

ETHICAL AXIOMS OF A “SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE MARKET ECONOMY” (SRME) – BASIC VALUES FOR AN EXEMPLARY ECONOMIC CONSTITUTION

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ABSTRACT

The paper attempts to identify the underlying values of the approach for a “Socially Responsible Market Economy” (SRME) in Germany. It investigates the SRME’s acceptance among the society and tries to derive ethical axioms from those basic values via the “economethical” model of the “Logic of Human Dignity”. Therefore, the paper starts with an overview of the genesis and the historical development of the SRME. As the next steps, elements are being discussed under “ordo-ethical” aspects and their image and reputation among citizens are investigated via an empirical synopsis. The final step is to determine the basic ethics and values in form of empirical norms derived from the “economethical” model of the “Logic of Human Dignity”.

Keywords: Values; Ethics; Socially Responsible Market Economy

GENESIS AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE “SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE MARKET ECONOMY” (SRME)-APPROACH

In 1949, the parliamentary council of post-war Germany passed the constitution for the Federal Republic of Germany, further on known as the “**Grundgesetz**” [21].

Ever since this constitution, the Grundgesetz, has been regarded as one of the most freedom-oriented and socially balanced basic law in the Western hemisphere, elaborately and deliberately guaranteeing human rights on the one hand and social justice on the other hand.

In particular, as far as the economic constitution of the newly founded republic is concerned, articles 14 and 15 of the Grundgesetz demonstrate the will of the founding fathers to a) rely on the forces of a free market economy and b) take care of social welfare and justice for all citizens in the sense of “human dignity” [21].

In the following years, a worldwide nearly unique economic framework was developed, based on the notion of economic freedom and social balance, later on becoming known as the “**Soziale Marktwirtschaft**”, the approach for a “Socially Responsible Market Economy”.

The basic idea is to guarantee private property, also in particular the right to run private businesses within a deliberately liberal system in order to stimulate the forces of free markets, thus contributing to the wealth of the country [21, art. 15]. However, in addition, the free forces of a market economy have

to be used in a socially balanced manner, meaning that social justice and responsibility for the “weaker” ones in the society have to be performed [21, art. 15]. This means that the “free float” of supply and demand and life circumstances in line with human dignity have to be harmonized in the best interest of the country’s economic development and a sound societal equilibrium.

Even during World War II and immediately after the end of the war, a group of German economists and sociologists has dealt with the issue how to reconcile “pro business” approaches of public and governmental policy with the societal and individual needs for social justice and dignified circumstances of life and living.

The so-called “group of the founding fathers” of the “Soziale Marktwirtschaft” was comprised of names like Walter Eucken, Wilhelm Roepke, Alexander Ruestow, Alfred Mueller-Armack and especially Ludwig Erhard, who became the first Minister of Economic Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949.

In the following, some of the central ideas for a “Socially Responsible Market Economy” (SRME) of those founding fathers are referred to in brief:

Walter Eucken distinguishes economic systems into 2 basic forms: The centrally governed economic system and the so-called “free floating systems”, depending on the fact whether there is central planning for all economic transactions, or the coordination of micro-economic plans is accomplished via the “price mechanism”.

As a consequence, Eucken places emphasis on a competition-oriented economic constitution by setting “rules of the game” and not by steering “individual” processes. In Eucken’s mind, the government and the state has to set the rules by imposing legal regulations for economic transactions and secondly has to take care of limiting economic power to avoid the perils of monopolies, which ultimately destroy “the freedom of entrepreneurs, consumers and the society as a whole” [11].

Wilhelm Roepke has become known as one of the representatives of the so-called “ordoliberalism” in Germany, thus becoming also a pre-eminent figure for the development of the economic constitution of the SRME. Roepke was among the first ones who tried to develop the so-called “third track” between the laissez-faire capitalism and the totalitarian centrally governed economic constitution.

This means, in Roepke’s mind decentralized economic transactions, based on private property, creation of private property for as many people as possible, an economic system especially focusing on small- and medium-size enterprises, combined with basic moral values and the ethics of social justice by limited economic and political power [50].

Alexander Ruestow regarded the antique Greek philosophers Isrid, Parmenides and Heraklit as well as the representatives of the 1800’s enlightenment as his “intellectual forefathers”. In Ruestow’s mind, “only a freedom-oriented and human dignity-based societal system may achieve a sustainable equilibrium between the both poles, ‘reign’ and ‘freedom’” [52].

Ruestow also complies with the ideas of the economist and sociologist Franz Oppenheimer, in favor of a so-called “third track” between capitalism and socialism. On the one hand, he sees the advantages of the free-float of supply and demand in each and every area, but on the other hand he is also fascinated by humanity and human dignity. As a consequence, Ruestow appeals for a competitive economic system, which is in the end not only responsible for profitability and individual benefits, but also for solidarity and “good conduct” [51].

Manfred Mueller-Armack is seen as the actual “intellectual creator” of the Socially Responsible Market Economy constitution. In his understanding, this means an economic and socio-political concept which “complies with our wishes for freedom and social justice in line with the insights into the (advantageous) instruments of the market mechanism” [39]. Mueller-Armack’s economic constitution rejects the central steering of the economy as well as the laissez-faire capitalist approaches of the 19th century, finally leading to “bureaucratic socialism”. Task and destination of a Socially Responsible Market Economy is the realization of “the principle of freedom in the markets combined with social

balance” [39].

In contrast to the so-called “Freiburger Schule” of the ordo-liberalism, Mueller-Armack demands that the market economy approach should work as a “semi-automatic system” which has to be based on steering and controlling, but not in a sense of France’s “économie concertée” or of Keynesianism inspired “concerted actions”, based on governmentally controlled “business cycle policy” [38].

Last but not least, Ludwig Erhard has become famous as the best known “public figure”, representing the economic constitution of a Socially Responsible Market Economy.

Ludwig Erhard, in 1949, became the first Minister of Economic Affairs in the post-war Federal Republic of Germany. In his famous monograph “Wohlstand fuer alle” (in English: Welfare for Everybody), he pointed out intellectually and practically that the terms “freedom” and “social justice” do not necessarily clash, just the opposite: The higher the degree of freedom in an economic system, the higher the degree of social welfare [9].

Based on this notion, Erhard sustainably influenced public and governmental policy in the 1950’s and 1960’s not only in Germany, but also within the upcoming European Economic Union and beyond.

Erhard’s fundamental understanding for an economic constitution was based on a free market economy, especially focusing on small- and medium-size enterprises, but also on basic values and ethics, in line with the ideals of enlightenment, as there are freedom, solidarity and justice [9] [10].

Those representatives mentioned above, and many more, sustainably contributed to the economic system which became a famous “brand”, called the Socially Responsible Market Economy (SRME). This SRME approach is still known as an economic constitution, trying to harmonize freedom-based pro-business approaches with the notion of individual and societal welfare.

In the following, a brief synopsis of the historical development of SRME in the Federal Republic of Germany will be outlined:

In 1948, in the so-called Western zones of post-war Germany, the “Deutsche Mark” was introduced as the new currency. This event went along with the abolishment of price determination and the fixed quotas under economic restrictions for the free float of goods and services, both initiated by Ludwig Erhard, then Director of the Economic Administration in the so-called “Bi-Zone” (American and British zone), later on the first Minister for Economic Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In 1951, the German government and the Federal German Association of Trade Unions agreed on the Law of Codetermination for the Coal and Steel Industry. This Law of Codetermination can be regarded as the first major step in order to actually implement the intended equilibrium between economic freedom and social balance [35].

1955 marked the culmination point of the German “economic miracle”. In this year, the gross domestic product reached an all-time high of 14% p.a. [58].

In 1957, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux countries founded the European Economic Community via the treaties of Rome, which became the European Union later on.

Those 6 founding countries of the European Economic Community agreed to emphasize the legitimate rights of firms and enterprises as well as of workforce and labor.

In 1963, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Ludwig Erhard, became the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. This event marked the highest reputation for Ludwig Erhard’s notion of a Socially Responsible Market Economy.

In 1967, the government, based on the first grand coalition between the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats, passed a law in the sense of Keynesian economic policy, which was supposed to foster and to stabilize economic growth and prosperity.

From 1969 till 1982, the social-liberal coalition between the Free Democrats and the Social Democrats formed the government of the Federal Republic of Germany under the directive of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (who was in office from 1974 to 1982). This was another period of a pre-eminent economic policy in the sense of reconciliation between labor/workforce and firms/enterprises. [57]

In 1982, based on the Lambsdorff paper [34], the social-liberal coalition was ended and followed by the conservative-liberal coalition, formed by the Christian Democrats and the Free Democrats. This marked the beginning of a new more supply-oriented economic policy [34], but never as “radical” as “Reagonomics” in the United States of America and “Thatcherism” in the United Kingdom.

In 1990, the German reunification took place, followed by the tremendous task of the former West German economy to integrate the broken East German economic system into the Economic Constitution of the newly formed unified Federal Republic of Germany.

In 1999, the new currency “Euro” was introduced by eleven founding member countries of the Euro zone, at this time still as book money.

In 2002, the Euro was also introduced in the now twelve member states of the European Currency Union as cash money.

The beginning of the “Euro Era” with the financial power shift to the European Central Bank marked the notion of a Socially Responsible Market Economy approach not only for Germany, but also for the other eleven (and also in later years following) member countries of the European Currency Union.

Also in 2002, the Gerhard Schroeder (Chancellor) government introduced the “Agenda 2010”, followed by voluminous social reforms, trying to modernize the social welfare systems in Germany towards a more “market-driven” approach. But still, the goal of a societal balance between labor/workforce and capitalists was and is in the forefront of German economic policy approaches.

2007 experienced the outbreak of the global financial and economic crisis. Germany and the European Union as a whole are also suffering a tremendous decline of their gross domestic products. However, Germany, among a few other European countries, appears being able to sustainably overcome the crisis in the near future.

As an intermediate summary it can be concluded, that Germany’s Economic Constitution, the attempt to introduce a “Socially Responsible Market Economy”, has not only become an “iron landscape” in Germany, but also in many and most of the member countries of the European Union [3].

ELEMENTS OF THE SRME UNDER ORDO-ETHICAL ASPECTS

This paper tries to examine and disclose the “ethical” axioms of Germany’s and Europe’s SRME approach as a framework for general macro-economic policies in European societies, but also as recommended guidelines for private firms and enterprises which have to develop their strategies and decision making processes in line with those “constitutional” elements [42, pp. 223 et sqq.]. Based on this analysis, the overall research question of this paper is to find out whether the underlying philosophy, values and norms of the SRME are basically accepted by people and the society, considered as economically pertinent and actually ethically esteemed.

