aesthetic evaluation of the bourgeoisie, or the parts of the mainstream currents of the church that focused primarily on alleviation of poverty.

The three waves of voluntary social action in the Home Mission

The Copenhagen Home Mission grew to become the nub of the voluntary social work that was undertaken in the capital towards the end of the century. We now turn to the analysis of the innovations in religious schemas that enabled, hindered, and enabled once again the integration of voluntary social action into the Lutheran framework of justification by faith alone.

Revivalist pietism: Faith alone

Established in 1861, “Indre Mission” (Home or Inner Mission; HM from now on) grew out of the early 19th century revivals.⁷⁰ It had its basis in local societies in the rural areas, but was centrally controlled by priests belonging to the national church, though with a high degree of local independence (Lindhardt 1978, 84–92; Gundelach 1988, 112–15). The association was from the outset largely controlled by the controversial and highly influential priest Vilhelm Beck, who officially became leader of the association in 1881 and remained so until his death in 1901.

The HM established itself as one of the four major branches of the national church, and the most conservative branch at that, emphasizing a literal reading of the Bible, the impossibility of conversion after death (thus stressing the importance of proper behavior in this life), and the abstinence from adiaphora such as dancing, drinking, and card games (Lindhardt 1978, 70f).

In terms of *doctrine*, the HM emphasized the Lutheran doctrine of “sola fide”, i.e. justification by faith alone. In this regard, the organization was truly an offspring of the early revivals that marked a creative juncture within the Protestant churches. The earliest revivals in Denmark, as in other European Protestant areas (Beyreuther 1977), were protesting their priests’ and the state church’s rationalist teachings. Rather than the practical Enlightenment teachings that put man at the center of religion, and saw God in an assisting role, the revivalists emphasized that salvation was achievable only through inner faith. In line with Luther, who had launched the doctrine of ‘sola fide’ as an answer to the Catholic practice of selling indulgences, man, along with the world as such, came to be seen as wholly depraved and unable to change this state through action. This meant that being in a state of grace could only be assumed through an inner conviction, and not be interpreted from outer signs such as fortune in business dealings or secured through good deeds. Since this world was seen as sinful and primarily as a preparation

⁷⁰ The early introduction of freedom of religion and the establishment of a broad national church in Denmark had the effect of maintaining the religious revivals inside the national church – as opposed to another Lutheran country, Sweden, where freedom of religion came late, and the sects, consequently, grew outside the national church (Eriksen 1988).

for the next, the alleviation of suffering in this world came to mean less than saving souls for eternity.

Luther had himself emphasized in his teachings that even though salvation was solely a matter of faith, good deeds played a part in as much as faith must 'bear fruit' (see Luther 2016 [1520]). This formula worked well for the German Halle-Pietists in justifying a social program (Gorski 1993, 292), but arguably did not provide a strong encouragement or specific institutions for social work in general. Beck and the HM with him followed the sola fide-doctrine, but the Mission did develop strong concepts for the role of charity in their theology. It was actually rather treated as a 'middle thing', neither encouraged nor discouraged, which the local communities could take up if they wanted. It was simply not a concern for the HM, and when Beck did deal with charity, he emphasized its possible good effects for faith (Larsen 2000, 236). Following this logic, the HM also opposed the temperance movement when this emerged in a mainly secular version in Denmark at the end of the century. Rather than seeking out a pseudo-religion, people should seek Christ and join the Mission to combat their vices (Eriksen 1988). The doctrine of sola fide thus led the Home Mission to adopt a reluctant attitude towards organized charity, and in this way failed to develop a language for social work, as for instance the institution of the diaconate could have constituted.⁷¹

What the HM did have a language for was sin and morality, and this influenced the organization's *ideal of community*. As in Puritan Calvinism, the wholly transcendent God, and the inability of the individual to secure her/his own salvation, meant a search for being on the right side of the saved/lost divide. The Pietist moral teachings thus became a means of distinguishing the 'children of God' from the 'children of the world'. Even if the leadership did not condemn drinking, playing cards, or dancing as sin, there is evidence that these activities were perceived by many of the followers of the movement as clear markers as to whether one belonged to the saved or the lost (Holt 1979, 471ff). On this backdrop, the Home Mission communities evolved, as did other revivalist groups, into 'subcultures' with their own specific way of dressing, their own formula for greeting and talking, and their own practices of endogamy, i.e. finding spouses within their own group (Balle-Petersen 1977; Balle-Petersen 1986). The ideal community was thus one of pious Christians that were not slumbering, but

⁷¹ Beck actually supported the revival of this institution in principle, but failed to develop it in practice (Larsen 2000, 110f).

were truly awakened in their faith; a faith that could be recognized through a certain moral behavior and a certain 'code' language.

The sharp divide between saved and lost also meant that the obligations to individuals inside and outside the community were immensely different, and the recipe beliefs or religious techniques applied varied accordingly. Internally, the *Ordo salutis*, or the steps to salvation, took on a distinctive form. Rather than the progression towards moral perfection that was the mark of certain strands of Calvinism and in Methodism, the techniques of the Home Mission had no progressive element. Rather, there was the constant threat of falling out of grace. Beck, in a central sermon, uses a rural metaphor in that he compares the corn cockle (a type of beautiful weed) in the wheat field to the sins in man. The corn cockles have been planted by the devil, and since we do not know one from the other before the Last Day, the true Christian should every day watch for the corn cockles within himself (Beck 1872). Internally in the community, we can thus talk of a religious technique of vigilance,⁷² of persistent self-surveillance, watching over one's behavior and thoughts.

Externally, the Home Mission stressed the individual conversion, or rather the 'awakening' of the dormant Christian. This type of awakening traces back to influences on the early awakenings from Pietism and the Moravians (Olesen 1983). With the institutionalization of the revivals in the Home Mission, the experience of awakening was toned down in the official theology, so that 'rebirth' happened through the church's sacrament of baptism, where the totally depraved human being received the gift of grace, and became justified in the eyes of God. Conversion ought not to take place once you were baptized, but if you were to lose sight of your covenant with God instigated through baptism, a 'deep' conversion would be necessary 'back to' a life of renunciation and belief (Larsen 2000:32-48). Rather than the minutely detailed description of the violent 'Busskampf' of the Pietists, the conversion techniques used by the home missionaries consisted of addressing possible converts in a direct manner: "Have you met Jesus?", the singing of psalms, and handing out of tracts and distributing of Bibles (Larsen 2011, 59ff).

In the local communities, however, sin and moral conduct in a sense remained 'private', and the techniques were 'silent'. To rid oneself of sin, one needed to return to the covenant of baptism,

⁷² 'Spiritual vigilance' was the theme of at least one devotional re-publication by the Home Mission (Larsen 2010, 96)

which in practice meant entering into the 'privacy' of one of the Home Mission's communities and working with the outside world with the final aim of conversion. The techniques were 'silent' in the sense that it was practiced by singing emotional psalms, especially Pietist versions, and reading devotional literature aloud, while preferring coffee to alcohol, and singing to dancing – and by sticking to your own kind through endogamy (H. Knudsen 1984, 10ff; Balle-Petersen 1977; Balle-Petersen 1986).

When the HM launched its Copenhagen branch in 1865 (CHM from now on) with an independent, self-supplying board, the means undertaken in regards to the alleviation of poverty reflected these kinds of techniques. The Mission was not opposed to private charity, but the main aim of the HM was always primarily religious, and charity or voluntary initiative was secondary – a means to do mission, or in the Lutheran vocabulary: a fruit of the true beliefs. It was something that the local congregations could carry out, but not a task for the organization as such (Larsen 2000, 110–13; Larsen 2010, 36–40). The situation in the city, however, prompted the Mission to make use of more public forms of missionary work. The social problems in the city were interpreted in the language of sin; Copenhagen as Satan's Capital in Denmark (Lützen 1998, 288), where loose morality was the order of the day. Consequently, a kind of mission was required that did not solely focus on saving souls, but also on raising the morals of the citizens, if salvation for all was to be achieved. Such work had been started by private individuals and subsequently incorporated in and supported by the Mission in the capital. Besides spreading the message of the gospel in the destitute areas of the city, these missions targeted the centers of sin: The pub and the prostitution districts (so called 'midnight missions'), where prostitutes and pub owners as well as their 'customers' were confronted, Bible in hand, with their sinful ways (e.g. Thomsen 1904).

The HM's entry into the capital did not change the cultural schemas of doctrine, ideals of community or recipe beliefs significantly. They were 'transposed' in a rather direct manner, as the new questions of the city were combatted within the well-proven missionary vocabulary: Faith was imperative as the only way to be just in the eyes of God, and as such charity, philanthropy etc. could only be understood as 'fruits of faith', as almost accidental byproducts. The encounter with urban life did not initially change the goals of the organization, only the missionary means, while the recipe beliefs changed from focusing solely on salvation to becoming 'moral missions', targeting the public sins of alcohol and prostitution.

The language of sin, however, provided an articulation of the social question that was more readily transformed into social work than the projects of the socialists or the J. S. Mill-inspired cultural-liberals, where the road to salvation went through the rights of the state or the demolishing of existing gender norms, respectively.

Social Pietism: Faith active in love

CHM's initial Lutheran-Pietist approach to 'social work' did not attract many followers, and the board was reconstructed in 1875, as a new generation of younger priests and laymen took control, most prominently the priest Harald Stein, elected chairman in 1879, and who came to articulate most clearly the ideology of the organization (Holt 1979, 36f).

This new generation constituted a 'moral elite' of priests, civil servants of various professions, and merchants, who were less occupied with the 'divide' between saved and lost, and more with Christianity as a moral force. The Mission in the capital soon became a field of struggle between ideas and methods of the HM, and new impulses from abroad, summarized at the time as a 'mission of words' vs. a 'mission of deeds'. The new generation was part of a wider international network of 'second generation revivalists', encompassing the German Lutheran "Erweckungsbewegung" and the Reformed continental movement "Le Reveil". The most influential initiatives in this movement were taken by the Lutheran priest Johann Hinrich Wichern, who had founded the educational institution for boys 'Das Rauhe Haus' near Hamburg, Germany, in 1833, and the reformed Protestant pastor Otto Gerhard Heldring, who founded the asylum for prostitutes 'Steenbeek' in Guelders in the Netherlands in 1849, but also Stöcker, Bodelschwingh, and the London City Mission were part of the network (Schram 1978; J. Stein 1933, 40;44; Olesen 1964, 27f; Steen and Hoffmeyer 1915, 55).

Harald Stein had until his election as chairman of the CHM been priest at *Diakonissestiftelsen*, a hospital employing female nurses after the German model. Stein's programmatic series of lectures from 1876 can safely be taken as the ideological manifesto of this current that inspired the explosion in voluntary social work in Copenhagen. It was reprinted several times and also translated into German. Stein here laid out three 'missions' based on the 'deeds of love': preserving (protecting children and the youth), saving (outreach to the fallen: prostitutes, prisoners and drunkards), and comforting love (helping the poor, the sick and the helpless). The lectures are a peculiar mix of indignation regarding the social conditions, especially in the city, where Satan had free rein, combined with regret over the state of a Christian community that

does not act on this, as well as practical directions for doing social work gathered from the European network. Stein's lectures mark an innovation in Protestant thought in Denmark,⁷³ where for the first time an appeal was made for the congregation to take voluntary social action, and not rely on the priest or the state, which was thought capable of delivering the last "kiss of Judas" to the church (H. Stein 1872, 127).

Merging the *doctrinal* schema of 'sola fide' with what could easily be construed as the detested schema of 'works' required some theological consideration. How could the organized obligations of the Christian be formulated without falling back on a Catholic kind of justification through deeds? Here, the 'magic formula', so to speak, became the merging of *faith* and *love* through Luther's formulation of *faith active in love* (see Forell 1999, 70–111). Though salvation was still only obtainable through faith, this faith was expressed in the idea of neighborly love, which showed itself through deeds. The Christian is thus moved to act on his love, and in a sense it is not the Christian as such that acts, but love that acts through the Christian: A love that 'saves', 'protects', 'helps' etc. These formulations served to combine the purely inner relation to God on the one hand with an emphasis on action on the other that avoided both what was seen as the Catholic mistake of perceiving good deeds as a way of securing salvation, and the almost equally mistaken rationalist theology that emphasized Christian 'virtues' in everyday life (Dubois 2010; Lieburg 2012; Van Drenth 2002; Beyreuther 1962, 25ff; 88-96; Wichern 1956a, Bd. 1:151f and passim; esp. Shanahan 1954, 70–94; H. Stein 1882, 11 and passim).

Staying within the HM revivalist tradition, the 'social question' was still perceived in moral terms, so that attention was paid to the "Sittlichkeit" side of the question (even if some of the leaders of the movement touched upon structural aspects as well (Wichern 1956b, e.g. 258f; Martensen 1874)): Prostitution, indecency, the breakdown of the family, alcoholism etc. These questions were taken up in the language of 'sin'. The city, especially, was perceived as a place where sin flourished in the form of dancing establishments, bars, and unsupervised youth. The city was portrayed in this way in Denmark, Germany, Holland, and the UK (H. Stein 1882, 85, 93 and passim; Wichern 1956b; Van Drenth 2002; Guthrie 2015).

The *ideals of community* also changed, even if the social question was still perceived through the cultural schemas of the revivalist tradition as sin, and thus also the *Ordo salutis* from the

⁷³ Even if he was inspired heavily by the priest of an earlier generation, namely Martensen's thoughts on Christianity and socialism (Martensen 1874).

shackles of Satan to salvation. The social Pietists' main innovation can be said to be a change in the nature of the obligations of the congregation. Women, drunkards, criminals, etc. were seen as weak, as 'fallen', that is: As essentially passive victims of a sinful society; the congregation, the ones who had already found faith, hence carried the responsibility to act. Stein held up the congregations of the early churches as an example of the active congregation (H. Stein 1882, 1–19), while Wichern in Hamburg, like Spener before him, invoked Luther's concept of universal priesthood (Wichern 1956a, Bd. 1:37).

The *recipe beliefs* or techniques for treatment were developed chiefly by combining the older idea of the institution or the 'Anstalt', not least inspired from the German diaconal tradition, with 'modern' pedagogical means based on 'family principles' and the idea of voluntary participation. So for instance, the 'Magdalen homes'⁷⁴ for the rehabilitation of prostitutes in Holland and Denmark were explicitly based on the idea that the 'fallen' women were free to leave at any time, symbolized in Denmark by the ritual of showing that the door to the facility could be unlocked by anyone on the inside, just as the institutions were called 'homes' to resemble family life, and the superintendent considered him or herself a 'father' or a 'mother' of the family (cf. Esche 1920). Here, Wichern's ideas from his 'Rauhe Haus' institution (est. 1833) for 'street kids' had been groundbreaking. Wichern had developed a 'theological pedagogy' built on forgiveness, trust, education to freedom, and an individual approach where a book was kept for each child, and the 'family principle', where older 'brothers' took care of younger ones (Beyreuther 1962, 93; Anhorn 2007). These ideas proved powerful and effective to a rising bourgeois middle class that sought to act on the experiences of poverty and deprivation in the city, and in Copenhagen a range of initiatives were taken, including homes for children, nurseries, Sunday schools, Bible classes for the youth, 'young men's associations', missions for maids and 'factory girls', soldier and seamen's missions, as well as institutions for epileptics (Olesen 1964, 28–31).

While the schemas of love and recipes of voluntary work resonated well with the wider national church and the bourgeoisie that came to differentiate sharply between the rural HM and CHM (cf. Steen and Hoffmeyer 1915, 115ff), the social Pietist merging of the doctrinal schemas of faith and love did not resonate with the revivalist schemas of the laymen in the CHM and the rural HM – and this was the case in Germany and the Netherlands as well. In Copenhagen, the

⁷⁴ Ostensibly, the first 'Magdalen Home' was founded by Quakers in Philadelphia, USA, in 1800 (cf. Cunzo 1995).

rural Home Mission criticized the approach for being a ‘mission of deeds’ rather than a ‘mission of words’, besides casting suspicion on the initiatives as a kind of ‘German’ mission, which was not popular after the Second Schleswig War of 1864 between Prussia and Denmark (Holt 1940, 51), and Stein eventually retired as chairman of the CHM board. In Germany, similar criticism from the orthodox Lutherans were raised against Wichern, who was accused of “by the jingle of good works to seduce the Protestant church to idolatry” (Janssen 1956, 35 my translation), just as Wichern’s vision of the universal priesthood did not resonate with the ‘Erwerkungsbewegung’ (Janssen and Sieverts 1962, 143). And in Holland, the translation of German Lutheran thoughts to a Reformed Protestant context also proved too difficult for Heldring (Benrath, Sallmann, and Gäbler 2000, 72f; Lieburg 2012, 120;134).

The second urban generation of revivalists thus re-interpreted the Lutheran doctrinal vocabulary, expanded the obligations of the Christian community, and innovated new means of doing social work. This marked a change in the *Ordo salutis* for the Christian community as well as for those intended to be helped. The path to salvation also entailed care for this-worldly well-being, even if this could never be a guarantee for salvation in the next world. The CHM innovations, however, were in a sense still ‘private’ and ‘silent’, as social work should be carried out in institutions resembling the private bourgeois home. At this point, however, a ‘louder’ and more public theology than the inward looking ‘quiet’ and private Pietism was to enter the continent: That of the Holiness Movement.⁷⁵

Holiness Movement: Sanctification and public recipes

What can be called the ‘third generation’ in and around the Copenhagen Home Mission was heavily influenced by Holiness theology and practice. Stein’s stepping down as leader of the Copenhagen Home Mission in 1886 has been interpreted as a victory for the rural home mission (Holt 1979, 39), but even if the capital branch now declared its allegiance to the national (rural) Home Mission, it is probably more accurate to say that it was a certain type of Protestantism that triumphed.

If we take a look at the layer beneath the leadership of CHM, the practitioners or laymen, then we see that many of these were inspired by Holiness-ideas. During the battle between the rural and the urban Home Mission, Beck in 1898 asked publicly for the support of the laymen in CHM.

⁷⁵ There may be an affinity between Reformed Protestantism and the city, and Lutheranism and the countryside (cf. Tawney 1972) that I will not touch upon.

He got the support he wanted, but more importantly for our purposes, the response from the laymen (published in the Home Mission periodical) ended with the greeting that they had a common purpose in “human souls’ conversion and sanctification” (Holt 1979, 59ff). The mention of ‘sanctification’ shows that the Holiness teachings were now part of the vocabulary among laymen, and we see how several of the ‘workers’ in the Home Mission were influenced by this line of thinking; for instance, Thora Esche (cf. Esche 1920), leader of the Magdalen Home for prostitutes, Colonel Christian von Keyper and his wife Therese, who were active in the Sunday school work, as well as city missionaries such as R. B. Clausen, initiators of the temperance organization ‘The Blue Cross’, the librarian H. O. Lange and the priest H. P. Mollerup. The latter also co-founded the Holiness-inspired Church Army in Denmark. Finally, the leader of the YMCA in Denmark was also influenced by these teachings. These are just a few examples, but there are many more, and they are well documented (c.f. Olesen 1996, 571–89).

The Holiness ideas first arrived in Denmark through the interdenominational and international movement The Evangelical Alliance, who held their 8th World Conference in Copenhagen in 1884 (Olesen 1996, 231), and quickly came to influence large portions of the revivalist circles around the Home Mission; first in the capital and then nationwide.⁷⁶

The central ideational innovation of the Holiness Movement was the revival of the *doctrine of sanctification*. In Lutheranism, as we have seen, the dominating doctrine was that of justification by faith alone, whereas sanctification, the process of becoming holy in this life, was of minor importance. The doctrine was first developed in a revivalist way by Zinzendorf and his followers in the Moravian community, who against the Pietist conversion struggle defended their version of the doctrine of sanctification, of freedom from sin, and distinguished between the habitus of sinning and the act of sinning. While man cannot be free from the first, he is free from the last kind of sin, when he has experienced conversion. The ideas were developed further in Reformed Protestantism by the father of Methodism, John Wesley, who translated them to the idea of ‘Christian perfection’: “Exactly as we are justified by faith, so are we sanctified by faith” (Olesen 1996, 88).

⁷⁶ Pockets of Holiness ideas were already latently present in Denmark due to the spread of Scottish tract-literature earlier in the century (cf. Eriksen 1988), just as the Moravian communities had spread similar teachings, and the temperance movement had applied Methodist-like techniques in a secular framework (ibid.).

In reality, the doctrine of Holiness turned the image of man – and thus of sin – upside-down. Whereas Lutherans and Calvinists had taught the total depravity of man (to a greater or lesser extent), and especially Calvinists had taught the lack of free will, the Holiness message taught that since Jesus had bled on the cross for all humanity, grace was universally available, sin had already been taken away, and man had only to embrace what had already happened – he was free to choose not to sin. There were more or less radical interpretations of this doctrine: while some used the phrase ‘Christian perfection’ and counted the days since they laid the old human being behind and stopped sinning, others talked more discretely about ‘liberation’ from sin rather than total freedom. For the adherent to this doctrine, sin ceased to be a problem.

The *ideal of the Christian community* changed with the doctrinal changes: Old confessional divides were expected to wither away, and a new global community of Christians was thought to arise. This ideal was linked to imaginaries of the second coming of Christ, the expectation that God’s rule on Earth was imminent, comprised in concepts such as millennialism, eschatology, and Parousia expectations (of Jesus’ imminent return) (Ohlemacher 1986, 173). This was not the wholly transcendent God of Weber’s Calvinists, but an immanent God whose presence was deeply felt and experienced. The ideal was concretized in interdenominational organizations such as The Evangelical Alliance, or in single-purpose organizations such as the YMCA, and in Copenhagen in the voluntary initiative ‘The Church Foundation’, which was concerned with building new churches for the congregations in Copenhagen. Wesleyan and German Holiness ideals of the congregation as an active, self-organizing community around a strict church discipline were at the center of this initiative – only this should be realized within the bounds of the national church (Bach-Nielsen and Schjørring 2012, 501–2).

That sin was no longer a necessity, that it came from ‘without’ so to speak, that everyone could will to be free of sin, that God’s presence was felt – all these things meant that the eradication of sin was no longer the obligation of a loving and merciful congregation towards those who had ‘fallen’, as in social Pietism. Rather, it was the question of getting the happy message out: That everyone could be free of sin, if only they would, by using the proper religious techniques. Only, sin did not disappear entirely after all (unsurprisingly), and a new problem arose: The problem of ‘backsliding’ – of returning to old sinful ways (Olesen 1996, 87). As we will see, these ideas were reflected in the recipe beliefs put into practice in the social work of the movement.

The central innovation in terms of *recipe beliefs* or religious techniques of the movement was the application of the so called 'New Measures'. The New Measures consisted in mass conversion meetings, week long camp meetings, private and public prayer meetings etc., where the number of conversions was registered and publicly announced. Since grace was freely available, one only had to declare that one was reborn, and the *Ordo salutis* was thus not the quiet, but violent, internal battle of the Pietists, but the loud and public announcement or testament of having shed off the old sinful nature (cf. McLoughlin 1978, 141ff; Smith 1976, 63–79). The New Measures also included a louder and more intense interaction between the preacher and the congregation/audience, where the Palmers in particular constituted a vanguard in promoting a new form of psalms where the audience, in a seemingly spontaneous, but highly rehearsed way loudly expressed their approval of the sermon through affirming outbursts of 'Hallelujah', 'Bless the Lord!', 'Oh, Lord!' etc. (Olesen 1996, 62f). Whereas in early revivalist Pietism, the breaking of the fiddle had been a sign of conversion, musical instruments now became integral for the conversion process – to the point where the guitar became the ultimate sign of Holiness-adherence (Olesen 1996, 256). Moreover, there was a 'magical' element in the Holiness Movement. The more radical believed in the power of faith and the Holy Spirit to cure diseases, and this intuition was also present in the less radical forms, such as faith's ability to heal the social illnesses and individual sinful habits (ibid., 221-4; 243-252).

Rather than the "Anstalt" (institution or asylum), the main recipe for dealing with moral-social issues now became what could be called the 'abstinence association'. Temperance and abstinence are concepts mostly associated with the 'moral crusade' against alcohol consumption, but temperance or abstinence became a widespread technique that Christians formed associations around. Abstinence was applied to combat alcoholism (The Blue Cross), sexual promiscuity (The White Cross), and the depravation of youth (YMCA) in particular. In the furrows left in the soil by the Holiness revivals, such groups mushroomed (Fleisch 1903, 56–65). In Germany, the Gnadauer Konferenz, a yearly week long Holiness Conference, was instrumental in causing such abstinence associations to flourish. These associations carried the 'public spirit' of the movement by clearly showing adherence through a pin or a ribbon, and interestingly contained elements both of self-help and philanthropy. The abstinence associations concerned with alcohol consumption, for instance, were often started by priests and converted laymen, who in solidarity with the drunkard signed an abstinence pledge (philanthropy), while former drunkards entered the movements and became central members (self-help).

The techniques used in the abstinence associations had a clear affinity with the Holiness teachings: The pledge was a way of publicly committing oneself not to sin anymore, and the problem of 'sliding back' into sin was of course ever present, but was handled through techniques of probation and quarantines (see Granum-Jensen 1979). The goal of the *Ordo salutis* was of course still the salvation of the soul, but since the kingdom of God was here and now, the steps were steps to a life in grace in this life as well. Not only ethics, but salvation itself became inner-worldly.

Telling of the difference between the Social Pietism and the Holiness approach is the fact that Stein did not even believe in erecting asylums for drunkards in Denmark, since the shame of entering one would be too great, and the temperance pledge was too easily broken (H. Stein 1882, 98ff). This illustrates clearly the irreconcilability of the public and loud Holiness teachings and the private and quiet means of the social Pietists.

In Copenhagen, the Blue Cross (est. 1895) and the Church Army (est. 1912) were started by men inspired by Holiness-teachings, and in their early days, these associations most clearly resemble the ideal type of the abstinence association by building on the solidary engagement of the volunteer with the 'voluntee' through the use of musical instruments, the 'after-meeting', and the idea of human perfection. The Danish YMCA (est. 1878), however, was also clearly marked by the Holiness movement in terms of ideas and persons – and of course the Salvation Army (est. 1887 in Denmark), although this organization, unlike the others, was established as a direct 'branch' of the mother organization.

Paradoxically, it was thus the Reformed cultural schema of sanctification, stemming from the Holiness Movement, that finally made it possible to integrate 'good works' into the Lutheran revivalist *sola fide* tradition. This was made easier as these notions also more or less consciously had entered into the rural Home Mission's vocabulary (Olesen 1996, 323–41). Eventually, as the turbulent period settled, many of the initiatives borne by the revivalist civic engagement were integrated into or supported financially by the emerging welfare state, while often continuing to be supported financially and ideologically by the Home Mission adherers (Kaspersen and Lindvall 2008; Henriksen and Bundesen 2004). The once highly controversial question of how to conduct voluntary social work in a Lutheran context thus cooled down and became a civic habit in revivalist circles. Had it not been for the creative reinterpretations of Protestant cultural schemas of sin, works, justification, sanctification, community, and recipes for action, in light of

the experience of suffering, the so called third sector in Denmark would maybe not have obtained the strong position that it did, or have emerged in a different form and maybe at an earlier or later period in time with consequences for the development of the modern welfare state.

Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to show how voluntary social action emerged in Copenhagen ca. 1865 – 1915 through several reinterpretations of a specific, but influential strand of European civic vocabulary, that of Lutheran revivalism. Specifically, it has been shown how the Lutheran cultural schema of sin worked both in enabling and retarding ways, how schemas were creatively reinterpreted and merged on the basis of new experiences, and how these re-interpretations were linked with new forms of voluntary social action. Cultural ideas thus provide part of the explanation of why and how voluntary social work emerged in Copenhagen at this particular time and in this particular form.

It was the cultural schema of sin that first prompted the revivalists of the Home Mission to engage with the life politics aspects of the social question in Copenhagen at the end of the 19th century. This language allowed for the articulation of and voluntary action upon issues of prostitution and alcoholism better than the language of rights of the emerging social democracy, or the language of liberation of the cultural liberals. It was soon clear, however, that the revivalist framework not only enabled voluntary social work, but also retarded it. The question of how to integrate good works and deeds into a Lutheran context that emphasized that the Christian could only be saved through faith, represented a problem for a revivalist movement that stuck to ideals of community that distinguished unequivocally between the saved and the damned, and consequently only allowed for moral missions that urged sinners to return to God. It thus took two reinterpretations of the Lutheran-Pietist tradition to reach a theological language that allowed for voluntary social work to be integrated into the Pietist religious framework. While the Priests of the social Pietist movement rearticulated the role of deeds and works with the Lutheran doctrine of “faith, active in love” and thus expanded the Home Mission’s purely religious understanding of their task, this framing seemed to resonate better with the bourgeois public than with the laymen and rural basis of the Mission, who found the ideal of the responsible community and the methods of the institution overly distanced and lacking in religious enthusiasm. Only the second reinterpretation, inspired by Holiness ideas

mostly found within the Reformed tradition, succeeded in merging the sola fide doctrine with that of works through the addition of the doctrine of sanctification and the resultant rearticulation of the Christian community as consisting of sinners freed from sin, following enthusiastic, involving, and public recipes for voluntary social action that were realized exemplarily in the various temperance organizations.

Through this short period of time, a development in soteriology is evident. The path to salvation, the *Ordo salutis*, was reinterpreted so that both the nature of sin and the means to combat it were altered. For the first generation Pietists, sin was individual and combatted internally through vigilance, while externally only individual conversion to the 'children of God' would mean salvation. For the second generation, sin became a state of being caused by the depraving environment of the city. It was thus necessary to take the first step of removing social suffering before conversion or 'awakening' was even a possibility. For the third generation, however, the *Ordo salutis* was short: Since sin had already been overcome two millennia ago, freedom from sin and faith, action and word, were inherently linked and immediately realizable. While this development could be interpreted as a process of secularization (an inherently ambiguous concept), leading from 'pure' religion to religiously justified social work, I view this as a change *in* faith; in the perceived obligations of the religious community.

The analysis provides a basis for both historical and contemporary comparative studies of vocabularies of civic and voluntary engagement. Historically, it opens for comparisons with similar developments in other religious traditions – Reformed, Catholic or non-Christian – that would have to reinterpret their vocabulary of engagement as the social question emerged. In a contemporary perspective, religious revivalism represents an especially clear case of value based non-contentious collective action. In this way, the concept of 'collective soteriology' could be developed further to throw light on secular vocabularies of engagement that also rely on articles of faith, ideals of community, and certain recipe beliefs. Recent research (Steensland 2014) has shown how the American evangelical tradition is waking up to engage once again in social questions, but there are vast opportunities to study innovations in religious schemas that restrain or promote specific types of collective action leading to violent action, welfare initiatives, or life politics action. In a European context, it is urgent to understand how various civic vocabularies are rearticulated in order to act on the suffering of refugees escaping the violent conflicts in the Middle East.

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ARTICLE 2

Translating social movements: The Blue Cross and the translation of the temperance movement to the Danish fields of moral reform and treatment, 1895 – 1938

Abstract

The article presents a case study of the translation of the international temperance movement to Denmark ca. 1895 – 1938. Drawing on theoretical inspirations from the sociology of translation, combined with cultural sociology and field theory, and analyzing a large corpus of texts from the Blue Cross' archives, the study shows how the Blue Cross temperance organization, established by a small group of Copenhagen evangelicals, managed to successfully translate central cultural forms and categories of the international movement to the national fields of moral reform and medical treatment. The article identifies three central forms of translation: Translation of cultural forms related to organization and theology, translation of resources from the field of moral reform to that of treatment, and translation as alignment of interest with the central actors in the two fields: The Lutheran evangelical Home Mission and the state. The translation of the temperance movement to both fields worked as a hedge for the Blue Cross, securing its survival, albeit at the cost of a 'translation of mission' from social movement organization to service provider for the state. The article contributes theoretically to social movement studies by introducing a translational conceptual framework that emphasizes the active role of local translators in the adaption of social movements between cultural contexts. Empirically, the study contributes new knowledge about the development of the Danish welfare state and the Danish and international temperance movement by relying on hitherto unused archival source material.

Introduction

The Blue Cross today owns, runs, or is involved in thirteen facilities related to substance abuse treatment, ranging from treatment institutions proper to youth colleges. In 2016, it boasted a turnover of approximately 41 million US dollars. It further manages several other initiatives, including eleven drop-in centers (*væresteder*), 57 second-hand shops, summer camps, and house share projects, and it owns 28 buildings (Blue Cross Denmark annual report 2015). This makes it the largest private actor in Denmark in the field of alcohol and substance abuse treatment. The Blue Cross' success is surprising, given that the organization was founded in 1895 by a small group of Christian revivalists in late 19th century Copenhagen and never received a large nationwide following, and was actually viewed with suspicion by evangelicals in the countryside. The answer to the success lies, I contend, in answering the wider question of how international movements are translated to local cultural contexts. How are cultural schemas for moral change and voluntary social work adapted to new contexts?

The answer to this question, and the central argument in the article, is that the success of the Blue Cross was the result of three types of interlinked translations: First, a translation of interests, where the interests of the main actors in the fields in which the Blue Cross was engaged would have to be aligned with those of the Blue Cross. These were on the one hand the Home Mission in what I call the field of moral reform, and on the other hand the state and other civil society actors in the field of treatment. They managed to forge alliances with these actors through two other translation processes: the translation of cultural schemas, and the conversion of resources in one field to the other. The translation of cultural schemas in the field of moral reform consisted in adapting revivalist-Calvinist schemas for 'doing moral reform' inherent in the international temperance movement to the Lutheran Danish context, while the international temperance movement's new medical categorization of 'the alcoholic' was adapted in order to interest the state and municipal authorities in supporting their treatment work in the emerging field of treatment of alcoholism. The translation of resources consisted in converting an explosive growth in members to financial support for the treatment facilities. As I will show, the successful translation of interests in the two fields was contingent on successfully translating cultural schemas in the two fields and converting resources from one field to the other. I argue in the end that the Blue Cross' positioning in the two fields worked as a hedge, so that as the membership resources dried out, the organization survived as a treatment provider for the state. This led, however, to a 'translation' of the organization itself from a social

movement organization as part of a wider vision of a rechristianized society to a service provider.

I will start the article by introducing my theoretical framework, emphasizing translation processes as opposed to the diffusion framework that has traditionally been applied in social movement theory, and introducing the three types of translation more thoroughly. After describing the study as a possible paradigmatic case study, I proceed to introduce the Copenhagen evangelical entrepreneurs who were central in translating the temperance movement into the Danish context and their vision for church and society. I will then describe the two fields that the entrepreneurs entered into: First, the already established field of moral reform, where the revivalist movements with origins in the early 19th century were strong, and second, the emerging field of treatment of alcoholics and similar types of moral-medical conditions. In the analytical sections, I show how specific translation strategies were pursued in order to overcome criticisms from and adapt organizationally and theologically to the rurally strong evangelical Home Mission in the field of moral reform, how the category of the alcoholic (or 'drunkard') was established as a medical category to interest the state in the field of treatment, how resources in the field of moral reform were translated to the field of treatment in order to obtain a dominant position here, and finally how this amounted to a translation of the interest of the Home Mission and the state to become aligned with those of the Blue Cross.

Theory

The emergence of the temperance movement, along with the antislavery movement, has recently received renewed attention in the study of social movements. After having been relegated to the role of status politics (Gusfield 1963) for some time, we are witnessing an interest in the cultural preconditions and innovations of the temperance movement (Young 2002, 2006), as well as the antislavery movement, as a moral mobilization with universalist aspirations (Joas 2013, 102–12). Along the same lines, the religious 'pre-field' logic of the humanitarian field has recently been studied (Dromi 2016). While these studies point to the *emergence* of these social and humanitarian movements, they pay little attention to how these ideas were received, interpreted, and adapted in various cultural contexts.

Especially in the 1990s, social movement scholars discussed such issues under the heading of transnational 'diffusion' (McAdam and Rucht 1993; McAdam 1995; Soule 1997; Snow and Benford 1999; Della Porta 2006; Della Porta, Kriesi, and Rucht 2009; Benford and Snow 2000,

627f). In the wider literature on diffusion, the centrality of professional communities as constructors and promoters of ideas was emphasized, and the distinction between direct (personal) and indirect (mass mediated) contact between groups was introduced (Strang and Meyer 1993). This model was taken up by social movement scholars to study how ideas and practices of collective action spread from 'transmitters' to 'adopters' (McAdam and Rucht 1993). Models of diffusion have since been criticized for relaying the notion of an original author, the diffusion of whose authority is only hindered through frictions and resistances (Latour 1984). This critique points to the weakness of the diffusion metaphor and the notions it invokes of something unchangeable that simply spreads out through the social body. Moreover, the metaphors of transmitters and adopters signals a passive and wholesale takeover of the original content and intentions of the movement's ideas and practices. In the following I thus prefer the term adapters to adopters, highlighting the active role of actors that take up and modify ideas, possibly from various contexts, to fit their wants and purposes (Dewey 2013 [1934], 14f). Adaptation signals an active attitude towards the world, rather than a mere accommodation to existing conditions. Further, I prefer the concept of translation to diffusion when dealing with the concrete processes involved in moving temperance ideas to a new context.

Translation in the world of art has been described as a 'mode' or a 'form' that involves poetic work beyond simply 'transmitting' a 'message' as faithfully as possible. The good translation creates an afterlife for something like the essence of the artwork in a new context (Benjamin 1923). While social movements are arguably involved in this type of translation where something 'calls out' to be translated because it says something true about the human condition, this perhaps pertains to the emergence phase of social movements when human rights or the Christian gospel is translated anew to give life to what is perceived as its 'essence'. In the more mundane day-to-day practices of strategic considerations where translation relates to questions of mobilization and possible alliances, translation takes on other forms. Here, it is not the source text, but the target audience that takes precedence. These types of translations, however, also cannot be reduced to a faithful transmission of a message, but rather involve creative adaptations of the original ideas and practices to the new context. While the temperance movement in the US was arguably the first social movement, it is in fact akin to the so-called new social movements that do not primarily address material issues and/or claims to the state, but cultural habits and schemas of interpretation and the public as such (Young 2002). 'Culture' has long been analyzed by social movement scholars in terms of how collective actors

may choose to frame their message to achieve ‘cultural resonance’ (Gamson 1988) or ‘frame bridging’ (Snow et al. 1986), and in this way tap into existing interpretative frames and mobilize resources outside the political system. It is only more recently that it has been suggested that culture is not only involved in interpreting already existing interests and opportunities for mobilizing, but is often constitutive of interests, identities, and strategic action, just as culture constrains and opens opportunities for collective action (see Polletta 2008). The way we think about gender, for example, is always already interpreted through existing interpretative schemas and is thus not solely a matter of strategically framing a message. Cultural sociology has developed theories of the multiplicity of interpretative schemas that often coexist amicably until they emerge as problematic in certain circumstances (Swidler 1986), and others have pointed to the way that cultural schemas can be ‘transposed’ or translated from one cultural context to another (Sewell 1992) or how policy development takes the form of bricolage, where pieces from existing institutional frameworks are pieced together to form new policy proposals (Carstensen 2011). Similarly, the adaptation of organizational form and the innovative use of existing repertoires of organizing in new contexts have been shown to matter for identity formation, the possibilities for mobilizing specific constituencies, and in shaping the paths available for strategic action (Clemens 1996; Clemens 1997; Clemens and Minkoff 2004). In his analysis of the US temperance movement, Young has showed how the emotionally ‘intensive’ schema of public protest merged with the extensive schema of national sin (Young 2002, 2006). My main concern in the following will be how, on the one hand, new organizational repertoires and intensive cultural schemas concerning how to ‘do moral reform’ can be adapted to a settled field where strong commitments to other organizational forms and intensive schemas prevail. On the other hand, I am interested in how the promotion of new categorizations of certain groups (alcoholics in my case), akin to the way that psychiatrists created ‘homosexuality’ as a deviant identity (D’Emilio 1998), may provide new avenues for mobilization and resources as the category becomes relevant for the actors in question – or other actors. Such cultural translations will often not come about, however, without an accompanying effort of *interest translation*. When a social movement moves to a new context, it will have to gain a constituency: adherers, followers, members (McCarthy and Zald 1977) in a social field, where it may be perceived as a challenger by existing social movement organizations. Existing interests (in the broadest sense of the word) will have to be ‘translated’ to align with those of the translator (Latour 1984; Callon 1984). Translation in this sense incorporates a range of strategies

from negotiation to persuasion and violence in order that the actor in question may appear as the spokesperson for those whose interests they have aligned (Callon and Latour 1981).

My focus in the analysis will be on the translation of theological and scientific temperance schemas *to* the Danish context by the urban evangelicals. In the framing literature, what the cultural frames are often said to resonate *with* is regarded generically as ‘widely held beliefs’ or ‘existing cultural categories’ (McCammon et al. 2001, 57; Steensland 2006, 1276). A renewed interest in developing the understanding of the ‘target culture’ rather than only the ‘source culture’ has emerged. In translation studies, a ‘target text turn’ has been noted (Malmkjær 2005), and the conceptual history tradition has begun to focus not only on national traditions, but on translations between national and cultural contexts (Pernau and Sachsenmaier 2016). I will propose, however, that combining the concepts of adaptation and translation with concepts from field theory offers a more comprehensive vocabulary for understanding the role of the translation and adaption of international movements to a new context. I do this in order to avoid ontologizing the ‘target culture’. National, religious or secular cultural forms are not simply there, but have become influential through specific actors who viewed them as adequate solutions to specific experienced problems and who managed to promote them through specific tactics and strategies.

In the analysis, I rely upon field analysis as it has been developed by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1984b), and Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam as Strategic Action Fields (SAF) (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Bourdieu has provided the core concepts of field analysis, but while religion for Bourdieu provides metaphors for his analyses such as orthodoxy and heterodoxy, he only seldom analyzed religion itself, and then most often on the model of the Catholic church and as a cloak for power relations (Bourdieu 1991, 1998, 124–26). This is in fact typical for the way Bourdieu analyzes culture as such, which is almost always seen as a way of achieving a distinction ‘surplus’ (e.g. Bourdieu 1984a), that is: as a veil for underlying power structures. In contrast, the SAF approach explicitly takes into account ideal motives for action and the fact that people also join movements for reasons of sociability and existential security (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 35–39).

I will use the central concepts of field theory in their generic form: Collective action takes place in order to “vie for strategic advantage in and through interaction with other groups” (Fligstein and McAdam 2011, 2). Actors in the field share a common understanding of the rules, what is

going on, and what is at stake in the field, just as certain core beliefs, central schemas, or 'doxa' underlie fields. The outlook of actors in the field differs depending on the actor's position in the field, so that those in a dominant position will tend to uphold the existing doxa. Power is most often unequally distributed in a specific field, as not all actors have access to the same amount or kind of capital, leading to a distinction between 'incumbents' and 'challengers'. Types of capital are field specific, so that only those forms that are perceived by the actors to be symbolically valid in a particular field can be utilized: Money is no good when discussing art, and aesthetic arguments are no good in natural science. Forms of capital may, however, be converted at specific rates. The habitus is said to mediate between actor and field, so that one's position in a field is internalized in one's hopes and aspirations, and incorporated in bodily expressions, while the habitually shaped subject at the same time helps (re)produce the logics of the field and its power relations. The circular nature of the habitus concept is what lends the field theory its static character, letting change occur only through external shocks (Bourdieu 2008) or a mismatch of habitus (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008). In contrast, the SAF concept takes into account the social skills (or creativity of action) of social actors, which means that even in settled times, and from below, social change can be brought about through innovative action. While I believe that the SAF-authors underestimate how socialization contributes to the development of social skills when they claim that such skills are 'perhaps' (sic) normally distributed across the population (ibid., 17), one is unable to account for mobilization from below if social skills are only attributed to elites. The field theoretic framework thus provides a useful conceptual toolbox for analyzing power relations in existing fields, central cultural beliefs, and dynamics of change. Cultural innovations will in some way have to come to terms with the existing structure of the field that it encounters.

In the analysis, I show how the ideal project for religious revival and temperance envisioned by a small group of urban, educated, and internationally oriented evangelicals was undertaken through a creative and strategic adaptation of the international temperance movement's ideas and practices through several processes of translation to the existing fields of moral reform and treatment. As stated above, I distinguish between three interlinked kinds of translation: 1) translation of interests, where certain actors' interests are aligned with those of the translator, 2) translation of cultural schemas, where certain messages, tropes, and organizational repertoires are translated to a new cultural context, and 3) translation of resources, where resources in one field are converted to resources in another.

In the first part of the analysis, I focus on the field of moral reform and the way that the Blue Cross aligned their interests with those of the Home Mission revivalist organization to form an unstable alliance by acknowledging the power relations and the Lutheran doxa of the field. I show how they adapted organizational repertoires, framed their theological message to fit the Home Mission constituency, and 'bricolaged' theological tropes and imagery for specific purposes.

The second part focuses on the field of treatment and how the Blue Cross converted its accumulated resources in the field of moral reform to that of treatment, but also how scientific schemas were transposed to the field of alcoholism treatment, as the alcoholic was recast as a medical category rather than a moral one. In the process, the state and municipalities' interests, as well as the existing Christian actors in the field, were aligned with those of the Blue Cross.

Method and data

The study contributes theoretically and empirically to the study of the translation of social movements, and empirically also to the history of the Danish temperance movement by drawing on hitherto unexamined archival sources. While the study helps contribute to explain the timing, content, and outcome of the religious temperance movement in Denmark (Weir et al. 1988; Skocpol 1992) – why and how the Blue Cross turned out a success (in terms of size) in the end – the primary objective of this study is to understand the processes whereby social movement translation may take place between cultural contexts.