The SRME approach “...breathes the spirit of pragmatic rationality, however in order to serve the historical destiny and utilization of the basic values of freedom and justice” [29, p. 736].

Moreover, the “model of the SRME will only reach its goals, if there is a moral and ethical content existing among its acting units, implying the capability to act responsibly in cases of conflict...” (ibid.).

Those quotations can be used as a platform in order to develop a) the “idea of man”, which determines the SRME and b) the ethics, values and morality as its underlying principles.

The “idea of man” of the SRME is comprised of the notion of human beings as “individual creatures” as well as “social creatures” at the same time. Individuals contribute to the society, whereas the society determines individual attitudes, norms and behavior. [16] [44]

Individuality requires “self-responsibility”, whereas societal responsibility is based on solidarity and codetermination in social and economic issues.

Thus, the “individuality principle” and the “society principle” form the so-called “principle of subsidiarity”, which is known as one of the most pre-eminent guidelines for personal and collective

conduct. The principle of subsidiarity requires that “all of the tasks which can be solved individually or on a basic level, have to be dealt with and solved exactly there; higher levels, defined legitimately or by law, only then intervene, if the problems cannot be solved on the lower level.” [23, p. 172]. An overall picture of “the idea of man”, underlying the SRME, is depicted in the following figure:

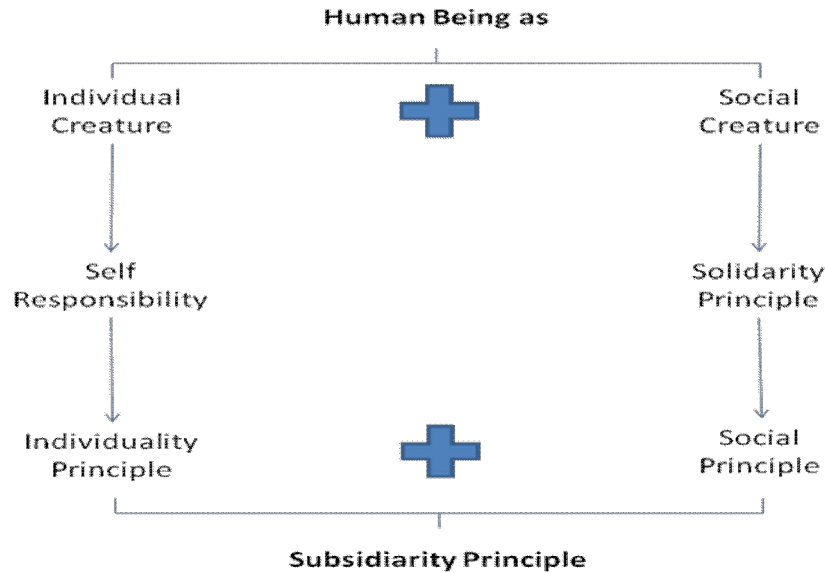


Figure 1. The “idea of man” of the SRME [44]

Based on “the idea of man” as an individual as well as a social creature, Pope John Paul II – in his Social Values Insignica “Centesimus Annus” – demands an economic system which combines the basically positive role of market, private property, creativity and competitiveness, but only together with the “social forces”, represented in governmental policies to control and limit “not acceptable” economic power in order to fulfill the basic needs of a society [26].

Inevitably, the “idea of man” of the SRME leads to ethical guidelines and basic values which have to be pointed out explicitly, in order to provide a transparent framework of norms for human conduct in economic, business, managerial and societal decision making processes.

In particular, the approach of the SRME is continuously inclined to find an equilibrium between the regulating forces of governmental and public institutions – the state – and private individual freedom of conduct. An outline of this “duopoly” can be given via the following table:

	Ethics	State	Economy	Institutional
Order: Macro Level	Ordo-Ethics	Constitution	Macro Economics, Economic Constitution	Company’s Legal Structure: mission statement, strategy
Institution: Meso Level	Institutional Ethics	Legislation	Business Management, Business Administration	Organization: Structures and Processes, Task Sharing

Individual: Micro Level	Individual Ethics	Instructions and Rules	Micro Economics, Individual Economic Decisions	Individual Behavior; Instructions, Rules and Agreements
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Figure 2. The “idea of man” of the SRME [61]

The macro level, also called the “ordo-ethics” deals with the legal and constitutional framework within which economic and social transactions take place. The rules of the game at the macro-level/the ordo-ethics are determined by the government and the respective legislative and jurisdictional institutions.

The meso level/the institutional ethics is the echelon which deals with the actual creation and implementation of institutions, i. e. acts, laws, legal regulations, constitutional frameworks beneath the state level etc. This is the echelon where individual and collective actors play against and with each other.

Finally, the micro level/individual ethics sustainably deals with the ethics of decisions, judgments and actions of individuals or individual units, determining individual behavioral patterns and ultimately also potentially leading to conflicts and clashes, but also to consensus and societal solidarity [62, p. 31].

Particularly in view of the current global financial and economic crisis, Germany’s Federal President, Horst Koehler, pointed out in his “Berlin Speech” that “the market needs rules and morality” [28]. In addition, he asks the question, how far the “economization” of society should be allowed to progress. In his opinion, an economic constitution (like the SRME) is supposed to avoid a permanent rift between freedom and responsibility (ibid., p. 9).

Ultimately, the ordo-ethical aspects of the SRME can be summarized within the two major underlying sentences:

- The actors in the markets are allowed to use all their efforts in order to achieve personal success. However, they must never forget about the legitimate welfare needs of others.
- A powerful and strong state and government have to fulfill their duties by providing transparent rules to the markets and to control them without fulfilling market interests by themselves, meaning that the “state” has to avoid working as a decisive market actor [18].

In sum, the basic “ordo-ethics” concerning the SRME approach can be depicted in the following figure:

Overview: Basic Structures of SRME

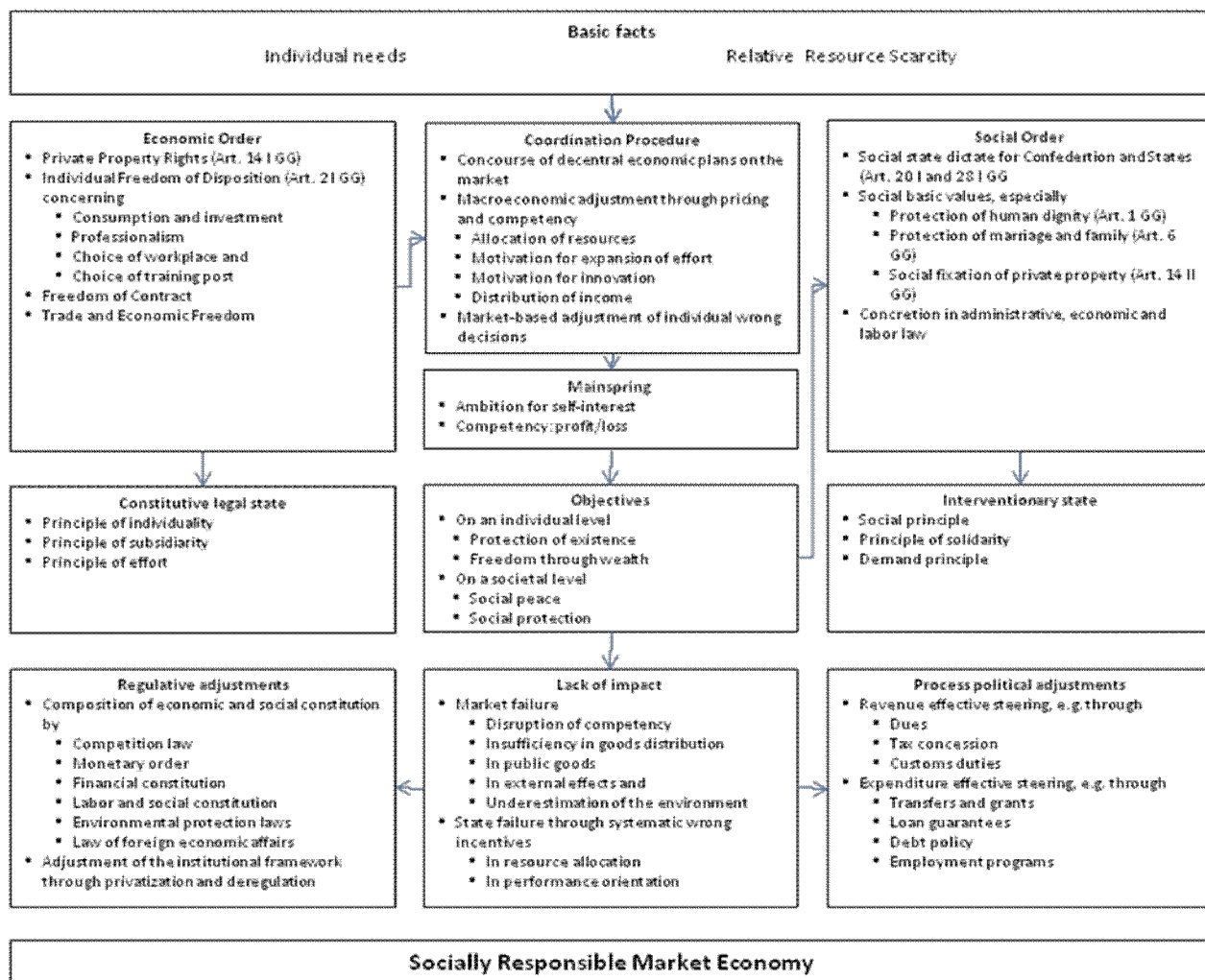


Figure 3. Basic Structures of the SRME [22]

The notion of the SRME also becomes more transparent, if it is subject to a comparative analysis with other “archetypes” of economic constitutions:

	Economic Systems (ideal types)		Economic Order (real type)
	Free Market Economy	Central Planning Economy	Socially Responsible Market Economy
Planning and Coordination	decentralized through markets	centrally through planning authority	decentralized + by economic policy
Pricing	free pricing on markets	pricing through central planning authority	free pricing AND governmental price regulation
Wage Calculation	on the labor market	determined by planning authority	determined by management and trade unions
Property on Capital Goods	private	state	predominantly private

Goals	fulfillment of demand through individually maximizing value and benefit	Following state-determined goals by fulfilling plans	fulfillment of individual demand + economical and societal goals
Main Principle	Individual Principle	Collective Principle	Subsidiarity Principle
Founder	Adam Smith (1723-1790)	Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895)	Alfred Mueller-Armack (1901-1978) and Ludwig Erhard (1897-1977)

Figure 4. Comparison of Economic Systems to SRME [44]

As a first conclusion, it can be summarized that the establishment “of a generally accepted economic constitution has to be based on fundamental and generally accepted values in line with ‘universally’ acceptable ‘ideas of man’” [30].

Those ordo-ethics described above have become, as an example, major guidelines for the “Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000)”, the “European Social Charter” in the context of the Lisbon treaty (Lisbon treaty of the European Union 2008), and in the “Recommendations of the Commission of the European Union for the Basic Guidelines of Economic Policy in the Member States of the European Union (2005)”.

All three documents, in a very conspicuous way, emphasize the basic ethics of economic policy, comprised of market and competition driven economic transactions on the one hand, but also significant and sustainable social justice and social balance on the other hand [ibid.].

Before this paper examines the basic ethics and values of the SRME more deeply with a particular focus on “micro-economic transaction guidelines”, the next chapter provides an empirical overview, concerning the individual and public perception of the SRME as an economic constitution.

IMAGE AND REPUTATION OF THE SRME – AN EMPIRICAL SYNOPSIS

This chapter provides an overview of empirical findings concerning the image, the reputation and the acceptance of the SRME approach among the main stakeholders, as there are representatives of firms and enterprises, labor and workforce, politicians, economists and social scientists, and the public in general.

The overall purpose of this chapter is to outline a “clear picture” about the opinion of those who have been living within and who have dealt with the SRME model in Germany and in Europe as a whole.

In 2007, a joint initiative comprised of the Bertelsmann Foundation, the Heinz Nixdorf Foundation and the Ludwig Erhard Foundation conducted an empirical investigation, called “Study on Social Justice 2007 – Results of a Representative Survey among People in the Federal Republic of Germany”.

The study sample was comprised of a representative amount of German citizens entitled to vote. The survey took place in August 2007. It was conducted as a personal (face-to-face) interview, encompassing a sample size of 2,026 people representative for the “constituency” in Germany. The main areas of interest of the survey were the following:

- What, in the eyes of the German people entitled to vote, can be understood under social justice?
- In which sub-areas of social justice people see the biggest deficits and gaps?
- Which policies and political measures are particularly important in the eyes of German citizens, in order to achieve a higher degree of social justice in Germany?

The understanding of “social justice” among the “electoral sample” of the German people turned out as the following:

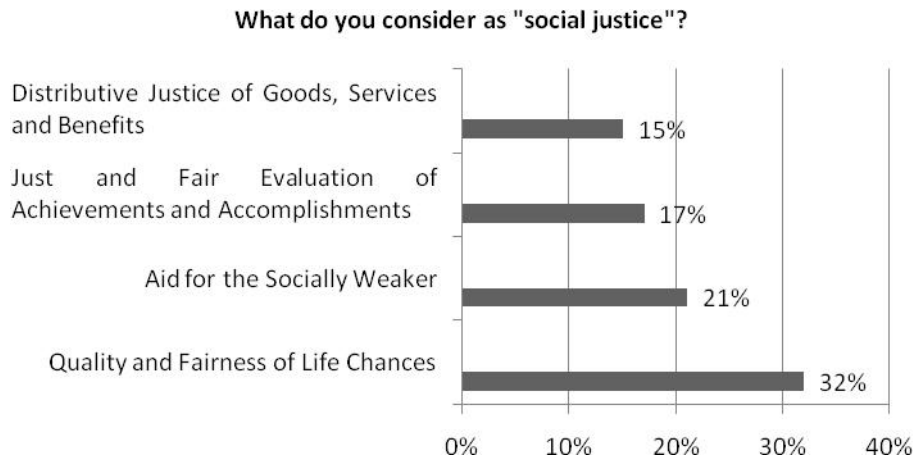


Figure 5. What people consider as "social justice" [2]

This means that generally the quality of life chances and fair and just chances to organize and to live one's life, can be regarded as the most relevant elements of social justice. Secondly, it is also understood that aid for the socially weaker ones has to be taken into account. Thirdly, awards and rewards have to follow the notion of just and fair evaluation of achievements and accomplishments, and fourthly, distributive justice of goods, services and benefits can also be considered as an important element of social justice in the eyes of the people.

The major deficits in the eyes of the "electoral" sample of the German people concerning the above mentioned "partial" areas of social justice turned out to be the following, measured via the "degree of realization" the survey sample assigned to the various elements of social justice:

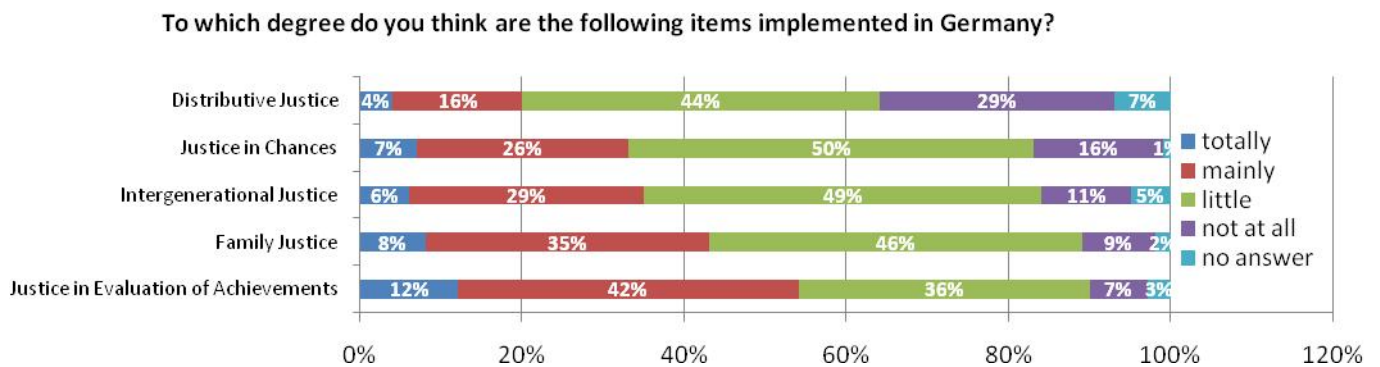


Figure 6. Degree of Realization of partial areas of justice [2]

It is obvious that the majority sees existing deficits in all the five "elements of justice" as there are distributive justice, justice in life chances, justice concerning relationships of the generations, justice for families and justice in the recognition of achievements and accomplishments.

Whereas more than 50% see a high degree of fulfillment concerning justice for accomplishments and achievements, on the other "extreme" the majority also sees a major deficit concerning "distributive justice". Almost three third of the sample says that distributive justice is either to a very low degree or not at all "existent" in the German economic system.

Concerning the relevant policies and necessary measures, which should be taken in order to overcome the deficits, the following results were revealed:

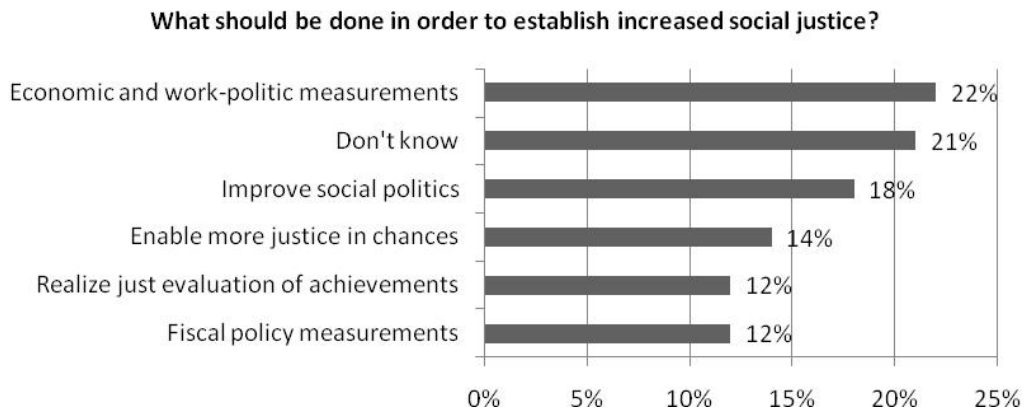


Figure 7. Policies and measures that should be taken [2]

The results show that economic and labor market measures are also among the necessary policies, besides the improvement of social welfare, improvement of equality for life chances, just reward for achievements and accomplishments, and finally, fiscal measures, which should be implemented in a more fair manner.

More specifically, the “electoral” sample significantly demands the following actions to be taken in order to improve “distributive justice”:

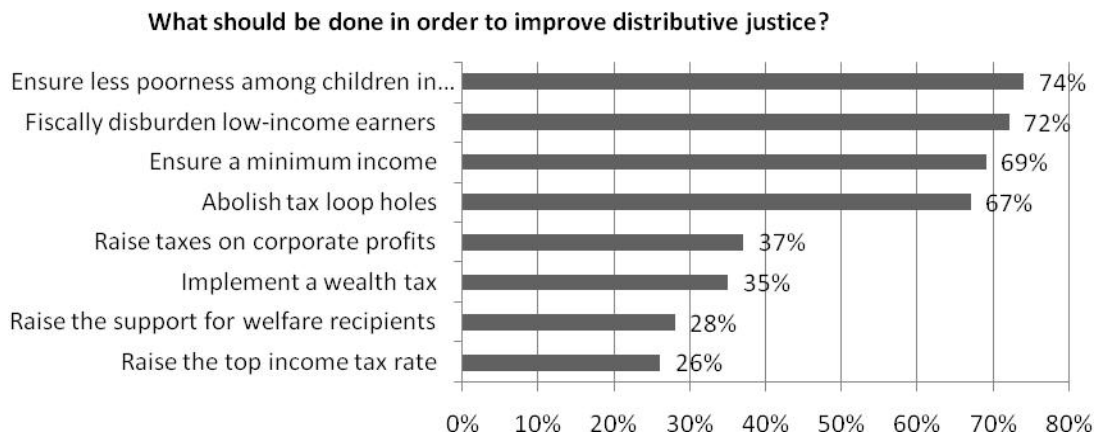


Figure 8. Improvement of distributive justice [2]

In addition, the following policies are emphasized to foster the “justice for life chances”:

What should be done in order to improve justice for life chances?