Case studies of translation processes have been done within other fields of social research (Czarniawska and Sevón 1996; Glanert 2014; Niranjana 1992; Rubel and Rosman 2003), but in social movement studies, most have been done within the theoretical framework of 'diffusion', most notably (McAdam and Rucht 1993) on forms of protest diffused from the American to the West German 'New Left' in the 1960s. As mentioned, they were mostly interested in the *channels* through which movements spread, and not the kind of changes in terms of *content* it underwent, or how local actors appropriated elements of the movement for their own purposes. Translation processes thus have not previously been at the center of social movement studies, if they have been studied at all. With the risk of committing hubris, the case of the translation of the temperance movement has some of the paradigmatic qualities (Flyvbjerg 2006, 232) that the Panopticon had for Foucault in that it particularly clearly shows the cultural features of social movements in general as the religious tradition constitutes a particularly

'cultivated semantics' (Luhmann 1994). Moreover, the religious character of the movement would lead one to assume strong commitment to the cultural forms in question, making the question of translation particularly delicate. The case study may thus provide templates for analyzing other cases of culture and strong commitment in social movements.

The few existing historical studies where the Blue Cross plays a role (Eriksen 1988; Bundesen et al. 2001; Henriksen and Bundesen 2004) rely on the writings of the organization's own historians (Granum-Jensen 1979; Frost 1995). While I rely on existing research in the description of the two fields, I build the analyses on primary sources from the Blue Cross archives.⁷⁷ This allows me to go beyond the organization's self-image and show in more detail how the translations took place in a specific context in relation to specific problems. When studying processes of translation, it is necessary to get close to the subject matter to see the strategic decisions taken, certain tropes applied, and specific subjects framed, so I rely on the Blue Cross members' magazine, the protocols of the annual meetings, and protocols from the board meetings in the period 1900 – 1938. In the analysis I focus especially on the first part of the period, since it was here that the Blue Cross established itself in the two fields.

The protocols covering the minutes of the meetings of the central board and the steering committee (CB) reveal strategic decisions and how internal and external conflict was dealt with. It is evident from the protocols that conflicts were toned down, and the content of conflict often not reported, leading to the conclusion that it is more likely that there was more rather than less conflict than is passed on in the reports. Reports of the annual meeting of representatives (AR) include the minutes from the general assembly as well as the open meetings. These give an insight into the theological language deployed publicly and internally, as well conflicts and discussions between the local associations and the leadership, and between different fractions of the organization, even if these underlying networks can be hard to grasp from the individual statements written down. The members' magazine (MM) represents largely the efforts of the leadership to educate and engage the ordinary members and local associations. It was published bimonthly during the period in question, except for the period 1904 – 1906, where it was published once a month. I have analyzed the periods 1900-1905, 1910-1918, and 1931-1938. These articles give insights into the diverse strands of the temperance discourse, covering

⁷⁷ In this way, I follow a trend where historical sociologists are increasingly heading to the archives (Adams, Clemens, and Orloff 2005, 26).

statistics of alcohol related deaths and diseases and the costs of alcohol consumption, as well as theological considerations of the relationship between the Bible and temperance.

As mentioned, this paper focuses primarily on translations *to* the Danish context. I will introduce the various strands of the international temperance movement and Holiness discourse when it is relevant, rather than attempting to provide an overview of this movement as such.

'The Blue Cross' is used as a shorthand for the leadership of the organization throughout the article. When I state that the 'Blue Cross' does this or that, this should not be taken as an expression of the view that I ascribe agency to the organization as an autonomous organism. It was mainly the leadership and the general assembly who decided the strategy, but I will in certain places also show how internal dissent was present in the organization.

Danish Blue Cross: Origin, means, and methods

I will now provide a short introduction to the Copenhagen evangelical entrepreneurs who first introduced the Blue Cross and the Christian temperance movement to Denmark in order to convey a sense of their social and religious vision and the action situation in which they found themselves, before moving on to a description of the cultural fields that they entered into.⁷⁸

The individuals who took up the Blue Cross work in Denmark constituted a type of 'structural hole' (Burt 2004), a crucial network link, between international Christian social movement and the Danish revivalist communities. They belonged to the circles of young entrepreneurial priests and revivalist laymen around the Copenhagen Home Mission (est. 1865) who, like the *Innere Mission* in Germany, had initiated a large social program, but they came especially from the overlapping circles of the Copenhagen Church Foundation (est. 1890), who with inspiration from the reformed Protestant world envisioned a revival of the national congregational life. A fear of dechristianization of the capital and the country was combined with a critique of the national church for not being able to address the social issues of the time (Schädler Andersen 2008). These individuals were highly educated and had an international outlook. They connected the national evangelicals with international developments as they sought direct and indirect inspiration through travels and literature from the German Lutheran reinvention of the deaconry institution in erecting institutions or 'homes' for rehabilitating prostitutes, epileptics,

⁷⁸ I will use 'temperance' in a generic sense to designate the organization, even if it was in fact an abstinence or teetotal organization, advocating total abstinence from alcohol consumption.

and alcoholics; from Wesleyan congregational ideals and Thomas Chalmers' thoughts on poor relief carried out by the congregation in erecting churches for the expanding population in the capital and on implementing their ideals of an active congregation under strong church discipline engaged in poor relief; and from British Christian socialism in working for tolerable conditions for workers. Finally, holiness ideas were a major source of inspiration since the Evangelical Alliance's annual meeting in capital in 1884, leading to a focus on moral improvement through associations, public meetings, and abstinence pledges. The common denominator was the search for a Christianity that was able to make itself relevant to contemporaries by actively engaging with the issues of the day.

This group of priests and laymen founded the Danish Blue Cross in Copenhagen in 1895 with inspiration from the international Blue Cross organization, but also from the broader temperance movement. The Danish organization from the beginning had a dual mission: To cure alcoholics through the religious message, and to lead people to Jesus through the rehabilitation work with alcoholics. The core of the Blue Cross' work was initially the work in local associations, where former alcoholics were supported by the other members through talk, prayer, song, and signing of the temperance declaration that priests and other members that were not alcoholics signed in sympathy. Added to this were educational activities, where the harmful consequences of alcohol consumption on the body, the nation, and the family were depicted through articles and talks. Outreach in known drunkards' homes and protest actions in bar districts, as well as lobby activity for a general ban on alcohol were also added to the list of activities in the first 15 years, as was an involvement in the treatment of chronic alcoholics in treatment facilities through the means of isolation, work, and moral (Christian) stimulation.

The international Blue Cross organization was first founded in Geneva, Switzerland in 1877 by Reformed Protestants inspired by the temperance movement in England. They adapted the name from the Red Cross that originated in the same city (Dromi 2016). The Danish chapter did not join the international organization until 1904, but the organization's laws and methods served as a blue print for the Danish organization from the beginning. The Copenhagen founders were not only inspired by the Swiss organization, but by the international temperance movement that they encountered through literature, travels to and visits from abroad. The international movement had its origins in revivalist Calvinism, which had collectivized the concept of 'sin' to construe alcoholism as a national problem and deployed the 'new measures' in their sermons: Public confession, conversions by the number, and the inclusion of laymen in

their activities (Smith 1976; Young 2006). The movement was closely associated with the Holiness movement that emerged in the US around 1830. This movement flourished with ideas of moral perfection, the healing power of faith, millennialist notions of the coming kingdom of God on Earth, and the possibility of freedom from sin – bordering on antinomianism; the idea that the devout are no longer bound by biblical law, since the law had already been fulfilled through faith (Smith 1979). Switzerland in the late 19th century became one of the European centers of the movement (Olesen 1996, 149). While such ideas found some resonance in Danish revivalist environments, they never managed to find a firm footing and were rejected by the revivalist branches within the national church.

While the secular branches of the temperance movement established themselves in Denmark in the 1880s, the first mentions in the urban priestly circles of the Blue Cross were made by Copenhagen theologians in articles published in the 1880s and 1890s (Schat Petersen 1886; N. C. Dalhoff 1893). Direct physical contact was established as one of the Blue Cross leaders, Arnold Bovet, visited the Copenhagen evangelicals in the late 1880s (Juhl 1920, 6). Bovet was clearly influenced by the Holiness movement, as he had been cured from his physical disability during a stay at the Holiness retreat *Männedorf* near Zürich (Blauenfeldt 1924, 22–31). The Copenhagen entrepreneurs had, however, also encountered the temperance movement through travels to London and other larger European cities (Lange 1955, 296f; Eriksen 2007, 55).

The founders of the Blue Cross were strong in intellectual resources. Among them were individuals either established as or on their way to becoming internationally renowned statisticians and political economists (Westergaard), librarian of the national library and Egyptologist (Lange), medical doctors (P. D. Koch), and of course theologians. These were furthermore people who had acquired entrepreneurial skills and were visionary in the sense that they envisioned new forms of revivals of Christian communities and the nation as such based on inspirations from abroad. These kinds of resources did not by themselves easily translate into national success for a Christian temperance organization. The organization only grew slowly the first five to ten years. While the newly erected churches established by the Church Foundation, many of which were led by priests associated with the urban evangelical circles (Struwe 1995), provided a physical infrastructure and a natural mission field for the mission in the capital, expansion in the capital was faced with the difficulty that the inhabitants of the capital were relatively secular, and that competing organizations like the International Order of Good Templars, the YMCA, and Salvation Army had gained a foothold. In the

countryside, expansion was faced with difficulties as well. The Home Mission was theologically the most obvious alliance partner in the countryside and the emerging towns along the railroad. They shared with the urban evangelicals a Biblical literalism, a practical theology that emphasized moral conduct, and an emphasis on the role of laymen as preachers and missionaries.

The Home Mission in the late 19th century was, however, strongly opposed to the Copenhagen Home Mission on grounds related to theology and organizational control. The strong leader of the Home Mission, Vilhelm Beck, was until his death in 1901 unhappy that he could not control the urban Home Mission, and at the theological level, the Copenhagen 'mission of deeds' was frowned upon and contrasted with the proper 'mission of words' of the rural strong Home Mission (Holt 1940, 51). Beck had furthermore distanced himself from the temperance movement as such. Other initiatives that the circles of entrepreneurs had been involved with, such as the Salvation Army and White Cross, had received rough treatment from the rural Home Mission, partly on the grounds that these organizations were open to Baptists and Methodists (Lange 1955, 166f). Conversely, many in the circles around the Copenhagen Home Mission considered the rural Home Mission uneducated and too satisfied with being holy amongst themselves rather than engaging in the national church.

Probably wiser from these experiences, the Blue Cross entrepreneurs had learned that they would have to choose their strategy wisely if they were to expand their vision nationally. The organization consequently launched a two-tier strategy. The first tier of the strategy consisted in gaining members and what has been called conscience adherents and conscience constituents; adherers and supporters of the movement who do not stand to gain directly from its efforts (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Moreover, the organization needed a physical infrastructure for their local chapters to meet. The Home Mission had both a large following in the countryside, as well as a range of chapels (*missionshuse*) erected locally as places for the devout to gather (Larsen 2005). In order to win the rural evangelicals, the Copenhagen entrepreneurs would have to frame their message and adapt the organization in a way that could win adherers from this movement.

The second tier followed some ten years after the founding and consisted in using their member and conscience adherer resources as leverage to engage in the emerging field of treatment. Here, 'alcoholism' was slowly changing from a moral category to a medical one, and the state

was increasingly the major player. The following two sections will focus on the field of moral reform, and on the field of treatment, respectively.

Social movements in the field of moral reform

The temperance movement in Denmark, I argue, should be seen as part of a wider field of social movements, consisting especially of religious revivalist movements, where the stakes – what was contested over – were norms belonging to a sphere corresponding roughly to what in German is called *Sittlichkeit*: gender, family life, marriage, sexuality, socializing etc. Alcohol consumption, along with card games, theater, and dancing, belongs to this sphere as part of what in the Christian tradition has been called *adiaphora* (the ‘middle things’); actions and behavior that the Bible neither mandates nor forbid.

Whereas the Swedish temperance movement managed to establish itself as early as the 1840s, and thus became the rule-maker in the field, the Danish temperance movement only gained a foothold in the 1880s after unsuccessful attempts in the 1840s. At this point *adiaphora* issues had been at the center of revivalist movements emerging in the late 18th century and gained momentum from the 1840s. The revivalist movements were started locally by ‘awakened’ laymen and were somewhat theologically diverse, inspired by both Pietism and Methodist-type Lutheranism. Only in the 1860s did the movement form specific ‘branches’ as the Home Mission (or Inner Mission) was established and entered into opposition with the followers of the Danish priest N. F. S. Grundtvig. One of the dividing issues was the question of ‘the middle things’ along with the question of the authority of the Bible and the possibility of conversion after death (Lindhardt 1978, 70f). The Home Mission locally, if less so in the leadership, strongly condemned dancing, card games, and drinking. The movements mostly gained a following in the countryside.

When the temperance movement gained a following from the 1880s, this was perceived as a threat by the revivalist movements. The temperance organizations originated in a Reformed protestant context and carried many of the traits of the Holiness movements: The public confession, the pledge, and the instant conversion. The movement was perceived as a pseudo-religion that catered to the same parts of the population as the revivalists. Many of the early temperance leaders did in fact also experience the movement as a religious calling, and the rituals, the temperance pledge, and the sub culture that developed in the lodges and associations also resembled a religion ‘proper’ (Eriksen 1989). The leaders of both the Home

Mission and the Grundtvigians were condescending and dismissive of the new temperance competitors, and local battles ensued, especially between The Home Mission and the secular temperance organizations (ibid.).

In Sweden, the temperance movement based on Holiness principles for moral change managed to establish itself as the incumbent in the field of *Sittlichkeit* and managed to establish the doxa of the field, contributing to the (in Denmark) well-known Swedish ‘conscientious’ approach to *Sittlichkeit*-matters. In Denmark, the doxa in the field were established by the Grundtvigians and the Home Mission, who adhered to the strictly Lutheran doctrine of ‘justification by faith alone’. The sudden conversion, public confession and ideas of moral perfection never gained acceptance in the revivalist movements – or in social democracy (Eriksen 1988, 286f). A change in moral conduct could not be forced from without through law or through states of exaltation, but had to emerge slowly from within. Only in the Home Mission were there local tendencies towards Anglo-American forms of revival, but these influences were denounced by the leadership (ibid.).

Two options thus seem to have been available to the temperance organizations: Either to enter into competition as a ‘proper’ religious movement, or to change into a purely secular movement. The Danish Temperance Movement chose the latter option and erased the mention of “the assistance of God” (*Guds bistand*) from the temperance pledge (Eriksen 1988, 284f). In this way, they managed to attract followers among the Grundtvigians who adhered to a less strict approach to adiaphora and encouraged a joyful Christianity with an emphasis on liberal and practical education (ibid.).⁷⁹

The field of moral reform was divided by a rural/urban line, where social democracy and the N.I.O.G.T. catered to the same constituency in the city, while the Grundtvigians, the Home Mission, and the secular temperance movement battled over the souls in the countryside. The towns that emerged along the railroads formed a particularly intense missionary field as all the movements could potentially recruit here, unsettled as these towns were. While the Grundtvigians locally entered into alliance with the secular temperance movement, and the N.I.O.G.T. and the Social Democrats accepted their uneasy relationship, The Home Mission insisted on the ‘one necessity’: Once you met Jesus, your alcohol problem would also go away.

⁷⁹ In the capital, a similar competition ensued between the (likewise secularized) Nordic Independent Order of Good Templars (N.I.O.G.T) and the social democratic movement, resulting in a direct confrontation in 1903 (Eriksen 1992). I will leave the urban question aside in this article.

Only in the community of believers and in the next life did freedom from sin exist. There was no room for an individual and premature freedom from sin, nor a God's kingdom on Earth, and the realm of politics was partly viewed with suspicion. Despite these differences, the doxa across the field was strictly Lutheran: Moral 'conversion' could only come slowly and quietly from within.

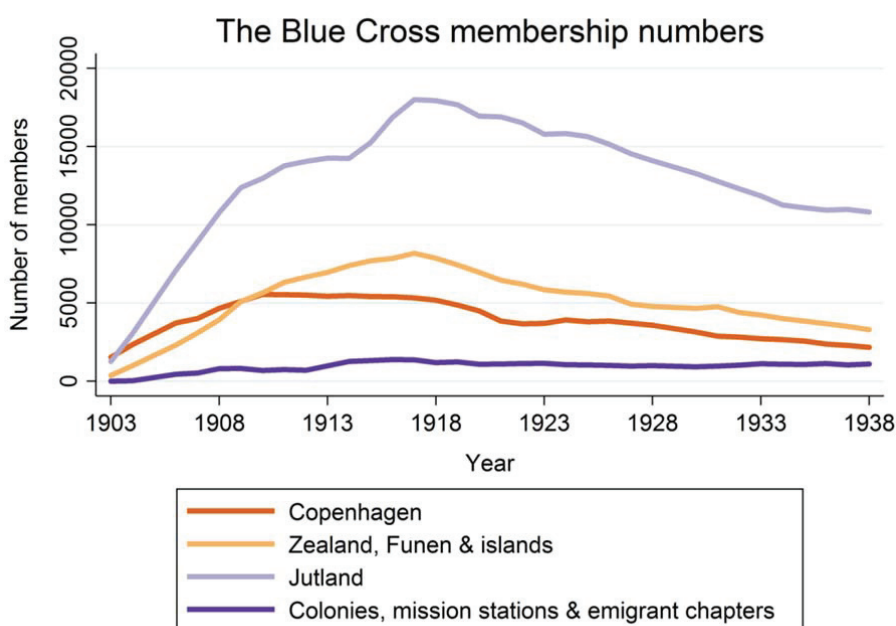
The field of treatment

In contrast to the field of social reform, where revivalist movements had settled into specific branches, the field of treatment that focused on marginal groups in society was in its initial phases when the Blue Cross was established. Early attempts at finding a medical cure had been undertaken as early as the 1820s, but only towards the end of the century did a discussion of possible causes and treatments begin among medical doctors, priests, and politicians (Eriksen 2007). After an initial so-called 'gold cure' had been discredited, a discussion of causes and treatments was started that would continue throughout the first half of the 20th century, swaying back and forth between religious-moral, physical, and social explanations of alcoholism; its causes, effects, and possible treatment. From 1895, a few small treatment facilities were erected by a group of priests, 'temperance doctors', and private citizens related to the Home Mission. The homes were, however, organizationally unaffiliated with the mission. These followed the principles for dealing with other marginal and morally 'suspect' groups, such as the insane, mentally deficient, and women deemed to be too sexually active (see Koch 1996, 2000), emphasizing isolation and discipline. They managed to obtain little financial support from the state. As these homes could not find resonance in the broader population, and enjoyed far from unequivocal support from the state, they were under constant threat of closing. In 1903, a sobriety commission was put in place, which in 1907 suggested increased state funding to the treatment facilities; a suggestion that found only little resonance (Sobriety Commission report 1907). Even as social policy was increasingly influenced by science from the 1930s onwards (Seip 1991), and a politics of partnership evolved between state and civil society in the first half of the 20th century (Henriksen and Bundesen 2004), it was not until 1960 that the state would carry the costs of treating alcoholics. At the beginning of the century, the doxa of the field of treatment were thus not settled: In contrast to the insane and the 'mentally deficient', the 'alcoholic' or rather 'drunkard' category was still disputed as to causes, effects, and treatment possibilities. The actors in the field were few, as most were simply committed to workhouses, and only a few financially vulnerable entrepreneurs had begun the work of treatment. The

stakes – the cost for the individual, families, and the nation – were still disputed: Was it even worth the effort to engage in this field?

The expansion strategy: Translations of organizational repertoires and theological forms

Despite opposition, the urban evangelicals managed to align themselves with the rural/national Home Mission. This is evident from the development in membership across the country as shown in this graph produced from archival material:⁸⁰



The graph shows that membership in Jutland exceeds that of Copenhagen already in 1904 and that the organization from that time onwards increasingly had its base in Jutland. Whereas the membership rates reach their climax and stagnate in Copenhagen already in 1910 with 5,337 members, this did not happen in Jutland until 1917 when they had just under 18,000 members. In 1917, a heavy tax on distilled spirits was enforced, which caused the temperance movement as such to dwindle. The numbers also reveal that the expansion period lasted only ca. 13 years before it stagnated and declined. From the years 1912 – 1918, the organization published its growth in specific dioceses (*stifter*), where the diocese of Ribe, where the Home Mission was

⁸⁰ I have created the chart based on numbers reported in the organization’s annual reports. No data is reported before 1903. In 1901, however, the total number of members was reported to be approximately 1000 (Annual meeting 1901).

strong, accounts for around half of the members in Jutland. Still, in 1903 – eight years after the founding of the organization – only one lay preacher from the Home Mission had apparently joined their ranks (AR 1903, 69f). These numbers strengthen the puzzle: How was a movement viewed with suspicion in the countryside revivals able to gain such strong support among the Home Missionaries, who contended that only one thing was needed for people to become abstinent – and this was *not* an ‘organization’? And how did the organization manage to survive and thrive after the decline in membership?

Eriksen, the Danish temperance movement’s historian, accounts for the growth of the Blue Cross through a juxtaposition between the powerful leader of the organization, Vilhelm Beck, who rigorously defended a Lutheran position on *adiaphora* issues, and the local grassroots of the organization, who were influenced by Reformed ideas. Only after Beck’s death in 1901 did the grassroots show their true colors and join the Blue Cross in high numbers, making it the third largest temperance organization. Eriksen does allow, however, with reference to the organization’s own historian (Granum-Jensen 1979) that the issues of whether alcohol was a sin, whether it was allowed for members to offer alcohol to others, and the question of the temperance pledge remained problematic. Even so, it was, according to Eriksen, the close ties to the Home Mission that allowed the Blue Cross to become the most viable part of the temperance movement (Eriksen 1988, 288). Eriksen in another article points to the fact that even as moral and financial support for the temperance movement receded after the 1917 tax on distilled spirits, it was still impossible for the Blue Cross treatment facilities or ‘salvation homes’ to survive without support from the state (Eriksen 2007, 59f).

Eriksen gives the first hints to the thesis that the success of the Blue Cross can be attributed to their ability to hedge various fields and thus procure resources from one field when another field was depleted. The success of the Blue Cross in the Home Mission cannot fully be explained by an opposition in belief between the leadership and the grassroots, however: Partly because Holiness ideas gained ground among the leadership and grassroots alike (Olesen 1996), and partly because this does not account for why the rural mission would accept a possible challenger to its position. They had previously rejected other such initiatives from the capital, so why not stick to their one solution and use the increased awareness of the dangers of distilled spirits to present themselves as a temperance alternative? The urban revivalists would have to come up with a clever strategy to win the alliance of the rural mission. I will argue that the Blue Cross as a newcomer had to follow a strategy of orthodoxy, a purer-than-pure strategy, where

they adhered to the Lutheran doxa of the field even more than the Home Missionaries themselves. The translation of the temperance ideas would follow this strategy.

Attacks from the Home Mission

As the Blue Cross sought to gain a foothold in the countryside and the provinces, they were met with a number of accusations and objections. The question of sin was an especially delicate issue in the first ten years of the 20th century, since the Home Mission was externally threatened by a range of movements that preached Holiness-ideas of moral perfection and freedom from sin, while these ideas also threatened to divide the organization internally at the local level as well as in the leadership that was still finding its footing after the death of the strong leader Beck in 1901 (Olesen 1996, 451–502).