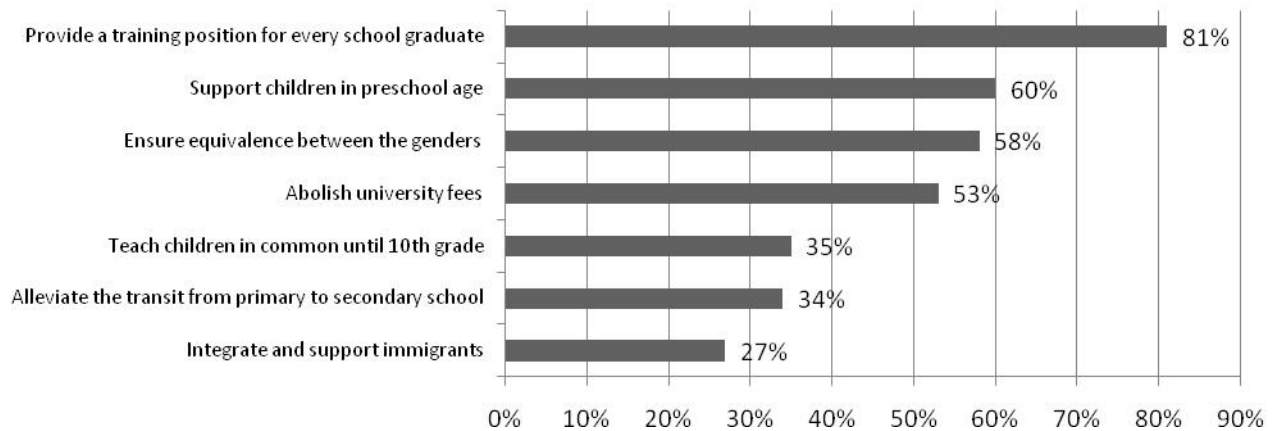


Figure 9. Improvement of justice for life chances [2]

And finally, there should be significant measures taken in order to foster the justice assigned to the recognition of achievements and accomplishments:

What could the state do in order to guarantee justice concerning achievements and accomplishments?

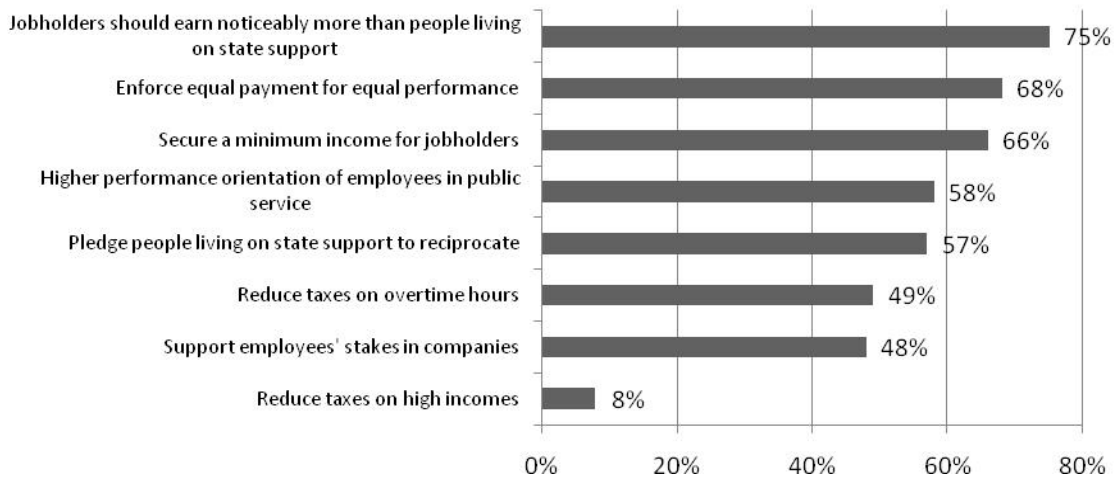


Figure 10. Improvement of justice concerning achievements and accomplishments [2]

As an intermediate summary, it can be concluded that overall there seems to be a high degree of positive image and reputation in Germany concerning the contentment of the people with the economic constitution of the SRME. This idea is especially based on the empirical outcome that obviously economic progress and prosperity goes along with social justice, also in the eyes of the German people as a major stakeholder. In this context it is, however, interesting to recognize that during the economic upturn between 2002 and 2007 (with an average gross domestic product of about 3% p.a.) the majority of the people believe that “distributive justice” as a social norm has deteriorated. This obviously means that economic improvement does not necessarily comply with the notion of social balance. Although this sounds contradictory, it is what the results of the empirical study showed, as to be seen depicted in the following (the reasons for this ‘empirical contradiction’ would require more scrutiny by an

additional study):

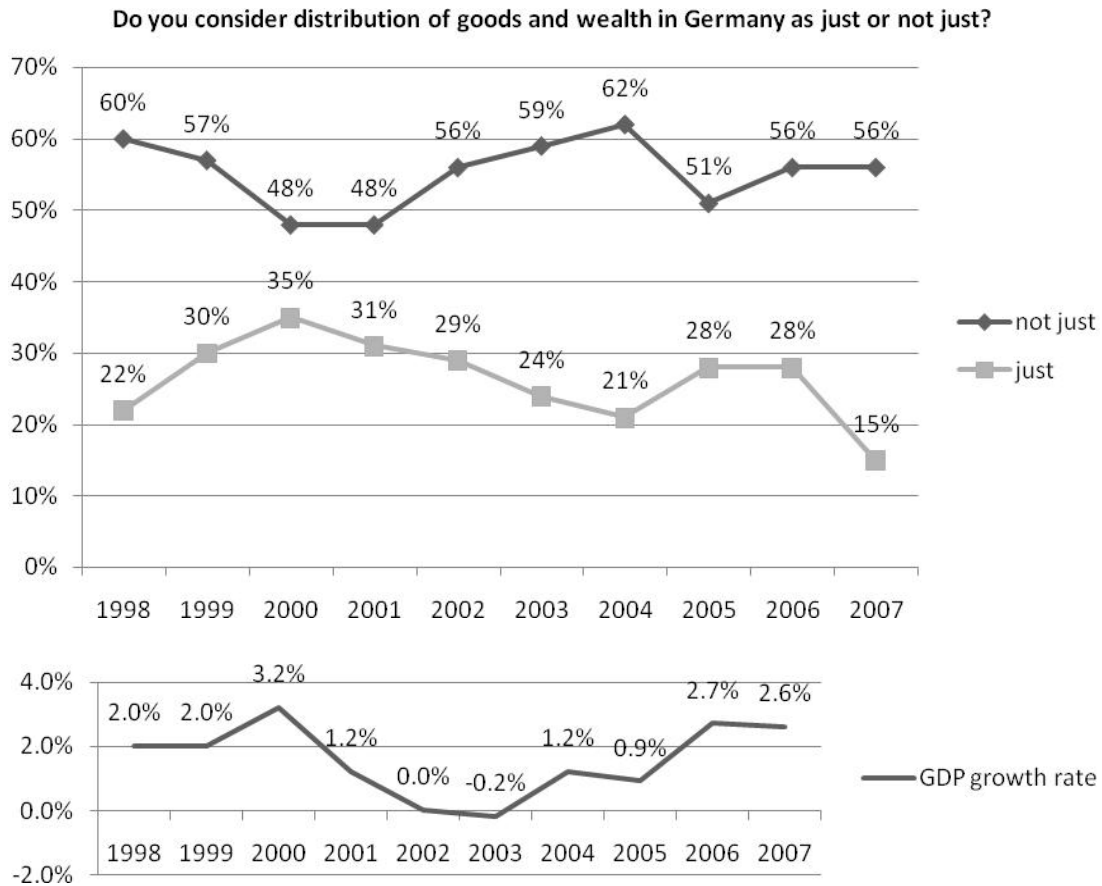


Figure 11. Less distributive justice despite economic upturn [2]

This empirical result is in accordance with the people’s opinion, which countries should be considered as an “exemplary model” for justice and social balance. In this area particularly the Scandinavian countries Sweden (!) and Denmark, but also Switzerland rank highest, whereas the “classically” capitalist oriented countries like the UK and America are ranked relatively low, just like Germany itself, France and Italy:

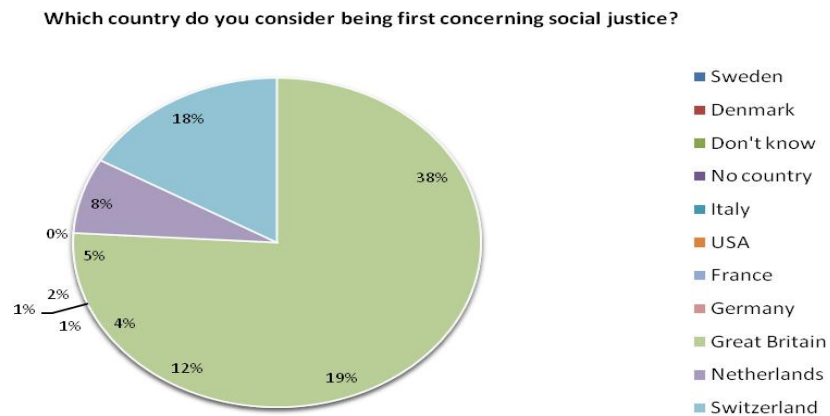


Figure 12. Archetypes of social justice [2]

How much those results depicted above are in line with the actual reality or are basically influenced by pure “image”, will have to be investigated further more.

Another relevant empirical survey was conducted by the Federal Association of German Banks, labeled “The Challenge of Competition – Germany 2008 as an Economic Site” [6]. The investigation took place in May 2008 with a sample of 1,006 German people, entitled to vote, via a CAPI telephone interview. The sample can be considered as a representative one. The confidence interval can be described as follows: At an item value of 50%, the actual value in the population of the entire German constituency is placed between 53.1% and 46.9% with a probability of 0.95, whereas an item value of 10% is placed between 8.1% and 11.9% with the probability $p=0.95$.

In the following, the most relevant results are presented. In the eyes of the “electoral” sample, the international competitiveness of the German economy has slightly increased in recent years:

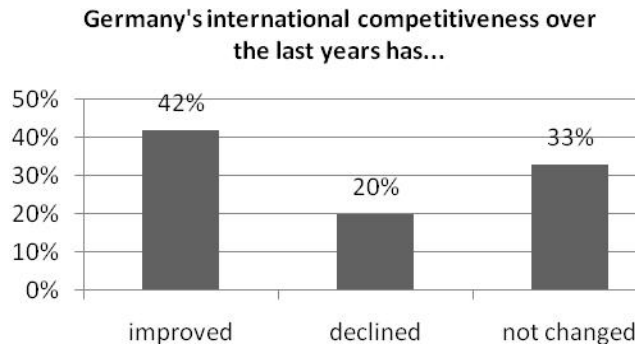


Figure 13. Competitiveness of the German economy [6]

Concerning the question whether the profits of private firms in Germany are regarded too high, too low, or just right, the survey developed the following results:

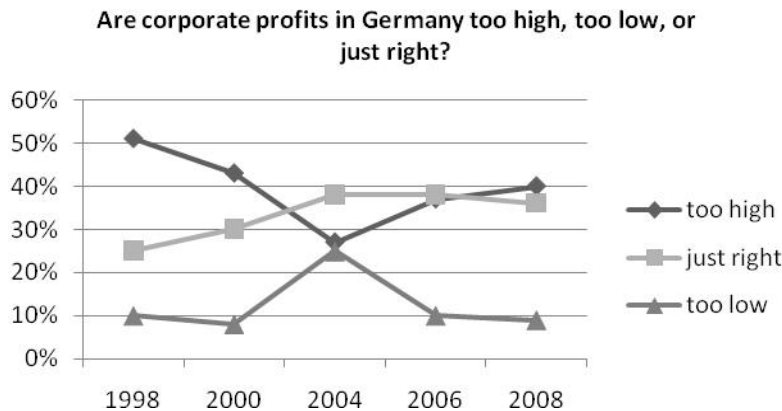


Figure 14. Profit of private firms in Germany [6]

In addition, still a – however declining – majority believes that the German society lives in welfare and prosperity:

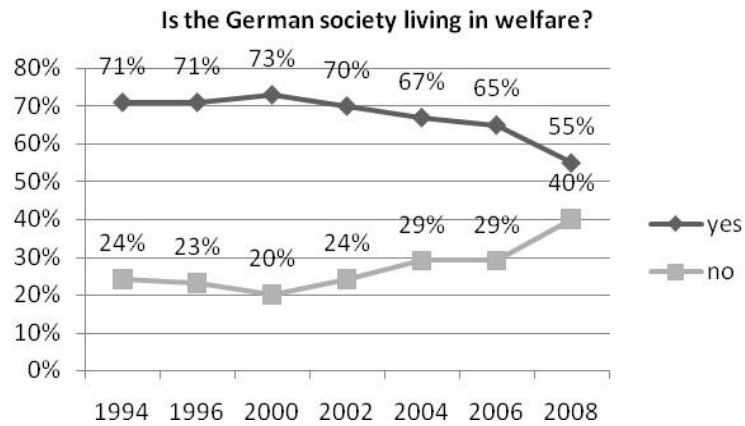


Figure 15. Welfare within the German society [6]

This picture goes in line with the opinion of the “electoral” sample as far as the future of the SRME is concerned:

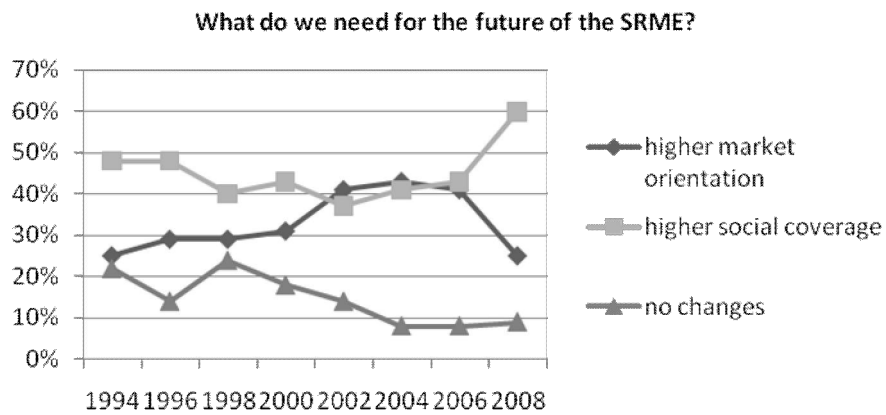


Figure 16. Future of the SRME [6]

Finally, this is also valid for the statement that the SRME has been successful:

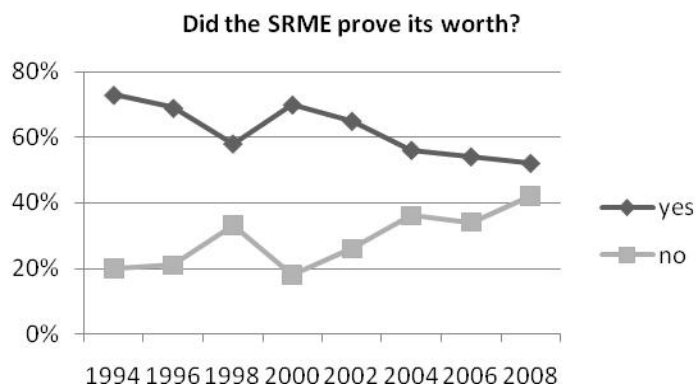


Figure 17. Success of the SRME [6]

As a summary, the following can be concluded:

- The majority of the Germans believe that their economy is in good shape. A great majority sees the enterprises in a highly competitive position as far as the international economic competition is concerned.
- The image and the acceptance of the SRME is still above 50%, but with a declining tendency.
- On the other hand, a strong majority still believes that the economic situation in Germany is either better or at least equal to those of the Western European neighbor countries.
- In order to “secure” the future of the SRME, a majority demands more social security efforts, whereas a significant minority also calls for a more market oriented approach.
- Overall, still a majority strongly believes that the SRME is worth while being maintained, but also with a declining tendency, in comparison to the early 1990’s.

An empirical survey ordered by the daily paper “DIE WELT” in 2009 [41] among a representative sample of German people entitled to vote investigated the opinion of East Germans in comparison to West Germans about the assessment of the SRME and delivered the following result:

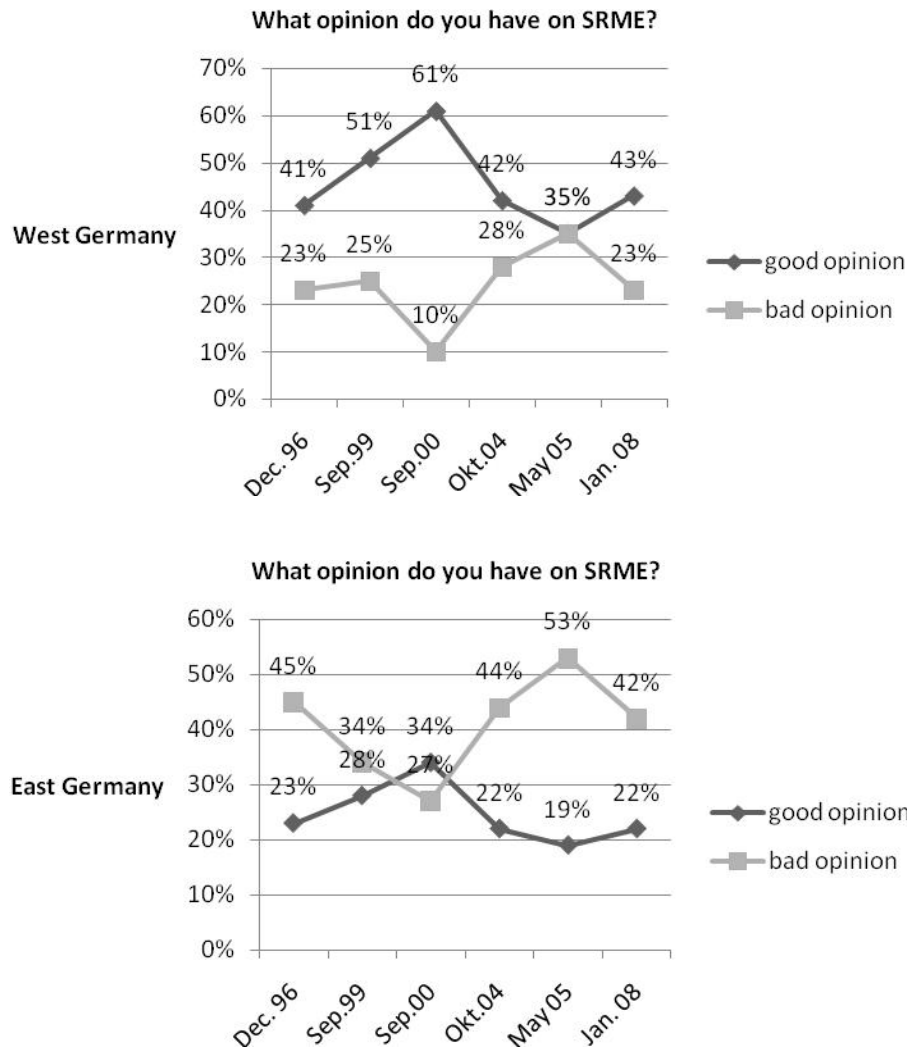


Figure 18. Assessment of the SRME [41]

Interestingly, in West Germany still a majority assigns a positive assessment to the SRME, even though the tendency has been declining as well.

With the East Germans, it is just the opposite. The image of the SRME as the basic economic constitution still remains at a relatively low level. This result clearly means that the former “socialist” part of Germany is still puzzled by the notion of a free economy and is obviously still psychologically determined by the notion of an entirely “caring” state.

In West Germany, still nearly half of the population has a very positive image of the SRME as a balancing economic constitution between the poles “capitalism” and “social justice”.

If one takes a closer look at the overall economic development of post-war Germany, the SRME model can be considered as a success story, which the following figure clearly shows:

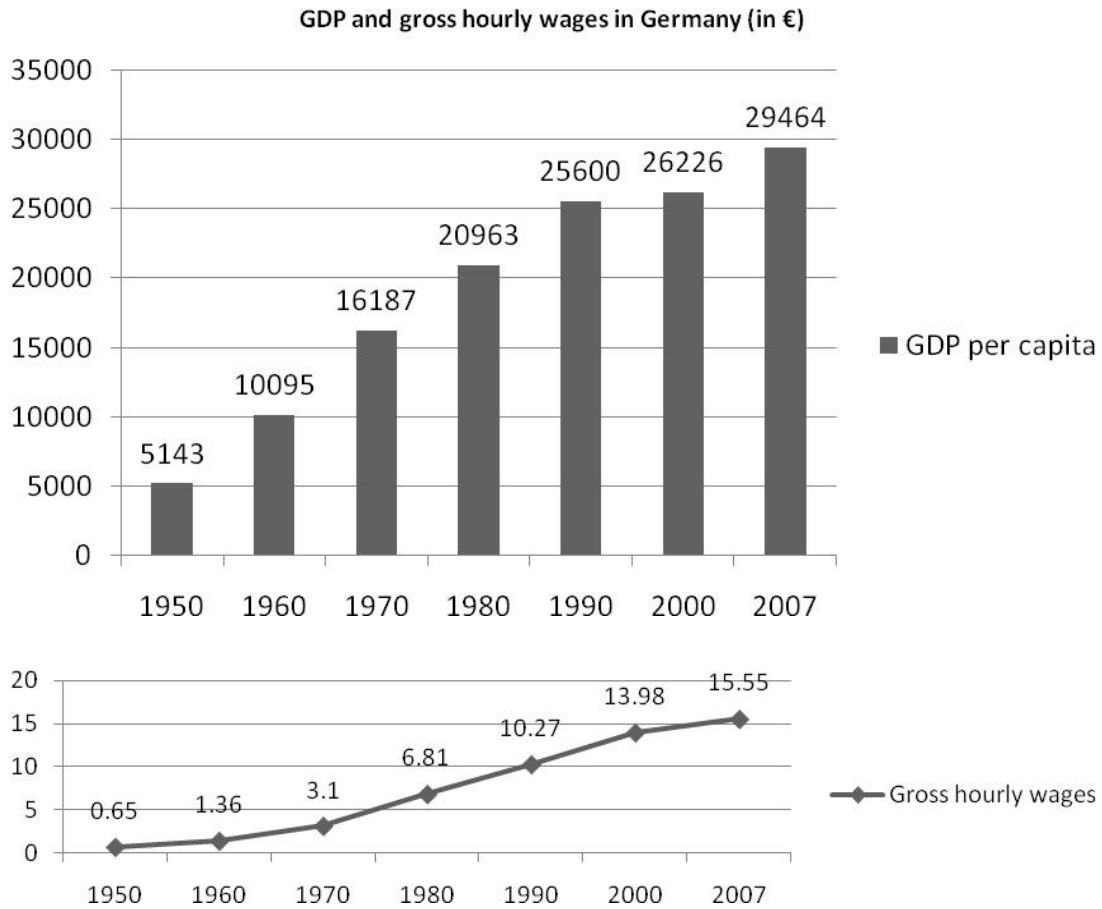


Figure 19. Long Success Story of the SRME [8]