In the minutes of the Blue Cross board meetings, a number of local conflicts across the country are reported. In 1908, it is stated that there “once again was reported complaints of Home Missionaries’ reluctant mention of and direct opposition to the Blue Cross cause at missionary meetings” (CB May 26, 1908).

A major objection stemmed from fear that the Blue Cross would divide the local Home Mission communities, as the first Home Mission lay preacher to join the Blue Cross admitted during the 1903 annual meeting (AR 1903, 69). The fear of losing members was often not stated directly. Instead, a number of theological concerns can be inferred, as they are countered in the magazine and during the annual meetings. The main theological objection was that of being a half measure: The Blue Cross was compared to a new tailor arriving in town, ready to repair the old garbs (Juhl 1920, 23). This was meant derogatorily, since what was needed was not repairs, but a whole new garment that only God could provide. God was the ‘one necessity’, as the mission adherers would often put it. This was essentially an argument against the ‘specialization of sin’ that had taken place in the US (Young 2002). Related to this was a distaste for organization itself. This was viewed as an overly rational and profane way of organizing life; a life that should be guided by the individual relationship with Jesus (AR 1907, 8).

An often-repeated accusation was that of ‘Pharisaism’, namely that temperance people became ‘proud’ and self-righteousness, and that abstinence should be against Christian freedom.⁸¹ At

⁸¹ Pharisaism is the accusation that some believe they have knowledge of their salvation. Paradoxically, the accusation seems to be provoked both by nomism or antinomianism: Either by strict adherence to law or to the belief that the law no longer applies.

the Blue Cross annual meetings and in the columns of the members' magazine, these accusations were regularly debated and refuted (AR 1901, 66; 1902, 51f; 1907, 5ff; 1924, 53ff; 1904, MM 1900, 27, 73; MM 1901, 66; MM 1902, 102f; MM 1915, 169f). This is a clear accusation of the breach of the Lutheran doxa of justification by faith; a kind of law-Christianity, where one's faith is justified through deeds. It is also probable that this clashed with the accepted conversion or 'awakening' narrative: The Pietist inner struggle of the *Busskampf* vs. the 'instant' awakening of Holiness and Methodist thought.

However, among the Blue Cross' own ranks, the concern was also voiced at the annual meetings that allowing members to offer alcohol had damaged the cause both 'externally' as well as 'internally' in relation to 'God's people' (i.e. the Home Mission) (AR 1912, 57). It seems that the Blue Cross were damned either way: On the one hand they had to follow the Lutheran doxa of justification, whereby conversion or awakening could only come slowly and from within, but on the other they had to please the local Home Mission's practice of a law-like condemnation of the 'middle things'. Further, there was no room for organized 'special sins', as God constituted the 'one necessity' – the one means to secure proper behavior.

By analyzing the annual reports and the members' magazine, as well as other material from the Blue Cross archives, distinct strategies to win the confidence of the Home Mission become visible.

Organizational translations: Appeasement strategy and battle metaphors

Organizational form is not merely a neutral container for getting things done, but signals identity, and provides possibilities for mobilizing and models for action (Clemens and Minkoff 2004, 158f), just as organizational form has consequences for possible links to other organizations in the field (ibid., 163-176). The challenge that the Blue Cross faced was that of holding onto the central elements of the temperance movement's organizational techniques, while appeasing the Home Mission that was partly opposed to 'organization' as such and partly harbored fears that the Blue Cross would split the local communities of 'God's children'. Already the choice of the name of the organization had an identity signaling purpose: The urban evangelicals' stated reasons for joining the Blue Cross and adapting their organizational blueprint rather than the 'Blue Ribbon' was that the name itself signaled its Christian character, which was important if they were to "overcome prejudice in the congregation" (Lange 1920, 7). Besides the name, the chosen solution was to maintain and adapt the temperance techniques

used internally, but mimic the Home Mission 'federal' structure of local communities and strong central control. At the same time, the Blue Cross accepted the Home Mission's censorship of teachings and personnel.

The Blue Cross pioneers followed the well-proven revivalist method of sending out missionaries to areas that were already 'awakened'. The first local chapter was started in Thisted (NW Jutland) in 1895 (MM 1900, 110). This must have been a purely local initiative resulting from the active temperance community there (Eriksen 1991), since the Copenhagen chapter only started the same year. Then, in 1901, the first campaign was launched in Jutland. The annual meeting of representatives was held in the 'capital' Aarhus, where the year before the first Danish temperance conference had been held. Here, contacts to other parts of the country were made, and three months later, Juhl and Mollerup from the board made a journey to the heartlands of the areas of Jutland where the Mission and the temperance movements were strong: Lemvig, Thisted, and Skive. Aarhus, where a chapter already existed, was revisited as well. In 1902, local chapters were registered in Lemvig and Skive as the third and fourth chapters in Jutland, attesting to the effectiveness of the strategy. The annual meetings from 1901 to 1907 (both incl.) were all held outside Copenhagen. Before the meetings in Odense in 1902 and Vejle in 1903, local chapters were established. In Odense, Juhl and Mollerup had travelled there before the meeting to establish a chapter shortly before the annual meeting (board meeting May 16, 1902). The minutes of the board meetings and annual meetings of representatives are teeming with discussions of how to find suitable and affordable 'travelling secretaries' for the organization, and how their activities should be organized (CB 1901, September 27; 1907, December 18; 1908, September 14).

The organization that the Blue Cross established combined organizational techniques from the temperance movement with a strong mimicking of the Home Mission organization. Locally, temperance techniques were applied, such as the temperance declaration, the idea of 'bearing witness' (sharing your experience with alcoholism), and the distinction between adherers and members, where adherers would have to prove their abstinence as 'adherers' for three months after signing the temperance declaration before being admitted as full members. However, it was also important at a local level to balance the temperance part of the organization with the evangelical part, and the exact balance and the activities that could be allowed to take place were matters of discussion at the annual meetings of representatives (AR 1912, 55; 1915, 60; 1934, 52). At the weekly meetings in the local chapters, members and adherers would thus

meet for prayer, psalm singing, and talks on first biblical subjects and then temperance subjects, such as the dangers of alcoholism for the body, the family, and the nation, or justifications for abstinence found in the Bible. Unlike the highly ritualized and hierarchical lodge structure of the (N.) I.O.G.T.⁸², the Blue Cross associations operated with a flat structure with no formal titles and an emphasis on the intimate relationship between alcoholics and sympathizers. In this respect, the organization was modelled on the Home Mission.

The Home Mission's own form of organizing originated in the private gatherings of the early 19th century revivalist movement, but had been linked to the national church through the movement's cooption by priests in the middle of the century. Power had been centralized around the board, where censorship of the organization's magazine and periodical was placed as well. They had no members, only local adherers, who would form small 'congregations within the congregation', leading to a peculiar mix of flat local organizing and strong central control. The Blue Cross, unlike other new evangelical movements such as the YMCA and Salvation Army, but like the Home Mission, decided that the local associations' jurisdiction should follow that of the parishes, signaling cooperation rather than competition with the local priests. The local branches were in principle organized democratically, but the main board approved only local associations when they were started by 'true believers', meaning members of the national church and adherers of the Home Mission (or at least leaning this way). Moreover, the local boards were essentially self-supplying as the statutes held that 2/3 of the members of the local boards should be appointed by the boards themselves to avoid a secularization of the work (AR 1909, 25). While the central board was thus elected by representatives of the local associations, these had in the first place been endorsed by the central board, making for a 'thin' or circular democratic organization. Also, even as the organization's center of gravity was increasingly shifting towards Jutland, the statutes maintained that the steering board should have its meetings in Copenhagen (AR 1908, 14).

The imitation of the Home Mission's flat local organization and strong central control with 'teachings' meant that the central board was able to enforce a strict appeasement strategy towards the Home Mission. First of all, the leader of the Blue Cross from 1900, Juhl, was chosen because of his good relations with the rural Home Mission and his non-confrontational style (Lange 1920, 10). Also, the originally ecumenically minded Copenhagen board now adhered to

⁸² Danish IOGT had been split in two over the question of the traditional Danish low fermented beer. Nordic IOGT allowed consumption of this low-alcohol beer type, while IOGT did not.

more strict inclusion criteria, following confessional boundaries. Methodists and Baptists (the inclusion of whom had been the stated reason for the Home Mission to reject previous associations started by the urban entrepreneurs) were welcomed as ordinary members, but only members of the Danish national church could be elected for the local boards. Adherers of the Pentecostal Movement, which had developed from the Holiness Movement and was gaining momentum in Denmark around 1910, were explicitly denied membership. They were assigned the Lutheran heterodox position of *Schwärmer*, fanatic or enthusiast, and it was further argued that the alcoholics were too fragile and too easily influenced by the movement's methods of exaltation (AR 1910, 24,31f).

The main board further involved themselves to a surprising degree in local issues. When there was a conflict, the board would send a representative, often the chairman, who would seek to broker peace with the local community. The Home Mission's lay preachers in particular seem to have caused trouble. When no peace was possible, the chairman would address the leader of the Home Mission directly to resolve the conflict (CB 1908, May 26). The Blue Cross could not afford to let the conflicts escalate. Only in 1914 does it seem that they became confident enough to dismiss complaints from a Home Mission priest who wanted to approve Blue Cross speakers in their chapel as a local matter (Minutes, main board meeting, July 7, 1914).

The appeasement strategy proved successful. Even if the organization cut itself off from possible allies in the secular movement and among Christian churches outside the national church, they gained access to the Home Mission's communities. As early as 1902, the Blue Cross was granted permission by the Home Mission to use their chapels, contingent on local Home Mission board authorization (Annual meeting, MM, p. 55). In 1908, the Home Mission strengthened their control, as they demanded that their main board should sanction every speaker at public Blue Cross meetings in their chapels. The Blue Cross leadership willingly supplied a list of speakers (minutes, steering committee meeting November 24, 1908).

It seems that the Home Mission had chosen a conciliatory approach as long as they were able to remain in control. The organization was challenged from various new evangelical movements and by a congregation that increasingly wanted to address social questions. The newly elected leader even admitted that he was at a loss when it came to meeting these new challenges (Olesen 1996, 453). In this situation, it was probably wise to gain an ally against the secular temperance movements rather than creating one more competitor. It is not possible to see in

the records where the local branches recruited from, but at least some of the representatives at the annual meetings were former Good Templar members (AR, 1900, 106), and in 1906, it was decided that the trial period of three months could be disregarded for new adherers who had previously been associated with other temperance organizations (AR 1906), indicating that they also recruited here. It is possible that the Home Mission realized that the Blue Cross could work as a beachhead into the temperance movement.

The relationship to the Home Mission was, however, strained throughout the period. While in 1908 a Home missionary at the annual meeting was able to declare that “the ice has been broken” (AR 1908, 13), attacks continued locally as well as in newspapers and other publications (AR 1921, 56; CB 1904, September 30; 1907, June 28, 1908, May 26; 1909, April 21; 1914, July 7). The conflict culminated in 1910, where a priest at the Home Mission’s fall meeting criticized not only the Blue Cross, but also the YMCA and the ‘new measure’ revivalist meetings. The Blue Cross was here publicly accused of being ill-suited for the countryside, having a Reformed and superficial understanding of sin, and worst: of being a half measure (MM 1910, 31ff). In 1934, the relationship had become so close in the eyes of the Blue Cross that they decided to enquire if they could not officially be affiliated with the Home Mission (CB October 9, 1934). This was, however, finally rejected in 1936 on the grounds that the Mission would not have their members and adherers feel pressured to abstinence (CB June 29 and 30 1936). Around the same time, the Blue Cross in Copenhagen sought affiliation with the Home Mission there; also to no avail (CB April 24, 1935).

The Blue Cross thus managed to integrate organizational temperance repertoires with repertoires from the Home Mission. This allowed them to signal ‘what kind’ of temperance movement they were, namely evangelical within the national church in the same sense as the Home Mission, while ‘quietly’ adapting some of the new techniques for doing social work. In this way, the Blue Cross obtained access to the Home Mission adherers and their chapels, while the Home Mission retained control of the Blue Cross teachings and established a beachhead in the secular temperance movement without having to publicly vouch for an organization that was continuously viewed with suspicion by parts of the Home Mission constituency.

Theological translations: Purer than pure

The doxa of justification by faith alone was thoroughly established in revivalist organizations in the field of moral reform. Moreover, for the first ten years of the 20th century the Home Mission was externally pressured by Holiness-inspired movements and internally divided over the question as well. The Blue Cross would theologially have to tread softly. As we have already seen, they had given the Home Mission a de facto censorship over their teachings locally and centrally. As it turns out, they pursued a 'purer-than-pure' strategy by paying lip service through changing potentially offensive terms and importing ready-made theological arguments from the international movement, while applying the more action-inspiring Holiness imagery and tropes selectively.

For the Blue Cross, the main theological issues were the status of alcohol consumption as sin, the relationship between the single-issue temperance organization and the Christian missionary work, and the techniques for conversion and doing missionary work.

The international Blue Cross organization not only provided the Danish entrepreneurs with an unobtrusive name, but also with ready-made arguments for their cause founded on a temperance reading of the Bible. While the Swiss founders were Reformed Protestants and, most likely, touched by the Holiness movement, they had already encountered the prejudices against the movement and developed appropriate counterarguments. These proved especially fruitful when arguing the delicate subject of 'sin'. While the public confession against special sins (Young 2006) was a staple of the US American reform movements, sin in the Home Mission was neither 'specialized' nor combatted publicly; abstinence was only indirectly linked to salvation as a *possible* outer sign of inner reform, but it should neither liken a law like outer requirement (nomism), nor something that could be left behind (antinomianism). People were sinners per definition, and sin should be overcome on a daily basis. Calling out alcohol consumption as a special sin implied the possibility of claiming that your faith was justified simply by abstaining from this sin.

The founder of Blue Cross, L. L. Rochat, had in 1879 authored a treatise in which he anticipated the objection that "abstinence is an exaggeration that we should leave to the English and Americans" (Rochat 1912, 2) in the form of a dialogue. The key point of the text was that alcohol consumption should not be considered a sin, but that the Bible teaches that "if thy right hand

offend thee, cut it off”⁸³: Alcoholism is not a sin, but if it causes you to sin, you should abstain from it, lest it leads you to damnation (ibid., 3). He further argued that non-alcoholics should abstain in sympathy with the alcoholics, citing Paul (1 Cor. 6:12): “All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient” (ibid., 5). The Danish translation of Rochat’s text saw 5 re-printings.

Central elements of the laws were imported from the mother organization as well. The second paragraph of the by-laws (in 1902) stated that “The Blue Cross does not brand the truly temperate enjoyment of fermented beverages a sin, but considers total abstinence a benefit for all and a necessity when drunkards are to be saved”.⁸⁴ The first paragraph cites 1 Cor. 7:26 in stating that it gathers men and women who ““in view of the present distress” for the sake of God’s Kingdom abstain from enjoying alcoholic beverages, and who with the help of God and his word will help save the victims of drunkenness and life in the public house”.⁸⁵ It is thus the effects of alcohol and not alcohol consumption as such that calls for intervention on the part of Christians.

In the first volume of the Danish Blue Cross members’ magazine in 1900, the newly elected chairman of the association, Niels Juhl, reiterated all these arguments (MM 1900, 17-20) in an article published in the members’ magazine;⁸⁶ arguments that would be repeated throughout the years in the Blue Cross’ discourse (MM 1903, 97; 1905, 40ff, AR 1904, 26f; 1909, 27; Petersen 1921) and during internal discussions of the status of alcohol consumption as sin and if offering alcohol should be permitted (AR 1903, 63; 1904, 11ff; 1913, 66-70; 1914, 57).

Even if theological arguments for Christian abstinence were readily available, the Blue Cross would still have to argue why a specialized organization was necessary. Here, they argued continuously in the vocabulary of the Home Mission that even if they focused on a particular danger that could lead individuals to sin, there was still only ‘the one necessity’ (*det ene fornødne*), i.e. faith in God (AR 1905, 18ff; 1909, 7f). Abstinence could never be the end-goal,

⁸³ All Bible quotes are from King James’ Bible.

⁸⁴ Danish original: “*Det Blå Kors*” stempler ikke den mådeholdne brug af alkoholiske drikke som synd, men anser fuldstændig afholdenhed som et gode for alle og som en nødvendighed, når der er tale om drankeres redning.

⁸⁵ Danish original: ““på grund af den forhåndenværende nød” for Guds Riges skyld er afholdne fra nydelse af alkoholiske drikke, og som med Guds og hans ords hjælp vil arbejde på at redde drukkenskabens og værtshuslivets ofre”

⁸⁶ The article had previously been published in the magazine for priests in the Danish national church, thus clearly intended to mitigate theological objections.

but only a means to the real goal: The conversion of people to God (MM 1900, 19); temperance was a means for doing missionary work (Ar 1905, 18-23; 1907, 6). The accusations of self-righteousness, complacency, and 'justification by deeds' were refuted in the same vein: Members of the secular temperance movement indeed often became proud, it was admitted, but this was exactly the reason why the temperance work should be placed in the hand of solid believers, who knew that abstinence did not in itself provide absolution (MM 1900, 17-20; 1902, 49ff; 1904, 109; 1915, 169f).

Similarly, the temperance techniques were adapted so as not to offend the local Home Mission communities. The board had from the beginning decided to rebrand the temperance pledge (*løfte*) as a temperance 'declaration' (*erklæring*) (Lange 1920, 11). The temperance pledge had been accused of replacing the baptismal covenant (Eriksen 1988, 274) and was most likely also viewed as an all too easy way of ridding oneself of sin. Moreover, the central board had developed an initiation ceremony that in contrast to the IOGT was kept to a minimum, but it was left to the local chapters to adapt this in a way they found fit (AR 1902, 52). The issue of bearing witness, so central for the American movement, was also brought forward by the founders; only the accounts had to be "sober and truthful. Exaggerations and ornaments should be shied like the plague" (Lange in MM 1905, 181).

So far, it seems that the Holiness-thinking, so intertwined with the temperance movement, did not play any role in the Blue Cross, and that the organization indeed pursued a 'purer-than-pure' strategy to adhere to the Lutheran doxa. Was Holiness thinking purged completely from the organization?

If one reads the sermons and speeches from the annual meetings from 1900 to 1910, one finds that while many Pietist-Lutheran tropes are invoked, the imagery of the Holiness movement was used extensively as well: Alcohol is referred to as the 'enemy' that must be fought wearing the 'armor of heaven' (MM 1900, 109). God is portrayed as the great healer, and the Wesleyan-inspired notion of alcoholics as being 'like a brand plucked from the burning', (meaning that alcohol to the alcoholic is too dangerous to go near again, as they are highly 'flammable') are reiterated (MM 1901, 63f). Accounts are given of public temperance meetings in the US where several hundred people would publicly declare their sin, just as references are made to 'the cross of the red blood of Christ' and the 'bond of the blood of Jesus' (MM 1903, 58f); Also, the idea of 'sanctification' is put forward as achievable, if one is able to bow one's head and enter

through the narrow gate (MM 1910, 18), as is the magical linking of physical illness and disbelief: Many people who are away from God, it is said, become physically sick (MM 1908, 2). Similarly, the slavery image was invoked in several articles in the members' magazine. We find the most straight up Holiness-like use of the image, however, at the beginning of the period, where the promise is given that Jesus could free us from sin and provide a 'new nature' (MM 1900, 65f). Later articles use the image to plea for a more somber Pietist process of atonement (MM 1904, 19f; 1910, 300f; 1914, 222f)

There is no evidence that the mainstream Blue Cross adhered to the very literal, 'magic', interpretation of the healing power of faith, nor that they practiced mass conversion in the sense referred. Rather, the temperance tropes and imagery served as something like a 'vocabulary of spirit' (cf. Mills 1940) or an 'intensive cultural schema' (Young 2002), that is, a way of conveying the sense of being engaged in a mighty battle with high stakes.

Issues regarding Holiness practices and alcohol consumption as sin were, however, also causing internal divisions in the Blue Cross. The 'new measures' especially caused division among the founders in Copenhagen. When one of the most Holiness-inspired founders, Mollerup suggested at a meeting of the main board in 1908 that the organization should pursue a large scale social operation, including deaconess work, missionary work in the slums and in bars, work among the homeless and 'influencing the masses through large meetings', all of which were closer to Holiness-inspired movements such as the Salvation Army. While the board diplomatically stated that they wanted to work in this direction, the suggestion was rejected. One unsuccessful attempt at mass revival meetings was tried in 1910 in Copenhagen, but quickly discontinued (MM 1910, 3). Mollerup once again lost a discussion in 1910 over the use of a newly acquired hotel, and in 1912 he formed the 'Church Army' as a national church equivalent to the Salvation Army. Here, the more offensive Holiness approach could thrive.

Such discussions did not only take place among members of the board, but also among representatives of the local chapters. The most heated discussions in the first years centered on the paragraphs of the bylaws that stated that the Blue Cross did not consider temperate use of alcohol a sin, and that it was not forbidden to offer alcohol to others. Some members felt that these paragraphs made the organization vulnerable to attacks from the Home Mission and the secular temperance organizations alike. The leadership defended the paragraphs by referring both to the international organization's statutes and that condemning alcohol use as a sin would

be considered a breach of Christian freedom, leading to nomism ('law Christianity') (AR 1912, 57). They did not, however, decide to turn the issue into a vote of confidence as they did in other matters. The controversial paragraph was not changed in the end, but only since a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ was required to change the statutes (AR 1913, 68).

The Blue Cross thus found themselves walking a tightrope between on the one hand adhering to the Lutheran doxa that true moral change could only come about slowly and from within as the result of realizing Christian freedom, and not through a specialized organization, while on the other they had to mitigate objections from the Home Mission revivalists that they were too soft on sin; one of their distinguishing marks to other revivalist groups in the field. The leadership in fact sought to close this exposed flank as they suggested to the international parent organization that 'temperance' should be replaced by 'abstinence' in the laws (CB 1907, March 6).

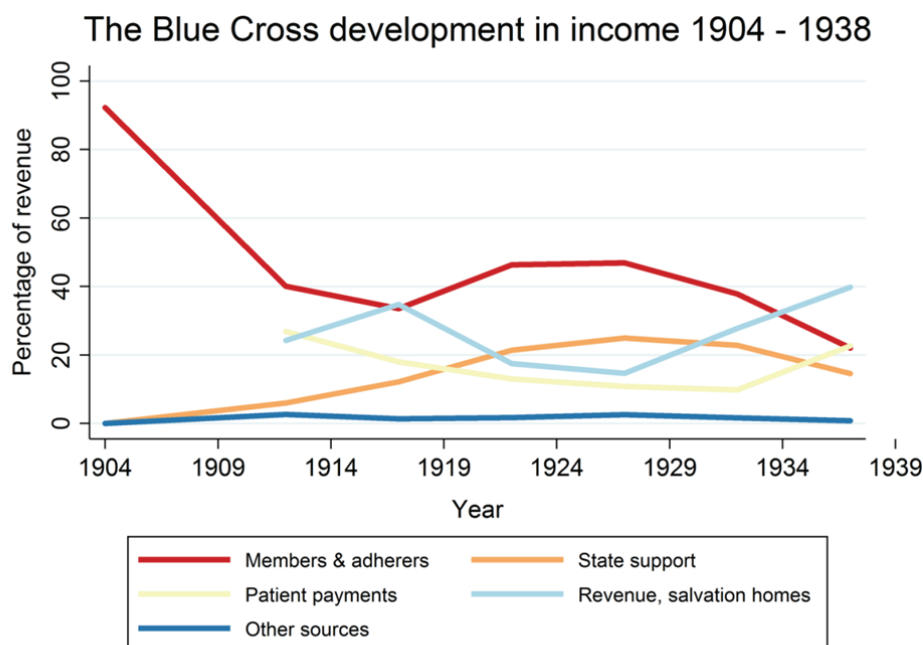
The Blue Cross' Christian temperance discourse reads as a *bricolage* (Lévi-Strauss 1968) of Holiness and Lutheran tropes. The bricolage presented certain opportunities as well as obstacles and constraints (Clemens 1996, 208). First, the fact that the temperance movement was fostered in heterodox and 'populist' circles in the US meant that very effective social and rhetorical techniques for personal commitments and mass excitement had been developed. The Holiness imagery offered an effective vocabulary of motives and fighting spirit. The combat metaphors and the recurrent themes of alcoholism as slavery or bondage must have conveyed feelings of being engaged in a battle against a formidable opponent and for freedom from constraining cultural habits. This opportunity was at the same time an obstacle as a lot of theological exegesis was required to defend the need for a Pharisee organization apparently promising absolution from a 'special sin'. Overcoming the obstacle was made easier by the fact that the biblical counterarguments had already been developed by the Swiss parent organization and could be imported wholesale. The strict adherence to Lutheran doxa, however, also limited the available repertoire of action: While the temperance pledge could simply be reframed as a declaration, large scale revivalist meetings were considered to be an all too obvious 'new measure' to be adaptable to the Danish revivalist context. Moreover, the adherence to Lutheran non-condemnation of alcohol consumption meant opening another flank to the Home Mission and the secular temperance organizations of being too soft on sin. While the Blue Cross as a newcomer to the field was thus open to all sides, the purer-than-pure

strategy actually panned out as the organization managed to walk the tightrope between the conflicting demands as the Home Mission adherers became their largest constituency.

Resource conversion and scientific translations: Salvation homes in the field of treatment

As we now know, the field of treatment was what in the end secured the survival of the Blue Cross, but how did they manage to convert their success in gaining members to a success in treatment? I argue that this was the result of two additional translations: First the conversion of the growth in members to financial support for the treatment facilities, and second the adaption of the international temperance movement’s new medical discourse to interest the state and municipal authorities in supporting their treatment work.

To give an impression of the importance of members and adherers as well as the state for the organization’s economy, I have created a graph from archival material that compares the sources of income as percentages of total income from 1904 to 1938.⁸⁷



⁸⁷ The numbers stem from the Blue Cross’ reported budgets in the annual reports and cover the fiscal statement for 1904 and budgets for 1913; 1918; 1921; 1923; 1928; 1933; 1938. I have aimed at 5-years periods, but I did not have access to the years 1904-13.

I have designed the graph to show the distribution of sources of revenue over the period. While it is somewhat difficult to read, it helps to know that revenue from members and adherers (membership fees, gifts, collections; sale of the members' magazine) steadily increased until 1921, after which it steadily decreased; the fluctuations are thus mainly caused by the other sources of income, especially farming activities at the treatment facilities that varied with investments and sales. Naturally, revenue in 1904 was, before the treatment activities were taken up, almost completely created by members. Already in 1913, the treatment facilities generated a lot of income. They were run as production units, as farms and textile factories, which accounts for the large portion of revenue generated here. As patient labor was part of the treatment at the Blue Cross facilities (in accordance with accepted knowledge at the time), patients' work was essential to this source of revenue.⁸⁸ At no point, however, did they generate a surplus, and they were continuously subsidized by the member organization. After the 1917 tax increase, alcoholics in need of treatment were hard to come by, while income from patients and their work started flowing again in the latter part of the 1920s and the 1930s as prohibition-like measures were lifted and the organization entered into a stronger collaboration with the state. State subsidies reached 25% at its maximum. The take away is first that the revenue generated from members decreased, but only slowly, from the 1920s, making this the most important source of income throughout the period, and second that the state accordingly played a larger direct and indirect role: Financial support from the state was continuous, and even if this seems like a minor source of income, there were no expenses related to this budget item as opposed to running the salvation homes. Also, state recognition of the homes, increased cooperation on a municipal level, and controversial laws on forcible and quasi-forcible commitment of patients in the 1930s contributed to the increase in patient flow. The Blue Cross was in this regard similar to other third sector organizations in the 'collaborative epoch' from ca. 1890 to 1940, where they had to rely on both private and public means (Henriksen and Bundesen 2004, 613).

While the field of moral reform was largely settled as the Blue Cross entered the scene, the field of treatment was in its infancy. First comers would thus be able to have a significant say in establishing the rules and the core beliefs in the field. The main contenders were the Blue Cross,

⁸⁸ The organization's own historians point out that from the onset an 8-hour work day was enforced, which was not usual in society as such (Granum-Jensen 1979, 80). They were not paid, but given small sums as 'tokens of appreciation'. Day laborers were hired in some periods as well, but expenses for salary do not amount to much in the expense columns of the budgets.

who here considered the drunkards 'patients', but insisted on religious influence as part of the treatment; other scattered Christian treatment initiatives, who more or less shared the Blue Cross' approach; the secular temperance movement, whom the Blue Cross thought to be 'proud', and the state and municipalities, who were wavering as to whether alcoholism was a disease or not, and to which degree this should be considered a public concern. To establish themselves in this field, the Blue Cross would have to translate the interests of other actors in the field. The first step was to establish themselves as the spokesperson of the Christian part of the field of treatment.

The Blue Cross established their first treatment facility in 1906. This was the sixth treatment facility for alcoholics to be established in Denmark, while two existed that had a broader target group ('fallen women' and the homeless); most were founded and run by Christian philanthropists within the national church, although one was provided by Methodists, and one by the liberal "White Ribbon" (*Det Hvide Baand*) (Sobriety Commission report 1907, 280). The first facility in Denmark had been founded in 1893 by a small "Society for the promotion of Sobriety in Denmark" (*Samfundet til Ædruelighedens Fremme*) (est. 1885), counting medical doctors, priests, and merchants among their members. While these facilities received some state support (10,000 Danish kroner in 1907-08),⁸⁹ almost as soon as they were founded the facilities found themselves in financial dire straits as they relied on a relatively small group of beneficiaries and volunteers (Sobriety Commission report 1907, 20). The troubled economy of the 'salvation homes' that existed, as well as their close ideological and network connections with the Blue Cross, made it fairly easy to translate the interests of the groups running these homes to the interests of the increasingly affluent Blue Cross organization.

In this field as well, the urban revivalist circles constituted a 'structural hole', a central position between two networks or more, thus connecting international ideas to Denmark. The priest N. C. Dahlhoff and the medical doctor P. D. Koch were involved in the Copenhagen Home Mission and the Church Foundation, respectively, and had been involved in erecting the first treatment facilities with inspiration from abroad. The protocols show that before the Blue Cross decided to start their own facility, there were already close ties between the parties. In 1904, a correspondence started between The Blues Cross and one of the Christian treatment facilities, *Solhjem* near Copenhagen, and it was considered whether the Blue Cross should take over the

⁸⁹ Patients paid 15-20 kroner per month in 1907 (AR 1907, 18). Most, however, were admitted without charge.

facility. In the end, they did not, but the Blue Cross chairman, Juhl, entered the board of the facility, and a Blue Cross chapter was established there (CB 1905, January 20; 1906, May 24, September 19). A similar correspondence unfolded with another home, *Enkrateia*, where two Blue Cross representatives got a seat on the board (CB, 1905, November 20-21).

The first small Blue Cross Home was founded in Copenhagen in 1905, but operated with local autonomy and was not part of the organization as such. When the Blue Cross established their own facility in 1906, *Kærshovedgaard*, they mobilized their members to contribute directly to this cause at their local meetings and through an annual nationwide charity collection. Initially, in 1907, the board sought to be considered when the secular temperance movement carried out their own national collection. They were indignant as the seculars decided to only collect for their own facilities, *Astrup* and *Konkordia*, and bargained for a more 'just' allocation of funds, while at the same time advertising their protest in the national Christian newspaper and encouraging their members to only give to Christian homes (minutes, July 7; August 23). The Blue Cross claims were dismissed by a representative for the seculars by referring to the Blue Cross' refusal to enter the secular temperance movement's umbrella organization; essentially saying that they could not have their cake and eat it too. The Blue Cross was even granted an audience with the minister of justice, who sided with them (CB 1907, September 18). Still, the secular movement was unsympathetic, even if it was allowed that donors could specify that their contributions should go to the Blue Cross, and in the end the Blue Cross decided to organize their own collection for the benefit of the Christian homes. The organizational strategy of alignment with one major player in the field in this case backfired, since they were cut off from sources of revenue collected by another large player.

By now, however, the Blue Cross had gained enough members and adherers whose support could be translated to financial support for the treatment facilities. The organization's own collections were to have a major impact on the field. The Blue Cross in 1907 collected a rather large sum for their first home through their travelling representatives, who visited the 'large communities in Jutland' (CB 1906, December 21) in particular, and through collection boxes in every local chapter, sales, and lotteries (CB 1906, November 1). This large collection effort for the benefit of their first facility led to a decrease in gifts for the existing Christian homes, which is why the Blue Cross was encouraged to take over the *Enkrateia* home (CB 1907, March 6). The following year, a more organized national collection was organized to benefit the eight Christian homes that existed at this time (CB 1908, December 18). This was organized by the Blue Cross,

attesting to its de facto leadership of the Christian part of the actors involved in treatment. The Blue Cross had successfully used their firm footing in the moral field to gain a foothold in the field of treatment.

As the temperance movement gained momentum and matured, more facilities were built. 1911 saw fourteen 'homes' for alcoholics in existence (Dalhoff and Jørgensen 1911, 151). The Christian homes still constituted the majority, while the secular branch of the movement managed two homes, and various branches within the church had established their own homes (e.g. *Diakonissestiftelsen* and Copenhagen Home Mission). The Blue Cross ran three homes, as they had finally officially taken over ownership of Enkrateia in 1908, and in 1910 they founded *El Recreo* for women, and constituted the de facto umbrella organization for the Christian wing of the field.

Besides converting their constituency's support into financial support for the treatment homes, and translating the interests of other Christian actors in the field, the state and municipalities were other important actors to interest. This interest could be aroused by adapting the scientific discourse of the international movement to argue that the status of the alcoholic should be changed from a moral to a medical category. At the time, the perception of the 'insane', the mentally 'retarded', as well as prostitutes and alcoholics was slowly changing. These groups were increasingly understood in medical terms (Riegel 1968), informed in part by the theories of heredity, degeneration, and eugenics developed by Mendel, Galton, Forel, Lamarck, and others (Dikötter 1998). Regarding alcoholics, there was a struggle as to whether they should be perceived in moral terms or medical terms as 'patients'. The state only slowly moderated its view of the alcoholic, and up until the 1960s continued to see the workhouse and disenfranchising and 'soft' eugenic measures, such as a ban on marriage, as proper sanctions for criminals and negligent providers who were thought to be alcoholics (Thorsen 1993, 39–57).

The treatment facilities established in the first part of this period were called *redningshjem*. The Danish word *redning* carries the dual meaning of 'salvation' and 'rescue', and the purpose of the homes (*hjem*) could thus take on different shades according to the addressed audience: Homes for eternal salvation or for worldly rescue. To the Blue Cross, the two were one and the same: Only salvation for eternity could truly secure rescue in this life, and eternal salvation was dependent on avoiding sin in this life. In this particular field at least, science and religion were not opposed, but supported the same end: The alcoholic both as part of a moral and a medical

category was to be helped rather than blamed. The Blue Cross consequently argued on the one hand in religious terms, referring to the drunkard as victims or as 'fallen' (e.g. MM 1900, 107; 1901, 75; 1904, 185; 912, 175f), and that the true meaning of *redning* was only realized in the Christian sense (MM 1905, 35f), while reporting when there had been 'awakenings' at the salvation homes (AR 1921, 21). This line of argument was mostly used to address the constituency through the members' magazine. On the other hand, they communicated in scientific terms how alcohol affected the nervous system, organs, the GDP, and family life (MM 1900, 3; 1901, 137ff; 1902,5; 1904, 28; 1914, 21, 280), how alcoholism was a degenerative condition (MM 1900, 34-38, 97-100; 1903, 95f, 106; 905, 8f; 1912, 115), and even sought to document mortality rates among alcoholics in their associations (CB 1907, March 6). This discourse was also heavily introduced in the members' magazine, and the scientific discourse was invoked when the state and municipalities were approached for subsidies.

The state had already proved willing to contribute in some measure. A resolution from the department of justice had granted permission for state subsidies to salvation homes for alcoholics as early as 1888 (Sobriety Commission report 1907, 272), and the Blue Cross homes received their share of these means, even if they only constituted a minor part of their income during the first half of the century. When dealing with the state, the Blue Cross emphasized their role as treatment facilities for sick people rather than their role as missionaries, which they continued to bring to the fore in their debates with the Home Mission. When in 1907 and 1908 they approached the Department of the Interior to have the municipalities cover expenses in relation to illness and death for patients under the poor law, they argued that they should be considered equal to the institutions for the insane, who received such reimbursements (CB 1907, December 18; 1908, January 22). When in 1913 a new settlement for state subsidies was reached (1/3 of the expenses pr. patient paid by the state), the Blue Cross emphasized that the system was modelled on the existing system for combatting tuberculosis, and how this was proof that it was finally officially recognized that alcoholism was a disease on a par with other physical diseases (AR 1913, 18f).

State recognition was, however, not only important in terms of gaining access to important, but so far limited state subsidies. This recognition also sanctioned the Blue Cross' salvation homes as 'proper' treatment facilities for individuals to seek out and for municipalities to refer to. A steady flow of patients was important since the economy of the facilities relied upon the work they carried out there. The patients were not paid salaries, but merely small sums as tokens of

'appreciation'. These salaries should not become too generous, since work was first and foremost part of the treatment, and not a means of income for the patients (AR 1912, 24f). The temptation to make a profit from the facilities was there to a such a degree that at one time it had to be pointed out that this was not the purpose of the salvation homes (AR 1908, 19). Early on, the municipalities were a close collaborator. The municipality (*magistrat*) of Copenhagen was approached in 1907 and agreed to pay for patients receiving poor relief (minutes, April 19 and May 17, 1907), and this became a general arrangement (Granum-Jensen 1979, 85). Later, the municipal child welfare committees came to be viewed as a place of recruitment of family fathers with alcohol problems (AR 1921, 56; 1924, 60). With the controversial penal code of 1930 and the social reform of 1933, forcible commitment of criminal alcoholics and administrative commitment of alcoholic, negligent providers became possible.

Looking back, the translation strategies in this field proved successful as well, securing the organization's survival up until today. The alcoholic was at least partially moved from being interpreted through moral schemas to fall under scientific schemas of interpretation, while the organization successfully converted its support in the moral field to support in the field of treatment. The results were evident: Of the 14 homes in 1911, only four survived the 1917 tax increase. In 1924, all of the six homes in existence were run by Christian groups; four of these directly by the Blue Cross (Granum-Jensen 1979, 86). While membership numbers continued to decline steadily, they did so somewhat slower than in the secular temperance movement (Eriksen 1988, 253). In 1959, membership had dropped to about 13,000 (including the former colonies) (Bundesen et al. 2001, 156), but the members continued to contribute financially, making the Blue Cross more competitive than the public system's own facilities (started in the 1930s) (Granum-Jensen 1979, 160). The continued relationship with the Home Mission secured a constant source of income.

In 1960, then, at a time where contributions from members and adherers were dropping to a critical level, two social reforms meant that alcoholism was fully recognized as a disease, and a new more professional approach to treatment was adopted. The Blue Cross' medical tier of their strategy meant that they now more firmly became part of the public system and were fully compensated for the patients it received through this system (Bundesen et al. 2001, 151). Also, the methods of treatment were professionalized in the following decade, where psychiatrists, medical doctors, and social workers were included in the work (Bundesen et al. 2001, 152ff). Some years before, in 1951, the organization had sought and been granted permission from the

leader of the Home Mission to finally join the umbrella organization for temperance organizations in Denmark that it had resisted from the beginning (Granum-Jensen 1979, 160f), and the organizational structure based on local associations was abandoned in the 1990s, while the temperance declaration in 2001 was changed to include the option of temperate consumption as an alternative to abstinence (Blå Kors 2015).

The (unintended) hedging strategy meant that the organization survived, but at the cost of mission drift: The meaning of 'Blue Cross' itself had slowly undergone a translation. The circle of Copenhagen founders had envisioned a rechristianization of Denmark based on the active engagement of the laymen of the congregations. As membership numbers dwindled, and the Home Mission lost momentum as well, the organization survived almost exclusively as a treatment organization – so involved with the state that according to one employee the Blue Cross volunteers today constitute a 'competitive advantage' vis-à-vis other competitors vying for contracts with state and municipalities. Conversely, one might argue that while the Blue Cross was initially viewed as a competitor by the Home Mission revivalists, the organization today helps keep alive a cultural milieu that has been slowly withering away, as the organization continues to recruit among Home Mission and revivalist milieus and seeks to reinvigorate the deaconry tradition of social work in the church through network activities. The present more austere management of the public sector may prove to present a window of opportunity for this mostly forgotten cultural milieu to reinvigorate its role in welfare and moral reform.

Summary

I have argued that the Christian adaption of the international temperance movement to Denmark proceeded through several successful translations in the first part of the 19th century. The small group of evangelical priests and laymen in Copenhagen who first started the Blue Cross were faced with the problem of translating the interests of the Home Mission in the field of moral reform and the state and other civil society actors in the field of treatment so they would be aligned with their own. They managed to do so through two additional processes of translation: a translation of cultural schemas, and a conversion of resources in one field to the other.

In the field of moral reform, the interests of the evangelical Home Mission were aligned with those of the Blue Cross through an organizational strategy of appeasement and a theological purer-than-pure strategy. The Home Mission worried that the newcomer would divide their

organization and further a Holiness theology that was considered heterodox in a field dominated by the Lutheran doxa of justification by faith. The Blue Cross managed to adapt organizationally by relying mainly on the organizational templates of the Home Mission and a mix of strong central control and horizontal local hierarchy, while deploying temperance repertoires only at the level of local social techniques. This allowed the main board to comply with the Home Mission's wish to exert censorship of temperance spokespersons and to resolve local conflicts effectively, while in their organizational form signaling a well-known theological identity. Theologically, the Blue Cross' purer-than-pure strategy meant that lip service was paid to the Lutheran doxa as controversial wording was simply changed, ready-made arguments for the biblical justification were imported from the mother-organization, and accusations of Pharisaism were refuted by appealing to true belief as a remedy for such transgressions. Holiness tropes were applied rhetorically and selectively in a bricolage fashion as a vocabulary of spirit to bolster morale, but while the adaption to the Lutheran doxa opened the doors to mobilizing local Home Mission communities, it blocked truly re-inventing the cultural repertoires related to mass conversion and public confession of sin.

In the emerging field of treatment, the Blue Cross managed on the one hand to align the interests of the existing Christian treatment facilities by converting their membership success in the field of moral reform to financial support for their treatment homes through collections, sales, and lotteries, while at the same time appealing to the alcoholics as 'patients' whose treatment should be supported by the state on a par with tuberculosis patients or the mentally ill.

The story of the Blue Cross' success and change contributes to a better understanding of processes involved in adapting social movements from one cultural context to another, while also developing new knowledge about the concrete processes and mechanisms through which parts of the Danish welfare system was developed as well as knowledge about the development of the Danish and international temperance movement. This was made possible by using so far unexamined archival material about an organization, whose history has only been partially told and only by relying on secondary sources produced by the organization's own historians. I believe the analyses in this article have shown the need for developing the role of cultural translations further, if we are to understand how social movements spread and are adapted to new cultural contexts – both in contemporary and historical sociology. I have pointed to the central role of innovative local translators that function as a structural hole or a bridge between

different cultural fields. Such translators have so far been neglected in the literature, but their ability to mediate between different cultural frames of interpretation and deep-seated cultural dogma are crucial for the success or failure of new movements. The case of the Blue Cross constituted a particularly well-suited case to show the processes of cultural translation, due to its use of techniques of religious origin, but other less immediately cultural movements, such as the labor movement, would also have to consider cultural dogma related to protest and voicing dissatisfaction.

In the end, the Blue Cross underwent a 'translation' itself, as its mission drifted from a movement intended to contribute to a reform of the cultural habits of Danish society and the make-up of the church as such to a service provider for the state. Arguably, Lutheran doxa for moral reform, for overcoming addiction and practicing moral consumption, still inform large parts of not only the evangelical movement, but Danish society as such: 'Loud' declarations of being 'reborn' from a life of addiction or public adherence to dietary principles based on ethical concerns are still cultural forms of civic engagement that are difficult to practice due to the Lutheran heritage. Similarly, there still exists a wide consensus that welfare is a matter for the state; engaging in voluntary social work may thus be accompanied by something like a feeling of guilt, of doing work that should be carried out by the state. A hundred years after the Blue Cross was adapted to the Lutheran context, social movements concerned with helping refugees or raising awareness about the effects of meat consumption on the climate will have to confront the issues related to cultural translations if they are to have a national impact.

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ARTICLE 3

Eugenics, Protestantism, and social democracy: The case of alcoholism and 'illiberal' policies in Denmark 1900 – 1943

Abstract

Through a case study of the emergence of 'illiberal' policies in the field of Danish alcohol treatment 1900-1943, this article shows how new scientific ideas on 'degeneration' as the cause of alcoholism was adapted by and made to resonate with the Protestant ideational tradition of a Danish evangelical temperance organization, the Blue Cross; how the evangelical interpretive frame of interpretation was realigned with that of the Social Democratic party, who promoted eugenic policies; and how the overlapping community ideals of the Blue Cross and Social Democrats contributed to an acceptance of eugenics and 'illiberal' policies infringing on the rights of alcoholics. The Danish case refutes the widely held conviction that eugenic and similar 'illiberal' policies was the result of a 'high modernist' state ethos or 'communitarian-organic' thinking on the left, and that resistance to such policies should be expected from civil society. The article shows how evangelical Protestant temperance movement early in the period introduced eugenic ideas and lobbied for the 'illiberal' treatment of alcoholics, and that Danish social democracy cannot be reduced to a 'high modernist ethos'. Applying a third wave historical sociology approach, it is instead argued that eugenics and 'illiberal' policies were not the result of a novel modernist state-driven ethos, but of a continuation and reinterpretation of existing cultural schemas that designated criteria for 'deservingness'. Eugenic ideas resonated with and were adapted to existing revivalist and social democratic interpretive frames. The end-result was a double frame alignment, an implicit overlapping consensus spanning the civil society/state divide, between actors who were committed to opposing yet complementary community ideals. The study contributes through so far unexamined archival material new knowledge to the role of Protestant philanthropy in the development 'illiberal' policies and practices and challenges existing ways of understanding civil society – state relations in welfare

provision. Theoretically, it proposes to study actors and their interpretive processes rather than their theoretically defined roles.