The depict reveals that the gross domestic product per capita has grown from € 5,143 in 1950 up to nearly € 29,500 in 2007, which means an increase of 500%.

The increase of individual economic prosperity is even more impressive: The average hourly wages have developed from € 0.65 in 1950 up to € 15.55 in 2007, meaning an increase of nearly 2,400%.

In another empirical survey conducted by the “Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach” in 2009 among 1,800 representatively selected sample elements of German people, the following results were revealed: 40% of the German people believe that there is no better economic system than the market driven economy.

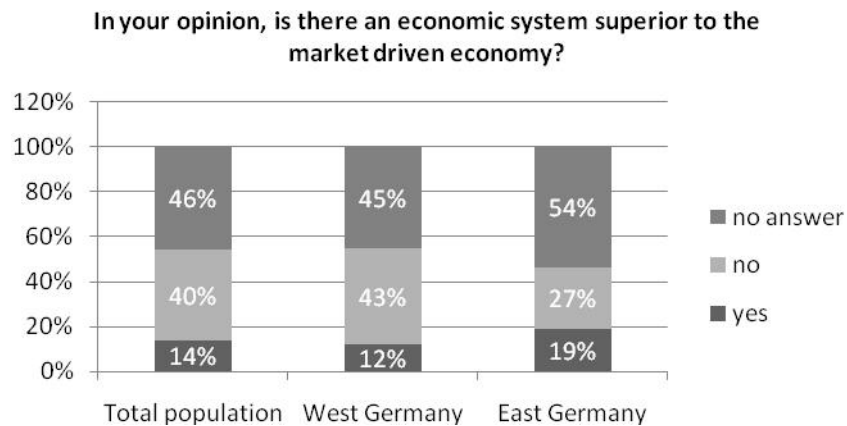


Figure 20. Is there a better system than the market driven economy? [25]

This study also shows that still the majority has a positive image of the SRME, however with strong amplitudes over time, in all likelihood depending on the respective actual or “felt” economic situation:

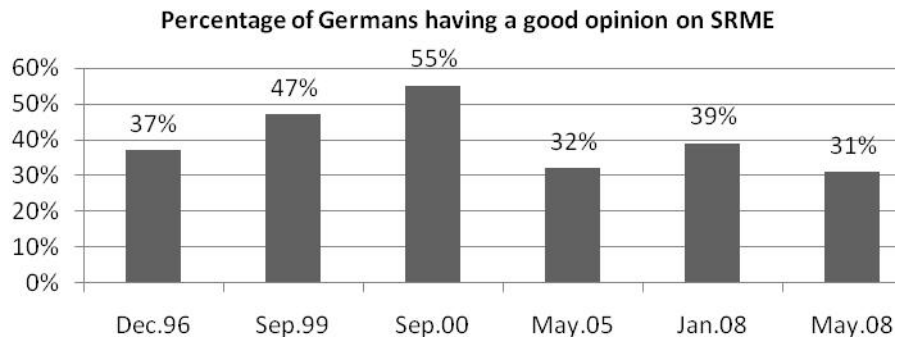


Figure 21. Development of "good opinion" on SRME [25]

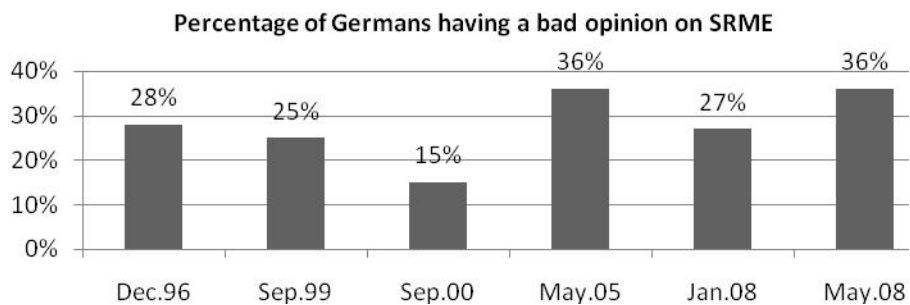


Figure 22. Development of “bad opinion” on SRME [25]

An empirical study was conducted in 1999 by Wilga Foeste and Peter Janssen, labeled “Die Konsensfaehigkeit der Sozialen Marktwirtschaft – Eine theoretische und empirische Analyse der Wirtschaftsordnung in Deutschland“ (in English: The ability for consensus of the Socially Responsible Market Economy – A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis of the Economic Constitution in Germany). A representative sample investigation based on a 42-items questionnaire was conducted comprised of

1,165 people, 758 from West Germany and 407 from East Germany.

The interviews were based on a CAPI computer aided telephone interview.

The sample selection occurred via the “random-route-procedure” [16, p. 232 et sq.]. The theoretical framework of the survey was based on a notion of the SRME encompassing the following “basic values”:

- Basic value of freedom,
- basic value of responsibility,
- basic value of equality and
- basic value of justice.

In sum, the empirical investigation revealed the following results:

Overall, the basic values of the SRME enjoy a high degree of acceptance among German people. The values of freedom, responsibility, equality and justice are recognized in an economic as well as in a social context.

However, the acceptance of the values depends on the assumption that the equilibrium between a free market approach and a social balance has to be maintained. A “dominating impact” of one or the other element would significantly diminish the reputation and the acceptance of the basic values. [16, p. 314 et sqq.]

Foeste and Janssen conclude in their summary: “The basic values of the SRME, in particular freedom, responsibility, equality and justice, as well as the respective market economy orientation and social values enjoy a high degree of positive reputation and acceptance among the people. This means that the concept of the SRME implies the ability for societal consensus. The SRME can be basically regarded as the economic constitution for a political process based on values and institutions which enjoy a broad consensus within the society. The reconstruction of SRME and its basic principles seems to be necessary and plausible in view of a sustainable societal consensus” [16, p. 316].

This empirical study offers some significant answers to our underlying research question, which was to search for – what we call – “institutions” enjoying a widely accepted and appreciated set of norms in modern societies. Our goal is to utilize them as “authorities” to justify the ethics, values and norms which can be plausibly presumed behind economic and business decisions and transactions.

SRME – QUI BONUM?: BASIC ETHICS AND VALUES “RECAPITULATED”

Ludwig Erhard’s famous programmatic monograph “Prosperity for Everyone” [9] demanded an economic policy and a societal model, which are comprised of individual achievements and accomplishments, embedded in the context of the creation of welfare for as many people as possible [53, p. 50]. Economic prosperity is supposed to go in line with the creation of social security systems, which assign risks and burdens to the so-called “solidarity community”, the society, in order to protect the weak and the powerless ones. In this sense, mutual trust can be considered as one of the most relevant basic values for the functioning of the SRME model.

In addition, justice and the actual perception of justice, play a pre-eminent role in an economically and socially successful economic constitution. In Asslaender’s view that means that the performance of an economic system must not just be measured against economic indicators (i. e. growth, currency stability, high employment, export surpluses, etc.) but also against the indicators of justice (i. e. income distribution, degree of social security, equal chances for education, access to resources, etc.) [53, p. 53].

In addition, private and collective/public responsibility can be considered as a major ethical guideline for a functioning SRME. In this sense, individual responsibility requires the readiness and the capability of each person, to take care of its own “welfare” as good as possible, concerning his/her personal capabilities. Complementary, collective/public responsibility has to take care of the provision of so-called “public goods”, like social security systems, public unemployment insurance, public health

insurance, public pension systems, etc., but also access to education and infrastructure. The ethics of responsibility requires individual contribution to societal issues and, in return, societal contribution to the support of individuals.

In line with Nobel Prize laureate Amartya Sen’s notion of “the development in freedom” [54], a minimum level of social equality and fully implemented legal equality have to be established as ethical guidelines for an economic constitution. Equality as a formal legal element of enlightenment seems to be broadly accepted among Western democratically constitutionalized countries. However, the notion of “social equality” is still highly disputed, because this particular term refers – implicitly or explicitly – to Karl Marx’s socialist or communist philosophy of exclusively public property. To which extent social equality has to be guaranteed by the welfare state and to which extent the individual has to take care of its own prosperity, is subject to partly extremely different opinions within the scientific and the economic and societal discussion. Countries like the United States and the United Kingdom definitely place much more emphasis on individual responsibility, as far as social security is concerned, whereas countries like Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Austria and Germany, are regarded as much more “collectively” responsible for social security.

This discussion will probably remain unsolved, because the “continuum” between economic success to social balance – and the other way round – leaves tremendous space for subjective reasoning, but nearly no “objective” measurement.

As an example, how to “transfer” the basic ethics and values of the SRME into a consistent system of goals, Germany’s economic institution of the so-called “Magic Hexagon” should be considered. This “Magic Hexagon” of the SRME was developed in 1967 via the “Law for Economic Growth and Stability” which passed the German Bundestag (lower house of German Parliament) and was supposed to stimulate the economy and the social security systems as well [20]:



Figure 23. The “Magic Hexagon” [56]

This “Magic Hexagon” requires the attempt to fulfill those six goals of economic and social policy at a time: Appropriate economic growth, full employment, currency stability, equilibrium of imports and exports, just and fair distribution of income and assets, and protection of the environment.

It is self-understanding that clashes and conflicts between the fulfillment of the different goals can occur or actually occur. As an example, the Lorenz curve [15] can be quoted, which states a principle conflict between the goals “economic growth” and “low inflation”. As a result, it’s basically up to the respective

government, legislature (and jurisdiction) in power, to emphasize the goals of the “Magic Hexagon” and to balance one goal out against the other and vice-versa, in a multidimensional interdependency. Germany’s approach of the SRME has somewhat led to an “acceptable equilibrium” [57], at least in comparison to several other countries. This can be demonstrated by the fact that in Germany the average growth rate has been in the middle of European Union ranking, the inflation rate tends to appear beneath average, the unemployment rate is slightly higher than average, the distribution of income and assets is significantly more balanced than on an EU and worldwide average. In particular, the German economic and societal policy has placed tremendous emphasis on environmental protection. Concerning the balance of imports and exports, Germany clearly is an “economic exception”. Germany has turned out to become the “export world champion” in the course of the last five years, making Germany’s economic prosperity significantly dependent on the global economic “climate” [58].

The “Magic Hexagon” of the SRME in Germany is derived from the two “iron principles”, the “constitutional state” and the “welfare state”. The following figure outlines those principle values and their respective interdependencies:



Figure 24. Constitutional State and Welfare State [56, p. 5]

The principle of the “constitutional state” provides the protection of the individual citizen concerning his life, freedom and private property. It requires the government and the citizens to act along the lines of law and legal regulations.

The principle of the “welfare state” aims at “social justice” and at prosperity for everybody. In this sense, public policy may also limit the freedom of the individual, if this is necessary in order to maintain or achieve “collective” welfare. The “welfare state” aims at a fair share for everybody from national and societal prosperity.

Those two principles, the “constitutional state” and the “welfare state”, institutionalize the social responsibility of the state and the public institutions on the one hand, but also the social responsibility of the individual against the society and his/her co-citizens.

As an example, one could try to apply those basic ethics, values and principles of the SRME as a code of

conduct for private firms and enterprises within the framework of this particular economic constitution. In this context, various approaches of “business ethics” have been developed in order to comply with the guidelines of the SRME.

The following table provides an outline of the “business ethics” approaches of the three authors Homann, Steinmann and Ulrich:

	Homann	Steinmann	Ulrich
Goal of the Approach	Decision support for business practice	Process-based guideline	Basis reflection
Theoretical Background	Adam Smith, James Buchanan, Gary S. Becker as well as game-theoretical considerations	“Erlanger Schule” of discursive and dialogue-based ethics	James Buchanan, Jürgen Habermas, discursive ethics and contract theory
Relation between Ethics and Economics	Equality of Ethics and Economy	Peace Norm as superior criteria for ethical and economic action-orientation (situational)	Integrative Corporate Ethics: Ethical enlargement of economic rationality
Scientific-Theoretical Aspect	Business Ethics as economic theory of morality	Ethics as communicative rational ethics in the philosophic tradition of Kant	Corporate Ethics as communicative-ethical rational or liability ethics
Proceeding	Design of framework	Discourse	Discourse
Starting-Point	Philosophically reflected economy	Profit limitation and Peace protection	Profit relativisation
Justification of norms	No search for justification: non-cognitive	Rationality-oriented: cognitive	Rationality-oriented: cognitive
Ethical Approach	Regulative Ethics	Corporate Ethics	(Global) Corporate Ethics with individual liability
Methodological Status	Normative-analytical	Normative	Normative
View of Corporate Ethics	Corporate Ethics as Regulative Ethics	Corporate Ethics as situational corrective of the Principle of Profit	Corporate Ethics as critical-ethical basis reflection
Starting Level of Corporate Ethics	Action-framework as the systematic place for morality in market-based economy	Generally corporate level; state and federations should only react exceptionally	Two-staged: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • on an institutional level in corporate governance • on the action level in corporate policy
Assignment of Corporate Ethics	Designing institutions in a way to not punish moral behavior economically	Legitimation of corporate action in SRME: Peace protection and ethical sensitisation of corporations	New foundation of economy: Conciliation of economic rationality and sanity
Appreciation of the Competitive Principle	Competition is recognized as the foundation of the economic system	Situational limitation of competition	Negative outcomes of competition are shown; options for limitation
Meaning of the Principle of Profit	Profit as a moral responsibility of corporations	Tentative truth-assumption of the principle of profit; situational limitation possible	Principle of profit is made subject to disposition on a regulative and corporate level
View of the consumer	Consumer as market-participant cannot be forced to behave against the market	Moral action-space of the consumer are still existing	Demand for select cultivated and modestly acting consumer
Meaning of “Dialogue Processes”	Building up a culture of justification through permanent dialogue	Consensus possible in a conflict situation through dialogues	Consensus-oriented corporate policy and dialogue-based responsibility
Demand of Usability	Structuring support in morally complex decision situations	Corporate ethics with life-practical foundation: Contribution to the development of consensus- and social-acceptance-based corporate strategies	Practical relevant and realistic thought-provoking impulses for management
Use of Practical Examples	No analysis of case studies	Nestlé as didactic play and dialogue examples	Empirical studies on management types and separate feasibility studies

Figure 25. Comparison of different Business Ethics Approaches [46, pp. 144-155]

The suggestions of Homann, Steinmann and Ulrich are somewhat consensual in principle, but still differ significantly as far as the perception of the basic ethics and values for firms within the SRME is concerned. Also the relationship between ethics and business is outlined differently. But overall, Homann's, Steinmann's and Ulrich's joint notion can be seen in the attempt to create a sustainable equilibrium between "economic freedom" and "socially responsible" business strategies. This can be exemplified by comparing the "relevance of the profit principle" for the business strategies: All three authors recognize the right, and even the duty of private firms to aim at economic benefits and profits. However, whereas Homann considers profits as a "moral obligation" of the firm, Steinmann and Ulrich point out that the striving for profits may have to be limited, if it clashes in a "societally" unacceptable manner with public interests and collective welfare.

Eventually, in Germany there has been a consensus developed in the post-war society that "... business management (education theory) should develop suggestions for including norms and values as a complex code of ethical managerial behavior..." [42, p. 231]. In addition, it can be pointed out that the "responsibility of business administration can not only be seen as a value per se, but as a 'must of solidarity' in a societal meaning, by simply transferring gained knowledge into the improvement of people's life conditions" [42, p. 233].

THE ETHICAL AXIOM OF THE "LOGIC OF HUMAN DIGNITY" AS AN "ECONOMETHICAL" MODEL

Unlike Max Weber's postulate that scientific efforts have to be conducted on a "value free" basis, we look at business management as an institution of "social technology", which can be used mainly for the fulfillment of individual interests. Moreover, we understand economics and business management as disciplines with efficiency-responsibility as well as ethical reasoning-responsibility. This combination of criteria - in line with the SRME on the macro level - can be labeled as the "**economethical**" enrichment of the economic disciplines, both academically as well as practically [42, p. 234].

An "**economethics**" in this sense is an overarching interdisciplinary approach including scientific knowledge and methods of economics and business administration as well as ethics and ethical philosophy. Huette developed an approach of business ethics as a "synthesis" comprised of ethics and economics [24]. He refers to the so-called "Aristotelian Paradigm" which consists of research and knowledge stemming from the scientific disciplines ethics, politics and economics [24, p. 24].

In principle, the "economethical" approach of micro- and macroeconomics can be characterized as a discipline based on the ethics, values and norms of a "socially responsible market economy approach" as an underlying set of guidelines and directions.

Derived from this notion, "economethical" research as well as "economethical" conduct in practice always have to deal with issues from two angles: The economic efficiency driven "management approach" of leadership and decision making on the one hand, and the societal efficiency driven "moral approach" on the other end.

This discussion leads to the question, which role economics and business administration eventually have to perform, with respect to an economic meta-level and an ethical meta-level as well. This clearly forms the following questions:

- Do economics and business administration have to accept the premises of an economic order as given restrictions? or
- should economics and business management also try to evaluate, which kind of economic and ethical institution or constitution would be "right" resp. "preferable"?, and if so
- how can economics and business administration find a rationale for such an approach, and what kinds of means can be used in order to achieve these objectives in the "economethical" sense, outlined above [42, p. 224].

This approach actually goes already back to the 18th century when economist and philosopher Mandeville developed the Mandeville Paradox. It describes tendencies of a rift between ethics and economics, saying that the “good” in the framework of a market economy approach is a kind of a side effect of “bad” immoral individual behavior. Mandeville’s conclusion from this is that “ethical considerations” of economic processes and transactions might become superfluous [5, p. 485].

Breuer also ascertains a kind of a re-approach of economic and business sciences towards ethical issues [5, p. 484].

In the following we suggest the ethical axiom of the “Logic of Human Dignity” as an “economethical” model, determined to serve as a framework of guidelines, which economic and business research as well as economic and business “real world” decisions and transactions should be oriented at.

Scientific hypotheses and conjectures in Karl Popper’s critical rationalism understanding can be classified as empirical sentences, which have to be tested against reality. This is not the case for ethical or normative sentences [48].

However, Kuepper (among others) points out that this understanding of scientific research is also based on a “normative judgement” [33, pp. 72-92]. This postulate implies the task to comprehensively provide an analysis of reasons, which can be used in favour or against subjective judgement [33, pp. 833-887].

The following table depicts scientific reasoning from values and norms in comparison to logical and empirical “theory building”:

<i>Type of the Statement</i>	<i>Logical</i>	<i>Empirical</i>	<i>Philosophical</i>
<i>Classification</i>	Deduction	Empirical Hypotheses	Assessment, recommendation
<i>Authority of judgement</i>	Axioms of Logic	Reality	Individual reasoning
<i>Testing</i>	Proof	Empirical Tests	Rationale
<i>Validity</i>	General, verifiable	falsifiable	Individual, social, non-provable

Figure 26. Scientific Reasoning from Values and Norms in Comparison to Logical and empirical “Theory Building” [26, p. 786]

The underlying research question of this paper is – in the sense of the SRME – to search for “institutions”, which enjoy a widely accepted and appreciated set of norms in modern societies, and can thus be utilized as “ultimate authorities” to justify the ethics, values, and norms which are behind economic and business decisions and transactions.

Following this notion, we developed a system of “ethical axioms” which we labeled the “Logic of Human Dignity”.

As a first step to develop such a system, we searched for “ethical indicators” in three main documents (the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany [21], the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union [12] and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations [60]) using the scientific method of a content analysis.