Introduction

In 1934, Axel Garboe, natural history scholar, priest, and active member of the evangelical temperance organization the Blue Cross, and Karl Kristian Steincke, Social Democrat and minister of social affairs, both contributed to an edited volume on eugenics called “Heritage and Race” (Socialpolitisk Forening 1934). Garboe’s background in science and revivalist Protestantism is thought-provoking, and the collaboration between a leader in the secular social democratic party and a revivalist temperance adherer immediately raises questions about the relationship between religion, science, and social democracy, as well as between civil society and the state.

In interwar period Denmark, eugenic science inspired policies and practices such as confinement, restrictions on access to marriage, sterilization, and castration, and other ‘illiberal’ policies such as forced labor and disenfranchisement were viewed as appropriate when dealing with the ‘undeserving poor’: the mentally ill, prostitutes, criminals, vagrants – and alcoholics. Such measures were common in most ‘Western’ countries, and recent international sociological and historical scholarship has explained this fact through the existence of a ‘high modernist’ state ethos, a communitarian-organic social democratic ideology, and the absence of strong civil society actors such as trade unions, churches, or NGOs. The Danish case is in this regard interesting, since both a strong state and a strong civil society existed. This makes the Danish case well suited to test existing theories: How did civil society actors react to the policies promoted by the state, and what was their own stance to the new scientific ideas and practices?

This leads to the following research questions for this article: What role did the Blue Cross as a civil society organization play in resisting or promoting eugenic policies and ‘illiberal’ practices? How did the new scientific ideas resonate with Protestant ideas and the ideas of the Social Democratic party? And how was an implicit consensus made possible between the two otherwise different ideational traditions?

In this article, I answer these questions by challenging existing explanations of the emergence of eugenic policies by showing that the Blue Cross did not protest against the state’s eugenicist policy measures, promoted the theory of ‘degeneration’ closely linked to eugenics early in the

period, and in fact publically called for forcible commitment of alcoholics years before the state's laws were introduced. I instead propose an alternative conceptual framework for analyzing the emergence of 'illiberal' policies and practices regarding the 'undeserving' beyond the civil society/state divide. I suggest that the emergence of discriminatory policy ideas and practices should be analyzed at the level of collective actors who reinterpret an ideational heritage to solve specific problems. I then apply this framework to a single case study that compares the ideas and practices on the treatment of alcoholics in the Protestant temperance organization the Blue Cross with those of the governing Social Democrats in Denmark in the period. While Garboe's dual background was exceptional, I will show there were affinities between the Protestant temperance adherers' religious ideas of the good life and the new scientific ideas that eugenics was the most extreme expression of, just as these ideas resonated with social democratic thinking in the period. This dual resonance constituted an overlapping consensus that contributed to the implementation of social policies and practices that infringed on the civil rights of alcoholics.

The article first introduces the case and critically discusses existing literature on eugenics and 'illiberal' policies, before an alternative theoretical approach is suggested. This is first applied to the Blue Cross' and the governing social democracy's practices in alcohol treatment, which are analyzed as reinterpretations of existing cultural schemas regarding deservingness. Then, it is shown how eugenic thinking resonated with the two actors' community ideals and etiology of alcoholism, and finally the frame alignment process between the two actors is shown to rely on principled and causal beliefs that referred to complementary community ideals and a similar etiology of alcoholism, respectively.

Alcohol treatment before the Second World War: The Blue Cross and the state

The period of study falls within what has been called the collaborative epoch of voluntary-state relationship in Denmark, roughly from 1890-1940 (Henriksen and Bundesen 2004, 613). In this period, many philanthropic endeavors were integrated into the emerging welfare state as they were taken over, financially supported by, or entered into contractual relations with the state (Malmgart 2002, 2005; Petersen, Petersen, and Kolstrup 2014).

The Blue Cross was established in Denmark in 1895 as part of the international organization founded in Switzerland in 1886. It emerged out of the circles of revivalist Home Mission in Copenhagen and continued to seek out strong ties to this conservative branch of the Danish

Lutheran church. As a self-proclaimed evangelical temperance organization, it had the dual mission of saving the 'victims of alcohol' and leading people to faith. One was a means to the other and vice versa. The organization worked for total prohibition of alcohol, as well as through 'activist' means of outreach in bars and bar areas. The main activity was the founding of associations across the country that worked as religiously led self-help groups through the use of the sobriety pledge and weekly meetings. The organization was democratically organized: The central board was elected by a general assembly consisting of representatives of the local associations. Increasingly, the organization also took up social work by establishing 'salvation homes' for alcoholics. From 1905 to 1950, the Blue Cross ran seven treatment facilities, though not more than four at any given time. By 1938, 3,497 patients had been treated in the Blue Cross' facilities since 1905, an average of 106 patients per year. Early on, they became the dominant actor in the field.

The Blue Cross received state funding for their treatment of alcoholics soon after the treatment facilities were established. However, state funding from 1905 to 1933 was a minor means of income, constituting ca. 1/6 of the organization's revenue in 1915. From 1913, the state would pay the Blue Cross a third of the expenses for patients that were not able to pay from their own pockets; most patients were not. The same year, a joint committee was established with representatives from the then seven existing treatment facilities assigned with the task of coordinating with the ministry of the interior. The ministry did not interfere with the methods of treatment.

Research perspectives on eugenics, 'illiberal policies', civil society, and the state

Eugenic policies, the most "illiberal" of the 'illiberal' policies – policies that suspend civil, political or social rights for the good of a greater community – flourished in Europe, especially from ca 1920 to 1960. Dikötter expresses a common understanding of the reasons for this: "Open democracies with a vibrant civil society, such as Britain and the Netherlands, were generally less inclined to adopt extreme eugenic proposals than authoritarian regimes in Germany and the People's Republic of China" (Dikötter 1998, 476). Dikötter links eugenics and 'illiberal policies' to totalitarianism and the ethos of the 'high modern' 'gardening state' (see Lucassen 2010). This view, informed by the sociology of Michel Foucault, Zygmunt Bauman, and James C. Scott (Bauman 1998; Scott 1998; Foucault 1995, 1998), contributes the 'illiberal' policies to a strong centralized state guided by 'technocrats' with the ambition to create social

order and productive citizens (Dikötter 1998; Weiner 2003; Mottier 2008; Hauss and Ziegler 2008).

Dikötter supplements this with a thesis regarding the absence of strong civil society actors, such as trade unions, churches, or NGOs (cf. Scott 1998, 4f), as in the examples of the Netherlands and Britain (Dikötter 1998, 476ff). This line of argument is informed by a more or less explicit liberal understanding of civil society as a sphere where individuals gather free from state control to voice their interests and concerns (Habermas 1989), perhaps with the added understanding that civil society is based on 'communicative rationality' rather than the monological or hierarchical communication of the state. Civil society organizations are thus viewed as sensors that transmit the interests of the lifeworld to the political system (Habermas 1984, 1990; Arato and Cohen 1988; Cohen and Arato 1992).

Recent contributions in this journal (Van Dijck, De Munck, and Terpstra 2017; Bradley 2017; De Munck 2017; Furnée 2017; Garrioch 2017; Sá 2017; Van Dijck 2017) show that this anti-statist understanding of civil society based on the British 18th century public sphere conceals the fact that the late medieval guilds already practiced the ideals of civil society, as did associations in tsarist Russia. They thus call for a redefinition of the concept based on face-to-face interaction and voluntary activities that work toward a goal that "transcends the individual needs and refers to shared values of the group" (Van Dijck, De Munck, and Terpstra 2017, 14). These contributions help nuance the liberal and deliberative models of civil society and the role of civil society organizations vis-à-vis the state in recommending policies (see esp. Bradley 2017). The definition is not, however, well suited for cases where a group that works based on shared values seek to represent a group *other than themselves*, as in the case of alcoholics. Nor does it help us understand the role of civil society actors in promoting *specific* policies and practices. To understand why civil society promoted certain ideas and values and not others, it is necessary to analyze the interpretive processes that led to a certain position. I thus bracket the discussion on civil society in favor of a more empirical approach that traces the interpretive processes related to eugenic ideas across the civil society/state divide.

It has been shown that eugenic ideas had broad political appeal from British conservatives to Spanish anarchists (Dikötter 1998, 467), and it touched upon several related issues: Immigration control, population control, budget issues, public health, sex education, psychiatry, criminology, religion, and women's liberation (Bashford and Levine 2010; for a review, see Lucassen 2010), as

well as alcoholism. Across Europe and the US, the connection between alcoholism and heredity was made. Examples are: French Neo-Lamarckians (Dikötter 1998, 473), Auguste Forel in Switzerland, (Lucassen 2010, 278), the Webbs in Britain (Webb and Webb 1911, 49), and scientists in the Netherlands (Snelders, Meijman, and Pieters 2007; Noordman 1989; Stel 1995). There existed thus a heterogeneous interplay between actors and ideational traditions.

The cases of the Nordic welfare states, which were among the first European countries to adopt eugenic practices, are particularly well-described (Porter 1999; Broberg and Roll-Hansen 2005; Gerodetti 2006; Haave 2007; Koch 2014), as are the links between socialism/social democracy and eugenics (Winter 1974; MacKenzie 1976; Freedon 1979; Paul 1984; Mottier 2008; Lucassen 2010; Schwartz 1995a; Weindling 1989) and the US progressive movement and eugenics (King 1999; Leonard 2005; Stromquist 2006; Crook 2007). The links between eugenics and Protestantism and Catholicism, respectively, have also been researched (Zenderland 1998; Richter 2001; Schwartz 1995b), albeit to a lesser degree. Most of these studies do not show the connection between religious and political actors (exceptions are Haave 2007; Schwartz 1995b; Richter 2001), and they do not include thorough sociological theorizing, and those that do most often understand the emergence of eugenics within the gardening state paradigm prone to social engineering (Dikötter 1998; Weiner 2003; Mottier 2008; Crook 2007, 251; Schwartz 1995b, 415), or as a consequence of a 'communitarian-organic' interpretation of socialism (Lucassen 2010).

An alternative approach

Rather than explaining the emergence of 'illiberality' as a highly modern phenomenon, I will propose to follow the 'third wave' in historical sociology in its focus on actors and multiple logics (Adams, Clemens, and Orloff 2005). In the Danish case, eugenic policies and 'illiberal' practices were the result of a reinterpretation of inherited liberal cultural schemas of deservingness by central actors who adapted new scientific ideas to their own vocabulary in a double frame-alignment process. Theories of 'degeneration' resonated with both Protestantism and social democracy across the state – civil society divide. Rather than a conceptual framework that equates a specific societal sphere with a specific logic or that only emphasizes one ideational tradition, we need to look to the central actors involved, how they integrated new scientific ideas into their existing interpretive framework and compare the frameworks to see how they could reach an agreement.

How can we understand processes of frame alignment and resonance? Science and technology studies have repeatedly pointed to the role of alignment processes for scientific ideas to gain success (Latour 1988; Callon 1984, 1998). There is, however, a ‘hermeneutic deficit’ in the ANT-approach in that it prides itself in putting human and non-human actors on the same level.

Framing theory, on the other hand, has been successful in several subfields from social movement theory to social policy studies in describing such interpretive processes (Snow et al. 1986; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Steensland 2006). The argument goes that for a program to be successfully adopted or a social movement to gain adherence, the issues must be framed in such a way that it resonates with the targeted audience. As has been pointed out, the reasons for why frames ‘strike a chord’ with an audience have not been well understood (Young 2006, 27).⁹⁰ I suggest that the sociologist must pay attention to the interpretive processes through which various dimensions of ideational beliefs are aligned with existing frames of interpretations. Here, both causal and principled beliefs are essential – beliefs about how the world is and how it ought to be (Goldstein and Keohane 1993; Haas 1997; Münnich 2010).

Further, what we are dealing with in the case of degeneration theory is a process of multiple frame alignments. As we have seen, eugenic thinking spread throughout the social body and was linked to multiple causes. A thorough analysis of the emergence of eugenic policies and ‘illiberal’ practices would first have to analyze how the new scientific ideas resonated with the pertinent ideational traditions, and then see how the frames between the actors who carried these traditions were aligned. The second step opens for a comparative analysis to determine how different ideational projects compare in the normative and causal dimensions, and to a comparison of the type of agreement between the parties that could be reached on this basis (in the style of Habermas 2003). It further informs us on the timing, content, and political fate of these ideas (Weir et al. 1988, 10ff; Skocpol 1992; Steensland 2006, 1274) in the sense of understanding why certain actors at certain times were prone to oppose or support such policies and practices.

Such a hermeneutical approach should avoid on the one hand the overly strategically rationalist connotations of traditional frame analysis (Benford 1997, 419), while on the other hand avoid the actor-less versions of culturalism that fail to see the cognitive processes involved in the

⁹⁰ A logic of ‘appropriateness’ (Clemens 1997), ‘transposition’ and translation (Sewell 1992; Popielarz 2016) frame extensions or restrictions (Archer 1995) have been proposed.

process. Hans Joas has noted that ideational traditions “generate nothing. What matters is how they are appropriated by contemporary actors in their specific circumstances and amid the field of tension in which they find themselves, made up of practices, values, and institutions” (Joas 2013, 140). Put differently, the ideational traditions amount to a ‘discursive opportunity structure’ (Ferree 2003), but the decisive factor is how actors committed to certain ideals and principles reinterpret these ideas in concrete action situations.

The ‘high modernist’ approach tends to see the eugenic policies as something completely novel. However, claims to social relief have always had to be legitimated according to the cultural schemas of deservingness. Criteria for deservingness seem to be central to every society, but the cultural schemas for classification vary historically (Kahl *forthcoming*). Cultural schemas define the border between socially accepted ‘pure’ behavior and socially rejected ‘polluted’ behavior (Douglas 2005). While ‘deservingness’ historically has referred to those groups and individuals, who by no fault of their own had to rely on outside help, ideas about who should care for this group have varied: In Denmark, at the start of the 19th century, the deserving were deserving of receiving public support, while at the end of the century, they were found to be deserving of not having to suffer the stigma and legal consequences of receiving public funds, which is why philanthropic associations were formed to care for the deserving poor (Kofoed 2014).

While studies of ‘front stage’ public processes of policy formation can be informative in terms of how interest groups frame issues to gain public legitimacy for their proposals (Campbell 1998; Steensland 2006), I suggest that the ‘backstage processes’ are as important to study. The backstage level becomes important in matters where public interest is limited, and where no strong interest group can frame interests publicly. This is often the case for the ‘undeserving’, marginalized groups in society. Backstage processes take place internally among the actors – parties, interest groups, NGO’s etc. – before public policy is framed. The internal frame alignment process of how specific ideas are taken up has implications for whether and how public discursive agreements can be reached. In the case at hand, the process whereby the Blue Cross and social democracy each aligned themselves with eugenics at an ideational level had consequences for the public agreement and the policy enforced.

This article analyzes these interpretive processes through a single case study of the Danish Blue Cross and its relations to science and social democracy. A single case study of the Danish case is

interesting first in terms of testing existing theories of the emergence of eugenic and stigmatizing policies, and second in terms of developing new theoretical approaches.⁹¹ In terms of testing the 'high modernist' thesis, it is a *critical case* (Flyvbjerg 2006) where conditions were ripe for introducing eugenic legislation through the state. The central administration inherited from absolutism was effective and present in all parts of the country. Paradoxically, the case also represents an *extreme or deviant case* (ibid.) in that a vibrant self-organized pillarist civil society existed (Lund 2015). By the logic of the 'black swan', this allows us to cautiously infer that if eugenic policies were not promoted primarily by the state and not opposed by civil society, then we should probably find new ways of explaining the emergence of stigmatizing policies. The single case study is furthermore well-suited for developing new theory in a developed field of research (Vaughan 1992). Taking policies on alcoholism as a case rather than the more well-researched policies on race, gender, or the intellectually disabled contributes with new insights in this underdeveloped field, while at the same time illuminating general cultural classifications.

Method and data

To show the interpretive processes described above, I choose to different approaches for the Social Democrat and the Blue Cross perspective. For the Social Democratic perspective, I focus on K. K. Steincke, the Social Democrats' Minister of Social Affairs 1929-1935, and main architect behind the central 1933 social reform. He first laid out the framework for the reform in a book that was suggestively called "Alms or rights" (Steincke 1912) and then in "The Future of the Public Assistance System" (*Fremtidens Forsørgelsesvæsen*) (Steincke 1920), where he also presented his perspective on eugenics. While Steincke cannot be taken to representative of the Social Democratic Party as such, he is recognized as the architect behind the 1933 reform that introduced the 'illiberal' approach to alcoholics and other 'repugnant types', and the influence of 'degeneration' thinking on other Social Democrats (as well as liberals) already in the 19th century has been shown elsewhere (Hansen 2005, 10ff).

As the social democratic position on eugenics has been well described in the literature, the main empirical contribution of the article concerns the Blue Cross. Here, I rely on so far unexamined sources from the Blue Cross archives. The material collected consists of the organization's

⁹¹ The Danish case is moreover a 'first case' as Denmark was the first state in Europe to introduce eugenic policies (1929). Already in 1907, the first US sterilization law was signed by the governor of Indiana (Reilly 1987).

members' magazine, the protocols of the annual meetings, protocols from the board meetings, and short stories published by the organization.

The members' magazine (MM) gives insight into what and how scientific ideas were presented to the members of the organization, if and how these were put in relation to religious ideas, and if and how public policies and 'illiberal' practices were discussed. The magazine was published from 1900; first as 'Evangelical Temperance Journal' (*Evangelisk Afholdstidende*), and from 1904 as the Blue Cross. It was published bimonthly during the period in question, except for the period 1904 – 1906, where it was published once a month. The analyzed issues are published in the periods 1900-1905, 1912-1918, and 1931-1938, covering the earliest articles, the period around the 1914 request to the government for forcible commitment of alcoholics, and the period around the 1933 social reform and the eugenic legislation.

Reports of the annual meeting of representatives (AR) and protocols of meetings of the central board (CB) in the same periods provide insight on the strategic stances and decisions as well as on possibly internally differing views on central contemporary issues including 'illiberal' policies and practices. The reports of the AR include the minutes from the general assembly as well as the open meetings. Major decisions were taken by the general assembly (GA) while the board oversaw everyday issues. I have consulted the protocols of the CB in the years where crucial decisions were taken on 'illiberal' policies and practices – 1914, 1930, 1933, and 1938 – no discrepancies were found between board decisions and the GA.

The short stories present a unique insight into the wider interpretive frame of the Blue Cross. The literary genre gives context-sensitive insight into the social imaginary of the organization since the authors here seek to represent both the ideal way of life and the causes of alcoholism in way that is close to everyday experience. The archives contain 59 short stories (SS) published from 1904 to 1942. 18 of these are translated from English, German, or French, and are mainly published in the early period. A few titles contain multiple short stories.

Relying on the writings of Steincke and secondary sources on the one hand and archival material on the other entails some methodological limitations to understanding processes of frame alignment. The two primary limitations are that such sources do not provide insight into public debates or actual negotiations between Social Democracy and the Blue Cross. Rather than showing the concrete process of frame alignment, my method is one of comparison on the level of ideas, comparing first how scientific ideas were incorporated into the two traditions and

second the similarities and differences between the two perspectives. There are also limitations regarding the possibility of generalization. The Blue Cross developed one stance to the state and 'illiberal' practices, but other Protestant organizations in Denmark and abroad may have chosen different routes. In this way, the case only works as a 'black swan' that challenges existing theories and as the first step in a possible larger comparative project.

A final remark before the analysis is necessary in relation to the concepts used. The analysis centers on the introduction of eugenic-inspired legislation and 'illiberal' policies and practices. These are not the same. 'Illiberal' policies and practices I put in inverted commas to distinguish them from policies promoted by adherers of liberalism. I use it in the sense that other authors have used it (King 1999; Lucassen 2010) to designate policies and practices that infringe on civil, political, or social rights of the individual. These need not all be inspired by eugenics. The theory behind eugenic measures, 'degeneration theory', was, however, widespread also in Danish society and explicitly promoted in one form by Steincke, as I will show, who was in close contact with scientists. Again, my aim is not to give an account of the concrete political processes, but to render understandable how, at an ideational level, the two ideational traditions interpreted the new scientific ideas and thus make plausible why an implicit agreement between the two could be reached.

Civil society and state revisited

Were eugenic practices and 'illiberal' policies the result of a high modernist ethos, a communitarian-organic social democratic ideology, and a weak civil society? If so, you would expect the state to have pushed such policies, and civil society groups to have tempered or opposed them. What the Danish case shows, however, is that the push for 'illiberal' policies first came from the evangelical civil society organization the Blue Cross. I will first argue that there existed a continuity from the 19th to the 20th century cultural schemas regarding deservingness, and that the reinterpretations by social democracy and the Blue Cross constituted a reinterpretation of these rather than a dramatic change.

Cultural schemas of deservingness

'Illiberal' practices towards the 'undeserving' were in fact nothing new. In Denmark, as elsewhere, 'illiberal policies' were rather the result of a dawning liberal era from the beginning of the 19th century that entailed a harsher interpretation of the cultural schemas regarding deservingness. Receiving benefits came to inflict on legal status related to restrictions on the

right to marriage, to property, and eventually to political rights of voting and being elected for office. While absolutism had relied on the principle of equality before the law, in the dawning liberal era this changed and was hardened by Malthusian ideas on the naturalness of poverty (Jørgensen 1975, 53–56; Sørensen 1998). The mere fact of receiving poor relief increasingly became a marker of undeservingness.

Stricter rules for alimention (child support) were enforced in 1819, and in 1824 an age limit was set to marriage (20 for men, and 16 for women) and restrictions on the right to marry for persons who had received poor relief were put in place. These individuals had to obtain permission from the local poor committees (Jørgensen 1975, 54f). In the poor laws of 1799/1802-3, a clause stated that the poor authorities had a legal right to make claims on the estate of a deceased pauper who had not repaid his or her poor relief. This was in turn interpreted in such a way that paupers were legally incapacitated from disposing of their own possessions, so they could not avoid this debt by giving away their estate (ibid., 87f). Finally, the constitution of 1849 gave the vote to propertied males aged 25 of unblemished reputation. Individuals who received poor relief, had not paid back the relief or had it canceled were denied the vote.

While the Danish state had distinguished degrees of eligibility since 1708, the explicit semantics of deservingness only emerged as the harshness of the liberal(ist) system began to provoke opposition. From 1848, laws were passed that exempted soldiers and made the rules more lenient in times of increasing costs of living. However, the belief in the stigmatizing effects of receiving public poor relief, partly caused by the increasingly harsh organization of the poor relief system throughout the 19th century, was upheld. Private philanthropy was called upon to provide assistance for those members of the bourgeoisie as well as the working classes that were deemed to be worthy after all, thus saving them from the humiliation and negative effects of receiving public relief (Kofoed 2014). From ca. 1890, groups such as children, the elderly, and the sick were exempted from the effects of the poor laws.