A content analysis is an approach for empirical research, which enables the researcher to find out about the frequency and intensity of the use of certain terms, phrases or implications in certain publications. Within the content analysis approach, there are various procedures which can be distinguished in terms of their foci. In our case, we used a certain kind of content analysis, the so called “hermeneutic content analysis”. “The Greek verb ‘hermeneuein’, on which the term hermeneutics is based, means to interpret, translate, explain (, assume and associate, r. a.). [...] According to a hermeneutic understanding, texts such as the Bible cannot simply be read, they require an expert reading, explanation, and interpretation.” [4, pp. 660–661] This means that in a hermeneutic content analysis, there is not only an emphasis on words and phrases that are actually mentioned in the analyzed texts, but also on the context that can be read and interpreted “between the lines”. The context of these three texts we studied can be easily classified as describing human rights. This classification is necessary in order to make the appropriate implications from reading “between the lines”.

Through the utilization of this approach, we could derive 10 indicators that were most mentioned (explicitly or implicitly). These 10 indicators are shown in the following table, which displays the indicators and where the related implications can be found within those texts. As mentioned, certain indicators were explicitly referred to, whereas others had to be derived from the context. An example could be the indicator of solidarity. It is not mentioned explicitly in the German Constitution, but e. g. article 15 of the German constitution says that the use of individual property must also serve the public society at large. Therefore it is possible to derive the indicator “solidarity” from this context.

	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany	Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union	Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations
Fairness	art. 2; art. 3; art. 4; art. 5; art. 6; art. 7	art. 6; art. 17; Chapter III; art. 20	art. 1; art. 8; art. 10; art. 23
Solidarity	art. 14 (2); art. 15; art. 17	art. 17; Chapter IV; art. 26	
Justice	art. 1; art. 2; art. 3; art. 4; art. 5	Preamble; art. 1; art. 2; art. 3; art. 4; art. 5; art. 10; Chapter III; art. 20; Chapter VI	Preamble; art. 1; art. 2; art. 6; art. 7; art. 8; art. 10; art. 11; art. 14; art. 23
Sustainability	art. 1	Preamble; art. 2	
Trust	art. 1	art. 8 (3)	
Cooperation	art. 8; art. 9	art. 12; art. 18	art. 14; art. 20; art. 22
Decent human demeanor	art. 1; art. 16a	art. 1	art. 1
Well-being	art. 1; art. 13; art. 16a	art. 1; art. 2; art. 3; art. 18	art. 1; art. 9; art. 15; art. 25
Satisfaction	art. 4		
Responsibility	art. 14 (3); art. 15	art. 17; art. 26	art. 29

Figure 27. Derivation of ethical indicators through hermeneutical content analysis

Basically, the notion of “Human Dignity” can be traced back to Immanuel Kant’s categorical imperative, saying: “Act along the guidelines, based on which you wish it should become a general law” [27].

The “Logic of Human Dignity”, in our view, serves as the overarching axiom for an “economethical” approach of economic/business research and conduct. An axiom can be described as a basic sentence meaning that this sentence cannot be ultimately verified. In our terms, the ethical axiom of “Human Dignity” represents an “obvious principle”.

The following depiction gives an outline of our notion of the “Logic of Human Dignity” as an “economethical” model, taking into account the ethical indicators that have been deduced through the content analysis:

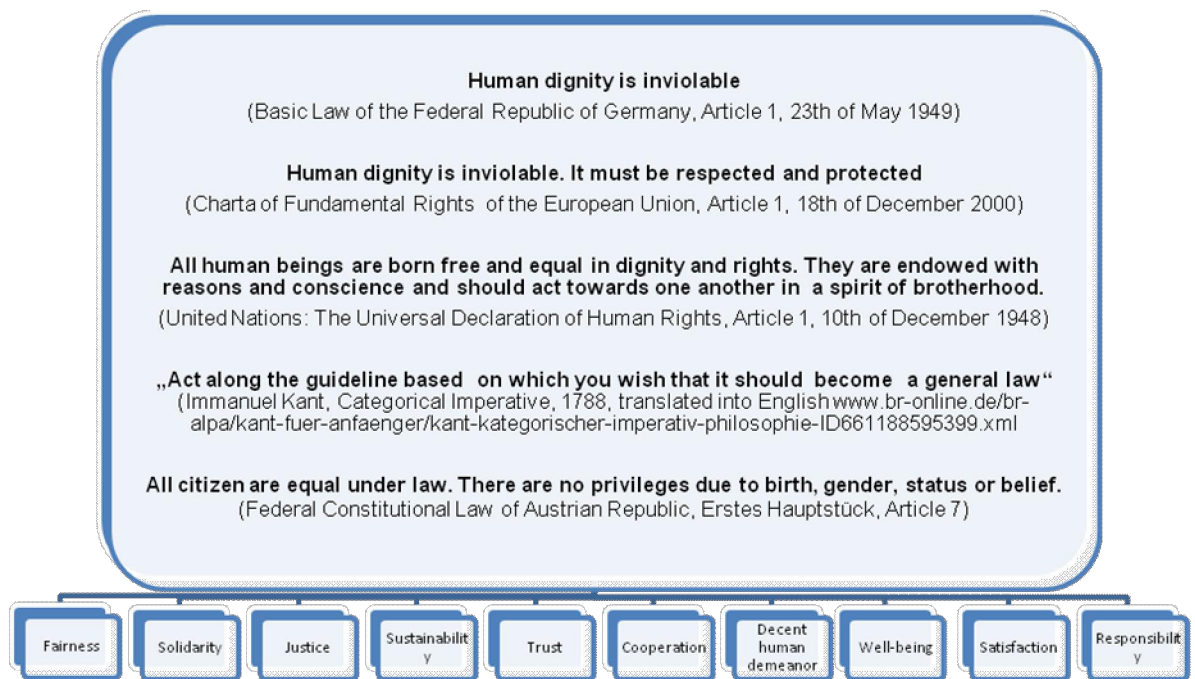


Figure 28. The Logic of Human Dignity

Derived from the ethical axiom of the “Logic of Human Dignity” we developed a set of “ethical indicators” which are supposed to convey the notion of an “economethical” behavior guideline for individual and/or collective activities:

Fairness as an “ethical indicator” represents the notion of treatment of others, based on reciprocity. The concept of fairness prohibits the attempt to get an unjustified advantage over others.

Solidarity as an “ethical indicator” requires the support for others who can either not help themselves or are in an unjustifiably “weaker” position. This notion is e.g. represented in the German Constitution, Article 15, which demands social responsibility of private property [22, art. 15].

Justice as an ethical indicator is generally regarded as the basic norm of human coexistence. The principle of justice has already been discussed in the antique society (Platon) and has finally become a directive in Roman law and in modern law in order to solve conflicts in a justifiable manner. As such, justice is an essential value and norm in the constitution and in the institutions of modern civil societies.

Sustainability has especially come to the forefront in the past years. The concept of sustainability requires the utilization of social, cultural, economic and environmental resources in a way that they can be maintained properly for further generations [9].

Trust as an ethical indicator is described as a “mechanism to reduce social and societal complexity”. It can also be characterized as a “risky” prior concession for others, when the rational judgment of information is not possible. Thus, trust enables conflicting human beings to a mutually beneficial dialogue. [30]

Cooperation as an ethical indicator is based on the notion of mutual collaboration in order to achieve goals and even conflicting goals in a consensual manner. [40]

Decent human demeanor as an ethical indicator refers to patterns of inter-individual interaction. Thus, so called “decent” patterns of human behaviour can be characterized, as a means to make human coexistence somewhat “pleasant” [1].

Well-being as an ethical indicator “acknowledges” the right to achieve an “optimal” level of physical and mental health [59, art. 12.1].

Satisfaction as an ethical indicator can be characterized as the attempt for a feeling of happiness and

mental balance. Satisfaction nowadays plays an essential role in the so-called “Happiness Economics”, which deal with the research question about human beings’ “ultimate goals”, not only taking into account material utility. [17]

Finally, **responsibility** as an ethical indicator “is characterized as the duty to take care that in particular situations the necessary and the right will be done in order to avoid damage”. So-called “responsibility ethics” are aiming at the consequences of human decisions and actions. In contrast to the “ethics of basic convictions”, the “ethics of responsibility” prioritize the actual results of actions against the “decency of motives and intentions of an action” [62] [37, pp. 499-501].

Those “economethical indicators” should and can function as a “reflective mirror” for economic and business policy decisions on a political, societal, macro-economic and micro-economic and individual echelon.

In order to meet “scientific” requirements, it is reasonable to search for empirical evidence of the significance of the indicators referred to above. Therefore, we relate to an empirical study we conducted on the topic of ethics- and value-based conflict management in 2009. In this study, “real-life” family court cases were investigated, using an empirical design based on a quasi-field experiment. The participants (judges, lawyers, litigant parties and other professions) were asked about obvious or hidden values, norms and ethics occurring in the cases using questionnaires. In total, 428 questionnaire responses materialized, representing 128 single family issue cases.

The results of this empirical study showed, that in “real-life” court cases, which stand for a high societal relevance and involve people from different social classes, educational backgrounds and professions, exactly those 10 indicators had been significantly observed and referred to. [43]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We conclude this paper with the following summarizing remarks:

1. The approach of a Socially Responsible Market Economy – SRME has been developed in post-war Germany, intending to create a basic economic constitution as a guideline for economic and social politics, as well as for micro-economic decisions and transactions.
2. The SRME-approach has created Germany’s “economic miracle”, mostly based on a consensus orientation between economic interests and social welfare interests, trying to reconcile the notion of the “constitutional state and” the “welfare state”.
3. Economists, sociologists and politicians have significantly contributed to the development and implementation of the SRME-approach by setting and explaining basic norms and values and the underlying ethics of the SRME, ranging from the competition driven market economy approach to the socially responsible welfare orientation.
4. Empirical surveys, conducted among German constituency citizens have revealed a still strong support for the basic notion of a “Socially Responsible Market Economy” as the axiomatic framework on a macro level in terms of economic and societal policy making.
5. In the meantime, the ideas, contents and underlying ethics of the SRME have also significantly gained ground within the European Union and its member states, resulting in a number of “constitutional documents”, becoming part of various treaties for the European Union.
The underlying ethics of the SRME are outlined in the so called “Magic Hexagon”, aiming at a balanced fulfillment of economic and societal goals like growth, currencies stability, employment, fair distribution of income and assets, and protection of the environment and natural resources.
6. In order to answer the question, which guidelines should be taken into account for collective and/or individual economic, business and societal decisions, the ethical axiom of the “Logic of Human Dignity” has been developed as a so called “economethical model”. This model is

designed to provide guidelines for policy making, decisions and transactions.

7. More research needs to be conducted in order to develop “hands-on” and “practical” checklists and guidelines also for decision making on a business management level. Various promising approaches in the scientific and “real-world” discipline of “Business Ethics” are under way [61].

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