Medical science around the turn of the century marked a new way of understanding alcoholism. Alcoholics were singled out with the sobriety and alcohol commission that were appointed by the government in 1903, 1914, 1934, and 1947. While the later commissions were mainly mandated to illuminate how consumption of alcohol could be brought down through regulations, the sobriety commission of 1903 also made recommendations on the care of

alcoholics (Sobriety Commission report 1907). The commission was dominated by temperance people (Eriksen 2007, 61), and the main author of the final report, medical doctor Christian Geill was a member of the Society for the Promotion of Sobriety, physician at a mental hospital, and manager of a prison. He would later become chairman of the Medico-legal council that had an advisory capacity for the eugenic-inspired marriage laws of 1922 (Koch 2014). The report published in 1907 marked a change in the view of alcoholics. It stated that alcoholism could no longer be viewed as ‘moral aberration’, but as a disease of the central nervous system. In other writings, Geill suggested more clearly degenerative causes for alcoholism and its influence on crime (Geill 1906), even if he was later skeptical towards the effects of sterilization on sexuality (Koch 2000, 43f). In the 1907 report it was suggested that the state should build a treatment institution for alcoholics, overseen by doctors working according to rational medical principles. Force should be used in treatment, since this would encourage voluntary admission. Force should however only be used, where alcoholism had consequences for others than the alcoholic himself (Sobriety Commission report 1907, 148–55). While no state facility was established at this time, the report did result in increased support for the private facilities, and the view of alcoholism as an illness as well as the principle of intervention when others were affected would prevail. As I will show, the theory of degeneration was however promoted before the 1907 report by Geill’s fellow temperance supporters in the Blue Cross.

Social democratic practice: ‘Illiberal’ policies on alcoholism

The use of means testing was limited already by the liberal governments in 1921/22 by the adoption of the Act on Invalidity Pension (1921) and the Act on Old Age Pension in 1922, but on a symbolic level, it was the grand social reform of 1933, spearheaded by the Social Democratic Party, that introduced a thorough reversal in the cultural schemas of deservingness. The idea behind the reform was to turn the logic on its head: Rather than being exempt from the legal sanctions of poor relief, relief should be a *right*. K. K. Steincke, Minister of Social Affairs 1929-1935, and main architect behind the reform, had laid out the framework for the reform in a book that was suggestively called “Alms or rights” (Steincke 1912).

However, the distinction between deserving and undeserving, between those that were willing to take care of themselves and contribute to society, and those that were not, was upheld. In Denmark, the farewell to means testing in the 1933 reform explicitly left out certain groups that were considered morally underserving, such as the ‘work-shy’, neglectful providers, tramps, professional beggars, prostitutes, and alcoholics. These groups would still suffer the loss of

rights and the deterrence and discipline of forced labor – contingent on an individual assessment (Steincke 1933, 14;60). This new way of dividing deserving from undeserving was informed by social democratic ideology, especially as it was formulated by K. K. Steincke.

'Illiberal' laws on alcoholism promoted by social democracy

Eugenics-inspired legislation targeted largely the groups exempted from the 1933 reform. The central laws were the sterilization law of 1929, the first in Europe, the law of 1934 regarding the mentally retarded, the sterilization and castration act of 1935, and the marriage acts of 1922 and 1938. During the 1930s, the view on the poor and workers seems to have hardened due to the economic crisis, and draconian measures became more acceptable (Hansen 2005, 45f).

Already in 1922, the law of legal incapacity and guardianship had been passed, making alcoholism and similar vices cause for legal incapacitation and loss of custody over children. As The Marriage Act of 1938 was passed, 'chronic alcoholics' were added to the list of groups who, from 1922, had not been allowed to marry without consent from the Ministry of Justice. This permission could be made contingent on consent to sterilization (Thorsen 1993, 39–57).⁹² There was a clear eugenic inspiration in both laws (Hansen 2005, 26).

Sterilization of alcoholics had been an option since the law on sterilization in 1935. This law was an extension of the preliminary law of 1929 and now introduced access to voluntary sterilization for chronic alcoholics. Voluntary sterilization was not universally accessible to alcoholics and other selected psychically 'normal' persons, except "when specific concerns speak in favor of this" (*når særlige hensyn taler derfor*). These considerations had to do with whether there was a danger of burdening the offspring in terms of heredity (Justitsministeriet 1964, 10). As with sterilization of the mentally ill, the voluntary aspect of sterilization was questionable.

Reflecting the ambiguous state of the diagnosis of 'alcoholism', laws of a more disciplining character were also passed. While the penal code of 1930 in general did away with the sentence of forced labor, crimes committed by someone found to be an alcoholic were still punishable by commitment to a forced labor institution. The complex of laws passed in 1933 likewise named alcoholism as grounds for the loss of the right to disability and old age pension, just as alcoholics were denied entrance into retirement homes, care facilities, and the social support part

⁹² Only one marriage request was ever filed (Thorsen 1993).

[*forsørgelsesafdeling*] of the workhouses, and further denied access to health insurance funds and mothers' right to alimony.

In treating the alcoholics who showed a willingness to change, the Blue Cross treatment facilities came in handy. The penal code of 1930 and the reform of the welfare laws in 1933 introduced the possibility of treatment in a private facility. In the criminal cases, this was an additional sentence lasting a maximum of 18 months or 3 years in cases of repeated offences. In the cases of negligent providers (including spending the income on drink rather than the family) a sentence of private treatment could be dealt out administratively, without a court decision, as an alternative to a forced labor sentence or being committed to the workhouse. On top of this, the municipal social services committee was authorized to sentence an alcoholic to treatment for a maximum of 1½ years if the authorities or the alcoholic's family approached the social services with the request that he be committed to treatment, and the committee found that he was a burden to his family and had obtained a medical opinion. If patients broke off the treatment, they would be sentenced to forced labor.

In those cases where the patient was not able to pay for the treatment himself, the expenses paid for by the authorities were considered poor relief, and thus had the concomitant legal consequences. This meant that the patient would have to cover the expenses of the stay, and the debt could not be cancelled until one year after the stay had ended. For those who voluntarily sought treatment, the legal consequences of receiving this kind of poor relief was disenfranchisement for the duration of the stay, or in cases where the treatment was broken off, for two years from the day the stay had commenced. Those who were forcibly committed were also disenfranchised with no possibility of cancelling the debt, and moreover with the risk of prohibition to marry until the debt was repaid (Thorsen 1993, 51–57). As Steincke notes in his comments to the law: "The rules extend a helping hand when the individual shows a wish to better himself, but are far from friendly if the patient does not want to contribute to his recovery" (Steincke 1933, 60; my translation).

While social democracy thus had succeeded in transforming the cultural schema regarding deservingness so that social support was now an entitlement, the alcoholic – and similar groups – was still in practice considered undeserving. As is evident from the legislation presented above, the alcoholic was, however, an ambiguous category where punishment, forced

rehabilitation, and eugenic measures such as sterilization and prohibition on marriage were possible sanctions under the law. I will return to how this ambiguous view came about below.

Revivalist practice: Treatment and lobbying for forcible commitment

For the privately run treatment facilities, the penal code of 1930 and the social reform of 1933 meant that they effectively became part of the public criminal and social services system. How did the Blue Cross react to this enrollment? And what was their stance on eugenics and ‘illiberal’ initiatives?

The Blue Cross’ rehabilitating work with alcoholics was guided by three principles, reiterated in the sources several times: 1) Isolation from the temptation of alcohol, preferably in the countryside, 2) hard work to rebuild the body and regain work discipline, and 3) moral influence in the form of Bible reading and singing psalms. Entertainment such as theatrical plays were frowned upon. The eugenic means of sterilization, castration, and lifelong confinement were clearly not within the organization’s jurisdiction, and the means of treatment do not seem to have been influenced directly by eugenic thinking.

The Blue Cross did, however, advocate for the increased use of forcible commitment throughout the period. During the 1910s, the issue of forcible commitment was raised several times. In 1914, the general assembly *unanimously* passed a resolution instructing the board to influence the government and parliament to pass a law on the forcible commitment of alcoholics when “specific [or special] reasons speak in favor of this” (*når særlige grunde taler derfor*) (AR 1914:57). The organization joined a public request by the united Danish temperance organizations in 1916 stating the same thing, besides calling for increased funding by the state (AR 1916:11f). As shown above, the phrase “when specific [or special] reasons speak in favor of this” is almost exactly the same phrase as the one that was to be used in the 1935 law on voluntary sterilization. It reads as an exception clause where individual rights can be suspended when the greater good is at stake.

When, in the early 1930s, forcible commitment of criminal alcoholics and the quasi-forcible administrative commitment of alcoholic negligent providers became possible, the Blue Cross had already been advocating this measure at least since the 1910s. It should thus come as no surprise that neither the protocols of the board, nor the minutes of the discussions of the General Assembly mention the danger of an encroachment on individual freedom. The main

concern seems to have been merely administrative: How would the organization accommodate all of the new patients? Should a new facility be built (CB 6/7 193. AR 1934:49-52)? After the introduction of the new laws, the main concern was how to deal with the criminal elements and how to separate them from the general patient population, since they caused disturbance (AR 1934:14,51; AR 1936:54; MM 1943:20; CB 23/05 '34). Ultimately, in 1943, the Blue Cross sold one of their treatment homes to the state authorities, which now took over the job of rehabilitating the criminal alcoholics.

While the Blue Cross actively lobbied for 'illiberal' policies regarding forcible commitment, there is no evidence that they pushed for eugenic measures like sterilization. Only two authors, as I will show, explicitly discussed such measures in favorable, if cautious terms. There is, however, also no evidence that they opposed the eugenic measures that *were* taken. Strangely, it seems that it was never an issue. Clearly, the organization must have been aware. They were following the political discussions closely, and as we have seen, the organization's expert on these matters, Garboe, contributed to an edited volume on eugenics "Heritage and Race" with Steincke in 1934 (Socialpolitisk Forening 1934).

Both the Blue Cross and social democracy were thus proponents of a policy where the civil rights of alcoholics could be suspended when certain reasons spoke in favor of this. This constituted in effect a continuation of the established distinction between deserving and undeserving, where alcoholics constituted a morally susceptible category that undermined the cultural fabric of society. I will argue in the next sections that these 'special reasons' were related to the visions of community that guided the two actors. The alcoholic constituted a threat to both the social democratic vision of a society built on responsible citizens and the revivalist vision of a communal life with the nuclear family and a Christian life at the center. Eugenic thinking resonated with and was adopted in both projects and informed both principled and causal beliefs about alcoholism.

Community ideals and alcoholism's complex etiology

Only minor critique of the eugenic legislation was aired in the parliamentary debate leading up to the 1929 sterilization law, and the 1934 law was met with only 4 votes against in the two parliamentary chambers (Hansen 2005, 40). The 1929 critique came mostly from certain medical

doctors, from the catholic church,⁹³ and from conservative members of parliament. In general, there was no great interest in eugenics in parliament. Only Steincke and Rasmussen, another member of the Social Democrats, were known to pursue the issue explicitly. The eugenic laws were bipartisan and passed with a broad majority. The relative lack of public interest meant that practitioners, scientists, and politicians with a special interest in the area had much influence in formulating laws and practices. Practitioners were often willing to go further than politicians and even scientists (Hansen 2005; Koch 2014).

Early frame alignment: Against the common liberal enemy

Even if the treatment of alcoholics and other marginal groups was not a matter of great public discussion, a public event in 1904 gives us some clues as to the common understanding between the Blue Cross and the Social Democrats.

The first major public debate in which the Blue Cross partook was the discussion over a law passed in 1905⁹⁴ that introduced corporal punishment as an additional punishment for violent criminals – so called ‘bullies’. At the beginning of 1904, the Blue Cross’ board had arranged a public hearing regarding the law that was under discussion at the time. Here, representatives from the Blue Cross argued that it was foolish to talk about punishment for bullies if the state was not willing to remove the main cause of the ‘bully nuisance’: alcohol. The offenders should be given hard work, be sought out where they lived, met with love, and told that they were destined for something better. At the same meeting, a Social Democrat member of parliament, Peter Sabroe, also spoke out against this form of punishment, but pointed out that more than alcohol, it was the horrible conditions of living that caused these types of criminals to flourish and that the problem could be alleviated through improved welfare for the many scruffy children in the country. He furthermore expressed his appreciation that the Christian Blue Cross, too, were against the idea of corporal punishment, even if it was from a different point of view (MM 1904, 21-23).

During the liberal era in social policy, we thus see the unlikely bedmates presenting a united front. The Social Democrats’ class analysis of the urban social question would soon be altered as they entered government in the 1920s. The Blue Cross would continue to view the alcoholics as

⁹³ In 1930, Pope Pious XI promulgated the church’s view on moral matters and thus spoke out against eugenic legislation as well as artificial birth control and abortion, and for the sanctity of marriage (Lucassen 2010, 281f).

⁹⁴ Abolished in 1911

led into temptation, and emphasize discipline, prohibition, and Christian love as measures. As we will see, theories of degeneration resonated with and was integrated into both analyses.

Social democratic community ideals and degeneration: The responsible citizen

Like the Fabians in the UK and the other Nordic social democracies, Danish social democracy increasingly interpreted social problems in other terms than just 'class'. However, Lucassen's (2010) view that the adoption of 'illiberal' policies on the left was caused by a communitarian-organic rather than a class-bound interpretation of socialism should be nuanced. The community envisioned was not that of productive citizens, but one of responsible, independent citizens who could provide for themselves and their family; an ideal closer to the economically liberal Danish 19th century than the Soviet Russian or fascist German 20th century.

Steincke, the architect of the 1933 reform, opposed a vulgar Marxism only concerned with material needs. Socialism was not the end goal, but only a step on the road to a society where an 'individual culture' and individual happiness could flourish (Cornell 1982). Only a strong workers' culture of independent, responsible individuals could oppose a bourgeois culture that had itself degenerated (Petersen 2014).

Steincke was a stern proponent of a rational and moral approach to welfare and vehemently opposed to all kinds of emotional 'humanism'. The social system was to be based on facts and principles rather than feelings, and should be designed to educate and raise morals rather than encourage rent-seeking. In many respects, this was a continuation of the liberal regime's concern with culture and morality, only the means were different. Whereas the very fact of receiving public support had been viewed as stigmatizing and an undermining of morals, social democratic thinking was that it was the 'alms'-like properties of the system, the means testing and exemption laws that undermined morals. A rational rights-based system would create rational responsible citizens who knew what they were entitled to and could plan accordingly.

K. K. Steincke in 1920 laid out the principles for the future of the social relief system in a two-volume book. Here, he presented the theory of degeneration and differential reproduction. An urban proletariat was envisioned that had been estranged from the loving relations of the countryside and now became increasingly numb and brutal – essentially the *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* distinction of German sociology at the time. In such a situation, created by the 'maelstrom of free competition', it was the duty of the state to secure that the

intelligence, self-control, and order of society was not lowered by degenerates who procreated at a higher rate than average. Since modern science had suspended natural selection, 'culture', rational society, had to intervene with eugenic measures. It was not enough to simply eliminate poverty, since one could not ignore the element of heredity in these matters (Koch 2014, 41–45). It was, however, not the case that “productivity was the highest value” (Spektorowski 2004, 3) in the ideology of Steincke. It was rather, as during the liberal regime, that decency, respectability, and morality were cultivated. Those that were not willing or able to fend for themselves, the asocial or antisocial, posed a threat to this vision of society. If they were not able to help themselves, like the mentally retarded, they should be cared for, but society should also be protected from this group through confinement and sterilization or castration, so that they would not negatively affect the social order, the average intelligence, and moral standards. While every individual that was already born into this world should have the right to the happiest existence possible, the individual that was hereditarily disadvantaged must concede his or her right to procreation for the good of future generations (Koch 2014, 43).

The imagined causal chain that undermined public morals thus consisted of interacting social and biological factors: Progress in the means of production meant that an estranged and numbed proletariat had emerged in the city, while advances in science meant that degenerates procreated at a higher rate than the rest of the population. How the social and biological factors exactly worked together is unclear, and especially so in the categories that did not fall squarely on one or the other side of normalcy. There were individuals that were not exactly degenerate, but still exhibited reckless behavior. This “repugnant type” (Steincke 1933, 60) was still to be disciplined and punished by means of forced labor institutions.

It was disputed in scientific circles in Denmark whether alcoholism was hereditary or not. In 1924, a commission was established by the new Social Democrat led government to investigate how the question of degenerative persons could be handled. The members of the commission included researchers as well as practitioners that dealt with the care of the groups in question. Alcoholism was on the one hand not considered hereditary by the commission, but alcoholics did on the other hand not meet the requirements of normality (Koch 2014, 80). A more extensive approach emerged, as the medico-legal counsel in 1935 recommended that sterilization should be possible not only for the mentally ill, but among other groups also for the insane (schizophrenic, bipolar), epileptics, psychopaths – and alcoholics, who were thought to

have (too) many children. Alcoholics, moreover, like psychopaths, were difficult for the law to reach, since they were not institutionalized (Koch 2014, 125).

In the science of eugenics, alcoholics thus represented a group that did not fall squarely within the hereditarily healthy or the degenerative group; it was not easy to determine whether they were curable or not, or if they were asocial by their own volition or not. This, then, was not reason enough in the political climate at the time to subject the group to forced sterilization, but it reinforced Steincke's view where alcoholism was a marker of 'undeservingness' and thus for passing legislation that meant disenfranchisement and the loss of civil and social rights for alcoholics.

The alcoholic in effect fell between the three categories of the morally susceptible, the physically sick patient, and the hereditarily damaged. The state authorities' response to alcoholics reflected this ambiguity in the perception of alcoholism and was combatted through the diverse means described above.

Social democracy was not primarily influenced by communitarian-organic thinking or a 'high modernity ethos' concerned with creating productive citizens through central planning. In social policy, there was indeed a rationalist ethos, but this ethos was concerned with creating a national community of responsible individuals through a transparent system of semi-voluntary insurance and social rights that would educate individual citizens to plan ahead. Where social democratic thought resonated with eugenics was related to the 'old fears' of the liberal regime rather than the new ones of 'high modernity': The fear of the poor who were unable to control themselves sexually and economically and were potentially revolutionary. Alcoholics constituted one such 'type' to fear; even if the etiology of alcoholism was ambiguous.

Degeneration and Blue Cross ideals of community

As in the meeting of 1904, the Blue Cross continued to pose an oppositional, but complementary ideational position. The organization's vision of community revolved around rural family life and Christian faith.

That the family was at the heart of the principled beliefs of the Blue Cross is evident from the Blue Cross' general assembly's discussions of the municipal child welfare committees, which from 1905 were responsible for deciding when a child should be put into protective care. It was put forward that the Blue Cross should seek to make its voice heard in these committees, and

that rather than taking the child away from a family with an alcoholic father, the father should forcibly be committed to receive treatment (AR 1916:59; 1930:53). The family was the primary concern of the organization, not the individual rights of the alcoholic.

The Blue Cross was clear about its causal beliefs: The alcoholic is a patient who has been afflicted by a disease by no fault of his own. We can see this when new principles for allocation of state funds were decided in 1913. The Blue Cross took this as a final state recognition of its work and as public recognition that alcoholism was now seen as a disease, and thus “as is the case with other diseases, it is not asked how little or much they [the patients] are to be blamed for their own condition” (AR 1912-13:18). The label of ‘patient’ was, however, ambiguous and could be used not only for removing stigma, but also for paternalistic measures. A general assembly representative in 1912 stated that some use of force is unavoidable in the work with alcoholics, since the patients ought to be treated for what they are: Sick people or children (AR 1912:49).

Theories of degeneration was part of the revivalist vocabulary from the beginning. The theories resonated surprisingly well with biblical themes of hereditary sin, as well as with the temptations of the big city that might trigger inherited degenerative traits.

The Blue Cross introduced articles on degeneration long before social democracy put eugenic laws into practice. We need only consider the members’ magazine to find articles on the topic. During the entire period, 22 articles related to the hereditary effects of alcohol consumption appear. In the first period, 1900-1905 – before the sobriety committee’s report was published in 1907 – the articles contain primarily various versions of the theory of degeneration: The excessive consumption of alcohol has effects in three generations, leading the alcoholic’s progeny to give in to temptation more easily, to show an increased risk of idiocy, insanity, ‘moral insanity’, meanness, cynicism and the like, and in the third generation, the family line slowly dies out (MM 1900, vol. 5). In the second period (1912-1918), there are references to German and Swiss medico-statistical research, where the effects on children are documented with somewhat the same results regarding physical and mental health as well as moral behavior (reg. crime especially), and the degeneration theory is repeated (MM 1912, vol. 9,19,20,21; 1913, vol. 8,10,12; 1914, vol. 2; 1915 vol. 5). In the third period (1931-1938), two articles by Axel Garboe are published. One is informed by the new insights from biology on the workings of the genes. The author speculates that alcoholism may cause a mutation in the genes of the

alcoholic, but if these genes are recessive, this may not be evident until the third generation if the carrier of the damaged recessive genes procreates with another person carrying the same recessive genes (1932, vol.22). The second article (1933, vol. 5) critically assesses the thesis that it is material deprivation that causes alcoholism. While Garboe concedes that poverty can lead to alcoholism, he maintains that heredity in the form of the degeneration of the lineage remains a factor among others such as alcohol supply, bad habits, ignorance and brutality. Evidence of this can be found in the fact that alcoholism is also widespread in the wealthy strata of society. Garboe also published on the question of hereditary research and social welfare (Garboe 1931). While arguing for the many benefits of eugenics, he nuances this with ethical considerations regarding whether there is an objective criterion for 'inferiority' and practical difficulties in identifying the hereditarily disposed. He ends up arguing for a positive, but cautious evaluation of 'negative eugenics', hindering degeneration, rather than 'positive eugenics', improving the race. In 1938, a Blue Cross publication by a Gunner Degenhardt called "Temple and Spirit", makes a plea to take the question of eugenics seriously based on statistical material on the overrepresentation of alcoholics in the insane asylums and other similar institutions, as well as physiological and psychological evidence (Degenhardt 1938).

Garboe was thus not alone in presenting a basic discourse on the degenerative effects in several generations in this period. In the first part of the period, this is backed by the theory of degeneration with reference to laboratory experiments and statistics, while in the latter part of the period we witness a change towards backing essentially the same causal claims with reference to the theory of genes, and finally with the plea for eugenics. Well before the state's commissions on the question of eugenics started discussing whether alcoholism was to be considered a hereditary condition (1924), and before Steincke published on the issue in 1920, the Blue Cross had published articles on degeneration. They continued to do so well after the 'illiberal' policies were passed in 1930 and 1933, as well as around the passing of the marriage act of 1938.

Seeing that the Blue Cross was clearly committed to Lutheran evangelical Christianity, how did the scientific explanation of alcoholism as the result of hereditary laws fit into the evangelical Christian world view? Eugenic ideas were in fact interpreted as an elaboration of principles already known through the Bible. In 1912, for instance, we see an interlinking of the doctrine of hereditary sin with race theory, where the theory of race is taken as a confirmation of the well-known original principle (1912, vol. 20). The following year, the position is taken that God has

put the hereditary law into human existence, and that this is actually a confirmation of Exodus 20:5: “punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation” (1913, vol. 11). We encounter this view in the moral of a short story from 1915, where all the four children of an alcoholic die in their youth: God has put the hereditary laws into nature so that misfortune will not spread (H. P Aarestrup 1915). In 1938, this view was summarized: “The result is that the word of God is confirmed: *The lineage dies out*” (Degenhardt 1938, author’s italics). Scientific knowledge confirmed religious knowledge.

It is not sufficient, however, to simply look at religious or scientific discourse in the abstract if we want to get a clearer understanding of how the problem of alcoholism was perceived by the Christian organization. The organization adhered to a multi-causal etiology of alcoholism naming habits, supply, ignorance and ‘coarseness’ as causes. This etiology was interwoven with the organization’s community ideals. This is seen most clearly in the fictional short stories published and distributed by the organization from 1904-1942.

The short stories can be divided into a few categories of genres. First, a ‘Dickensian’ genre. Along with the translation of Dickens’ “The Drunkard’s Death” these cautionary tales are brutal in their depiction of the consequences of alcoholism. Here, tragedy reigns: Alcoholics and their children die from the direct or indirect (degenerative) consequences of alcoholism. The only comfort for the dying or those left behind is the gospel. Second, there are stories from the jail or the hospital of ‘real’ victims of alcoholism that may or may not experience a Christian awakening. The third, and for our purposes most interesting, genre is expressed in around 15 short stories, the first one published in 1910 and the last in 1950. Throughout these 40 years, the narrative is surprisingly stable. The narrative resembles that of the ‘Bildungsroman’: A young person, a man most often, is faced with the temptations of drinking alcohol, sometimes also card playing, dancing, and ‘loose women’ typically as he moves to the city. He then enters a period of crisis in which he gives in to temptation, but in the end is saved by either a stranger or, more often, a close friend from his childhood and/or a Christian revivalist girl also from his childhood. The protagonist thus experiences the classic dilemma of the Bildungsroman, where he enters into opposition with his social environment until he reaches a new realization and establishes a harmonic relationship with his surroundings. In this case, the challenges that he must overcome, the experiences he must learn from, stem from the temptations of the big city that is described as a ‘Sodom and Gomorrah’ (Garboe 1934). The childhood home is described either as one of happiness in a religious upbringing or as the place where the young boy is first

introduced to alcohol by parents ignorant of its inherent danger. The station in life that is obtained is characterized by a life in harmony with a devout wife in a Christian community, typically also in a Blue Cross association.

What these 'Bildungsromane' are better able to show us than the scientific treatises on alcohol is the complex etiology and cure of alcoholism that the Blue Cross is a proponent of. Here, it is the decadence of the big city with its false and degenerate friends (Leth 1910, 1928; Christensen 1918; Nielsen 1938), evil innkeepers (Rasmussen 1923), and drinking habits (Rasmussen 1921; Dahl 1933, 1936) that either seduce the young persons that have been brought up well or trigger the existing tendencies in those that have not. The cure lies in the return to or discovery of the healthy Christian life, which includes an active revivalist Christianity (Carlsen-Skiødt 1937), a devout wife or husband (Leth 1915; Folmann 1938), good friends of the right faith, and maybe membership of the Christian temperance association (Rasmussen 1918; Dahl 1934; Pedersen 1942). There is no easy solution to the alcohol question. While heredity plays its part, the only true cure for alcoholism is the life of the believer and the temperate lifestyle that is associated with such a life.

That the Blue Cross did not oppose the eugenic-inspired state legislation becomes comprehensible once we understand how the theories of degeneration resonated with the causal and principled beliefs of the organization, interwoven in a complex etiology in the short stories. Drastic measures were necessary, when it came to the protection of the family and the salvation of the individual.

It was not until three years after the end of the Second World War, in 1948, that an article appeared in the members' magazine that explicitly argued against a hereditary theory of alcoholism (MM 1948:59ff). There is no evidence that this occasioned a major change in the leadership or self-scrutiny, since Axel Garboe, the leading proponent of the eugenic ideas, was elected to the board in the period 1944-56 and served as editor of the members' magazine 1950-56. The organization's commitment to eugenic ideas and forcible commitment of alcoholics was forgotten to a degree where historians of the organization have asserted that the organization was opposed to the use of force in treatment (Granum Jensen 1995:138f;164f); a claim that has since been repeated by scholars of alcohol policy, the voluntary sector, and by welfare historians (Thorsen 1993, 104f; Petersen 2003, 15; Bundesen et al. 2001, 144f).

Conclusion: Double frame alignment

In contrast to the dominant view in the literature, the Danish approach to eugenic and ‘illiberal’ policies in first half of the 20th century, and specifically in relation to alcoholics, cannot be viewed solely as hubris committed by a gardening state pursuing a scientific solution to social problems, nor was the governing social democracy simply informed by a ‘communitarian-organic’ view of the nation as a holistic unity where the unproductive would have to be sacrificed. Conversely, the civil society actor with local knowledge of the problems, the evangelical Christian temperance organization the Blue Cross, who answered to another authority than state and science, did not oppose the ‘illiberal’ policies, but promoted policies of forcible treatment and theories of the degenerative origins of alcoholism decades before they were made into law. Answering the first research question about the role of the Blue Cross as a civil society organization in resisting or promoting eugenic policies and ‘illiberal’ practices, I can conclude that there is no evidence in the archival material that they opposed eugenic legislation. Rather, the Blue Cross promoted the theories of degeneration that were used by politicians and scientists to support the eugenic policies. In answering the second research question: How did the new scientific ideas resonate with Protestant ideas and the ideas of the Social Democratic party?, I have shown how theories of degeneration and ‘illiberal’ policies were made to resonate with existing ideational traditions. In finding causes for alcoholism in forces beyond the individual, degeneration-theory resonated with the moral beliefs and the multi-causal etiology promoted by the Blue Cross as well as Steincke. Rather than being solely a novel scientific approach to social problems, however, eugenics and ‘illiberal’ policies reinforced existing prejudices towards the poor embedded in cultural schemas of deservingness inherited from the liberal 19th century, where the poor were deprived of their civil rights to marry, to property, and to vote and be elected. Eugenic and ‘illiberal’ policies emerged as they resonated with central actors’ principled beliefs embedded in community ideals and causal beliefs about the etiology of alcoholism across political and religious divides, and across the spheres of state and civil society.

This leads to the answer to the third question: How was an implicit consensus made possible between the two otherwise different ideational traditions? The analysis shows a dual process of frame alignment. In Habermasian⁹⁵ terms, we might say that the principled beliefs of the Blue Cross and the governing social democracy corresponded through a tacit ‘*Verständigung*’, or an

⁹⁵ Habermas 2003, 307–42

overlapping consensus, since the alcoholic posed a threat to the opposing, but complementary social democratic and revivalist community ideals. The social democratic ideal of a national community composed of responsible citizens was threatened by the irresponsible alcoholics and their repugnant behavior; a behavior that could spread through progeny. The alcoholic likewise undermined the revivalist ideal of a life centered around Christian devotion and the family.

The agreement on the principled level came about through shared causal beliefs, an 'Einverständnis', regarding the etiology of alcoholism. Unlike the mentally ill, a clearer cut case of heredity, the etiology of alcoholism was complex. The view of the alcoholic as a patient was first put forward by the Blue Cross and only incrementally adopted by the state. Both camps were ambiguous as to whether the patients were suffering from a physical or a degenerative condition – or whether they were willing to change. Both parties also shared the analysis of the demoralizing and numbing effects of urban life, even if the temperance organization was more specific in the analysis of drinking habits, superficial lifestyles, and the lure of the innkeeper.

For both parties, the theory of degeneration resonated with their beliefs. For the Social Democrats, degeneration was part of the explanation for the social problems, while eugenics provided a rational measure for dealing with the 'anti-social' individuals. For the Blue Cross, degeneration theory confirmed what the Bible said about heredity of sin, and further strengthened the view of the alcoholic as suffering from a weakness common to humanity as such.

The 'illiberal' policies, which included forcible commitment to the Blue Cross treatment facilities, were the outcome of the mutual understanding that continued the liberal age's view of the poor as a challenge to moral society. The cultural schemas regarding deservingness were reinterpreted in light of community ideals that emphasized communities of respectable citizens and good Christians, respectively, over individual rights.

This study has only pointed to similarities in world view that might explain why the religious civil society actor did not oppose the state reforms. To describe the concrete negotiation process and possible public debates between the parties would require other sources. This study of a country where eugenic legislation was passed at an early point in time could, however, inspire future research in the role of religious actors' role in supporting or rejecting 'illiberal' policies. Comparing different routes taken by other actors in Danish civil society or in other Protestant traditions, for instance in the Netherlands (Noordman 1989) would illustrate how scientific ideas

are integrated into religious traditions to promote specific approaches to social work beyond sweeping statements of 'high modernity'.

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FRAMING CONTINUED

Chapter 6 Concluding reflections and perspectives

I started the thesis by claiming that the Christian-social movement's influence on the modern Danish welfare state has been neglected until recently in academic research, leading a quiet life in the shadow of the supposed spiritual father of the welfare state, N. F. S. Grundtvig, and his followers. I have sought to remedy this through a genealogy of the emergence and development of certain strands of the movement.

My interest in this movement stemmed from a general interest in the emergence and development of community-expanding ideas and practices, the intended and unintended consequences of such ideas and practices, and the lessons that we might learn from history in this regard. The analyses answered these general questions through three case studies of creative junctures and problem situations that faced the Christian-social actors as the movement emerged around the Copenhagen Home Mission in late 19th century Copenhagen and developed in the 20th century in the form of the Christian temperance organization the Blue Cross, which grew to be a central part of the welfare state's efforts to rehabilitate alcoholics. The three articles formed parts in what can be reconstructed as a genealogy of creative interpretations of a revivalist Protestant tradition to reshape the bonds of believers and boundaries of obligation toward the destitute.

I showed how the Copenhagen Home Mission's reinterpretations of the universal Christian principles, in the inherited form of revivalist Lutheran cultural schemas and on the basis of the experiences of social destitution in the city, were essential in the emergence of voluntary social work. The second and third wave revivalists reshaped anew the bonds of the congregation in a new vocabulary of motive where the congregations did not act only for their own salvation, as was the case for adherers of the (first wave) rural Home Mission. The socially engaged priests and laymen acted on a faith that was 'active in love' (second wave) or a more radical belief in sanctification influenced by British-US American Holiness ideas (third wave). As shown in the conceptual history in chapter 3, this was one among many attempts to influence how the bonds

of the emerging principle of voluntarism should be defined. This particular reinterpretation of the revivalist Lutheran vocabulary entailed a redefinition of the 'game of gifts' described in chapter 4, and of the boundaries of obligation that were expanded to include groups that were otherwise thought to be 'undeserving' at the time: Alcoholics and prostitutes in particular. These groups were targeted through new techniques or 'recipe beliefs' where two types of techniques stand out as exemplary: The institution of the 'home' (second wave) and the abstinence association (third wave). The expansion of the boundaries of obligation entailed a change in the relations with the groups that were now included in the Christian communal sphere of obligation. The language of sin and the new specialized techniques established a new Protestant tradition for social work based on new, more horizontal relations with those in need as persons who were 'fallen' rather than morally flawed, and who were thus not simply individually responsible for their actions.

The Copenhagen revivalists thus gave birth to a new tradition of religious social engagement and to new techniques and relations in social work. The Blue Cross emerged out of the third wave revivalists' interpretations of the bonds and boundaries involved in this type of Christian social work. As they struggled to gain national influence, they would, however, have to enter into alliances. This meant on the one hand that the most radical elements of the third wave Holiness teachings were toned down to adapt to the rural Home Mission's Lutheran-Pietist doxa regarding moral reform, leading to the most Holiness-leaning members of the leadership leaving the organization, while on the other hand scientific interpretations of the alcoholics as 'patients' were invoked when dealing with the state. Both types of adaptations had consequences for the bonds and boundaries of obligation in Christian social work. The original visions of a rechristianized society and the most radical visions of horizontal relations with alcoholics were mellowed in favor of more pragmatic concerns and a focus on institutional treatment of alcoholics. As the Blue Cross became dominant in the treatment of alcoholics, they became de facto spokespersons for the alcoholics. As such, they faced new boundary-expanding ideas in the form of theories of degeneration as a cause of alcoholism and a Social Democratic party in government and thus with influence on social policy. They did not use the role to oppose the eugenic-inspired legislation passed by the government in the 1920s and 1930s. Instead, they promoted theories of degeneration and forcible commitment as a means of treatment as they resonated with biblical passages and community ideals of a Christian rural family life, respectively. Arguably, the Copenhagen reinterpretation of bonds and boundaries in Christian

social work had opened the door for paternalistic and 'illiberal' measures in the public-private treatment of alcoholics.

How may we value this development in Protestant voluntary social work in Denmark? I proposed that a valuation-genealogical approach would provide a situated way of relating to the historical meaning that calls out for a response. By showing how the Protestant collective actors themselves entered into dialogue with the situations in which they found themselves, we should now be better equipped to value the Protestant efforts in a way that does not cast them as either heroes or villains – at least not by dictate of the conceptual framework. In this concluding chapter, I will pursue such a valuation as I reflect on what we have learned, how we may generalize the findings of the thesis, and the further research agenda that the study opens up.

I will divide these valuation-related reflections into three steps: The effects of Protestantism for collective action, the effects for the relations to the so called 'undeserving' emerging out of this, and the place of voluntarism and voluntary principles in modern welfare societies.

First, the effects of Protestant ideas on voluntary social action were first of all evident through the strong vocabulary of motive that they provided. While the principle of voluntarism was widely invoked in the second half of the 19th century (the middle classes in general were involved in philanthropy through initiatives such as the Copenhagen relief society, and medical doctors spearheaded care for the physically and mentally disabled), the language of love and sanctification constituted intensive cultural schemas that entailed a moral 'decentering' and a call for prolonged commitment. The rediscovered active congregation, where both priests and laymen were involved in social work, proved to be a rich source of engagement. The close connection that to this day continues to exist between the Home Mission milieu and the Blue Cross attests to this: Daily morning prayers are part of everyday life at the Blue Cross main office, where the symbol of the Cross decorates the walls in many shapes and forms. The organization also continues to recruit extensively from the Home Mission milieu.⁹⁶ If one then views civic engagement as commendable, the Home Mission milieu and the Christian social movement historically and to this day present rich sources for such engagement; and possibly also a form of engagement that is different than present trends related to the 'extra curriculum race' and short-term drop-in volunteering. As I showed in the introduction, organizations that claim to operate on Christian principles are to this day heavily involved in social provision for

⁹⁶ This is based on observations and informal conversations with Blue Cross employees during my stay at the organization's main office to study their archives.

marginal groups in Denmark. Even if one disagrees with parts of the ethics that these groups rely on, I would say that they have 'earned' their place in the welfare mix through their continued engagement. At the very least, they pose a challenge for other ideational traditions to develop an equally strong vocabulary of motive.

The cases studied in this thesis allow such comparative studies of alternative ideational traditions. I have shown how a universalist ideational tradition may be reinterpreted to inspire collective action. This illustrates the kind of creative efforts that are involved when cultural schemas and techniques from various strands of a tradition are combined in new ways to allow for new collective practices to emerge. Similar studies could be carried out for other types of idea-based voluntary social action in Denmark and abroad: How were similar social techniques integrated into other Protestant or secular ideational traditions? What kind of creative efforts were required to develop welfare associations in the German Social Democratic tradition for instance? In the case of Denmark, the identification of the three waves of revivalism could form the basis for a wider research agenda related to how each of these waves have fared; how their specific vocabulary of motive has been reinterpreted as society developed, and what consequences this has had for their strategic alliances with other actors. While studies of the historical organizational 'paths' of voluntary associations vis-à-vis their engagement with the state have been carried out (Bundesen et al., 2001), similar studies of the ideational 'paths' and their consequences for future opportunity structures are lacking.

Second, while we thus may appreciate the Christian-social movement as a strong civic tradition, we must also value what this new type of community-expanding idea-based collective action meant for those affected by it. I have of course only studied one 'third wave' organization in depth here, the Blue Cross, but the findings raise some interesting questions about how such organizations influenced the emerging new view of the 'undeserving' and welfare recipients in general.

As I have just summarized, the revivalist Protestant groups did in fact break with existing expectations of reciprocity and expanded the boundaries of obligation, particularly in relation to those otherwise thought to be undeserving. This provided the basis for a new view of social problems that placed the causes and consequently also the responsibility for these problems beyond the individual, who was no longer undeserving, but merely 'fallen'. This was a revolutionary innovation in social thinking at the time. Arguably a revolution that only took

place in the Social Democratic party as they changed their program from focusing on 'class' to 'the people' in the 1920s and 1930s (although this would require a more thorough study of this tradition to document fully). This thinking had at least two far-reaching consequences: First, it made possible the long list of welfare initiatives that I listed in the introductory chapter; initiatives that were later integrated into the state system in various ways. At an organizational level, the Protestant revivalists did in fact create the infrastructure of the present-day welfare state. Second, framing social problems as beyond the control of the individual opened the door for increased social provision, but also for paternalistic measures in social policy, as I showed in the case of degeneration theory and forcible commitment. While there was probably something like a 'Zeitgeist' where the theories of Darwin, social Darwinists, and eugenicists helped decenter the individual, these ideas would have to be promoted and translated into action by concrete actors, and here it is clear that at least the Blue Cross did promote paternalistic ideas and practices at an early point in time. While it would require other types of studies to show a direct influence from the revivalists on the Social Democratic Party and state policies, it is clear that the revivalists did not only create central parts of the organizational infrastructure of the state, but also promoted a way of thinking about social problems that resembled the later welfare state interpretive frames. Again, this calls for further studies both on the actors involved in policy-processes and on whether and how other strands of the Christian-social movement promoted scientific ideas and paternalistic measures.

The Christian-social movement thus promoted a view of the hitherto 'undeserving' groups that entailed both progressive and conservative and paternalistic elements. How should we value such a movement? It is important not to judge too quickly. If we take the case of alcoholism, this is, as are most complex social problems, a condition that affects more than the individual, and one can understand the impulse of the early Blue Cross members when they argued for removing an alcoholic father from the family rather than removing mothers and children from their homes. To illustrate that there is no mathematical equation for weighing individual rights up against the emotional and physical costs for themselves and their families, we can point to the fact that to this day there are differing national traditions for weighing the rights of the alcoholic over and against the alcoholic's well-being and/or the well-being of her/his surroundings. In Sweden, where it is generally more accepted that the government intervenes in the private sphere, compulsory treatment is used more often than in Denmark, for example (Palm and Stenius 2002). Rather than simply dismissing the Blue Cross' promotion of forcible

commitment, it should be recognized that we are dealing with a real dilemma where different moral principles come into conflict. Today, the rights of the individual are held in high esteem, and rightly so, because of the European experiences with the atrocities of the Nazi-regime and the consequent codification of and high regard for human rights (a process of sacralization of the person, according to Joas (Joas 2013)). Still, the dilemma persists when the individual presents a danger to other persons. The Blue Cross also promotes a more nuanced understanding of the causes of alcoholism. They saw that these problems were related to the larger context of the individual's life and could not be reduced to either structural, i.e. material, causes, or a simple individual moral flaw. Their solution, the good rural Christian family life, however, was so intimately linked with their own ideological project and backed by a science with utilitarian roots and inherent prejudices against the poor that they were blind to the costs in terms of the infringement on individual rights. In my view, the lesson to be learned is thus not a simple casting of Protestant social workers as either villains or heroes, but a situated valuation of this type of action requires, first, a recognition of the actual expansion of boundaries of commitment that they represented when they first appeared. Second, a recognition of the real dilemmas involved when dealing with marginal groups in society with complex problems. Third, and perhaps most importantly, a lesson in the form of a cautionary tale of the paternalistic and 'illiberal' risks involved when marginal groups are included in a religious or national community, and when scientific evidence based on utilitarian premises is used to back the ideals of such a community. This lesson applies equally to present day economic models based on utilitarian premises that legitimize draconian workfare programs.

Finally, a situated valuation of the Christian-social movement should also consider the place of such movements in the moral economy of modern society. Here, I will argue for a pluralist-public model both in terms of principles and roles in the moral economy of the (Danish) welfare state. On the level of *principles*, the Protestant revivalists promote other ideals than secular actors do. The Protestant revivalists relate to 'the other' by virtue of a Christian principle of love interpreted and applied in a specific context; a principle that is different from the principle of social rights that constitutes the core of the modern Danish welfare state. As opposed to the communitarian – liberal discussions⁹⁷ that were heated in the 1980s, I do not consider one principle more 'particular' or 'universalist' than the other. As I have argued, Christianity promotes universalist principles – principles that apply to all rather than a specific group, just as

⁹⁷ Associated with such names as John Rawls, Charles Taylor, and Jürgen Habermas.

much as social democratic rights thinking does. Both principles of rights and love emerge in specific contexts, and they carry this context of their emergence with them as they are reinterpreted and adapted to new situations. I believe that the genealogy in this dissertation has shown that there is an argument for the value of a plurality of principles in society: The presence of a Protestant tradition meant that this could be adapted to respond to some of the new challenges that emerged with the social question; just as the medical profession, private citizens, and socialist groups responded to others. The Protestant tradition constitutes a 'semantic reservoir' of vocabularies of motives and social techniques that may at different times be reinterpreted to handle unforeseen challenges in society. Presently, local Home Mission groups are taking on the task of integrating refugees into their communities. This does not mean that religious traditions should not be challenged to adapt to secular norms of equal rights for all, regardless of gender or sexual orientation; it is simply a matter of recognizing the value of plurality.

The genealogy has, however, also shown that it is necessary to consider the *role* of voluntary groups based on alternative principles for action. The Blue Cross did not constitute an oppositional force when it came to the infringement of the rights of alcoholics in the first half of the 20th century; quite the opposite. Third sector researchers have already pointed to specific 'voluntary failures' in such groups' ability to procure collective goods. Because of the low costs and small scale involved in creating voluntary association vis-à-vis state initiatives, voluntary action will often be 'first responders' to social problems. Voluntary initiatives are, however, limited and thus entail certain 'failures': Insufficiency (insufficient resources), particularism (supplying services only for certain groups), paternalism (the wealthy determine how resources are allocated), and amateurism (no professional training) (Salamon 1987). I would add another failure, namely the lack of transparency and democratic influence through public debate on the means and methods used in social work. Voluntary groups constitute, when part of the welfare mix, a type of 'street level bureaucrats' (Lipsky 2010) who have a certain discretion in interpreting the regulations that they work to, even when they are highly regulated by the state. It is important that these type of local policy enactments are part of the public discussion. While the formal possibility for discussing the draconian eugenics-inspired legislations was not enough to halt the policies in a political environment that supported the policies or was indifferent to the fate of alcoholics and the mentally disabled, transparency and public debate are the only measures that can provide a check on the way that poorly represented marginalized groups are

treated. As changing governments continue to call for increased participation of voluntary associations in welfare provision through so called 'civil society' strategies and task forces, debates on the role and tasks of voluntary initiatives become increasingly important.

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