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Overbearing State and Stubborn Civil Society?

German International Volunteer Service Programmes between Subsidiarity and Accountability

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Introduction

The starting point of our contribution is an observation regarding different international volunteer service programmes which are all funded by the German federal government: Whilst the NGOs' continuous call for public funding has finally been addressed, the same organizations are now increasingly concerned about a seemingly overbearing state. Hence, new questions regarding the relationship between civil society and the state emerge and have triggered a controversial debate. Yet, apart from very few exceptions (Jakob 2011; and for the context of a national volunteer programme: Strachwitz 2011), this debate lacks sound empirical analysis and, even more, theoretical foundation. We catch up on this debate and address it in two steps. First, we present a couple of theoretical approaches to analyse the situation. Second, we take a close empirical look at different state funded international volunteer programmes.[1]

Our theoretical view on the relationship between civil society actors and the state is threefold: Our overall perspective is guided by the principle of subsidiarity which allows us to identify at least in theory an adequate task sharing between the stakeholders (Waschkuhn 1995; Nörr and Opperman 1997; Blickle, Hüglin and Wyduckel 2002). Delegation theory then helps us to analyse the relationship between them and serves as a channel towards the concept of public accountability (March and Olsen 1995, 141-181, Mulgan 2003, Strom 2000). Lastly the principle of political responsibility is our starting point to explain the actions of a public administration (Finer 1941). It will become clear that this principle of political responsibility sets limits to the principle of subsidiarity.

In the empirical part of this study we examine the practical allocation of tasks between the civil society organizations and the state authorities providing the funds. It will become clear that the relationship between state and civil society differs considerably depending on the individual volunteer service programme, however, but is quite consistent if one type of volunteer service programme is considered by itself.

As our theoretical approach and analytical framework is applicable to other national contexts too, we take a short look at similar volunteer programmes from other countries such as "Voluntary Service Overseas" (UK), Fredskorpset Norway, Peace Corps (USA) and AusAid (Australia).

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1. International Volunteer Services and their Characteristics

There is no widely accepted definition of what makes up a volunteer service. This is both true for the understanding of such services across different countries as well as, within a country, from different perspectives such as from an academic angle or through the eyes of politicians or practitioners.

Given the case selected and due to our own personal background, our own approach in defining a volunteer service is very much influenced by the public debate in Germany. Thus our understanding of a volunteer service is a particular form of civic engagement distinguishable from the classic volunteering due to certain specific features such as a legally binding framework, a minimum three months period of service, at least 50 % of the standard weekly working hours, a training programme for volunteers, and a separation of the volunteer organization responsible (or in the case of an international programme the so-called sending organization) and the host organization where the assignment takes place (Fischer 2011). These specifics bring a certain commitment on the part of the volunteer and are also seen as a place to learn outside the established educational system.

Whereas all the above specifics are also true for international volunteer services there are, in our opinion, three distinguishable features to national volunteer services in Germany which we would like to present as follows: Firstly, the volunteer organization's affiliation to both the third sector in Germany and to the host country. In this context comes, secondly, the assignment location and the relevant charitable implications. And thirdly, the funding programmes of international volunteer services have different origins and thus different repercussions on the relationship between state and civil society.

1.1 The Positioning of Volunteer Service Programmes within the Third Sector

Any form of volunteering is attributable to the third sector (Schulz-Nieswandt and Köstler 2011, p. 87). The third sector model serves as a "heuristic model (….) in order to describe a sphere of society which is defined by the state sector as well as market and community or family" (Zimmer 2002, p.1). This sphere is extremely dynamic and amorphous. The third sector model helps to classify the relationship between state and civil society in Germany. The various forms of services provided and the actors involved in international volunteer organizations can be clearly attributed to the third sector, whereas the organizational and structural framework of such institutions may vary considerably (see Schulz-Nieswandt and Köstler 2011, p. 91).
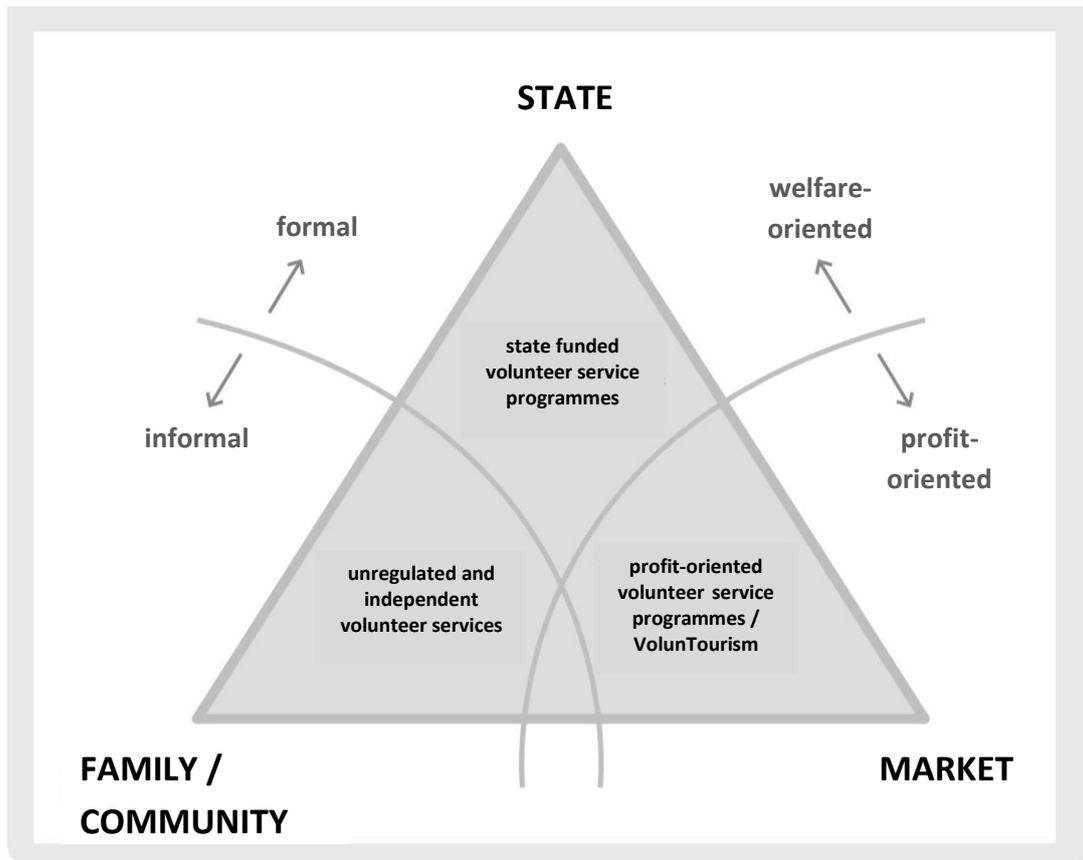
Chart 1: International volunteer services in the third sector
Source: Own chart based on Schulz-Nieswandt (2008, p. 324).

Chart 1 shows that the more regulated a volunteer service programme is and the more public funding it receives, the more formal and closer to the state pole it is. This is true for most German programmes which are discussed in this article. However, the degree of proximity to the state pole varies, as we will show later. On the other hand, unregulated and independent volunteer services (e.g. the temporary placement of volunteers in a Tanzanian church parish organized by the volunteer's German parish) are positioned closer to the community or family pole in our chart. In addition to that, profit-oriented formats of volunteer service programmes are on the rise. One example is the so called VolunTourism which usually combines a short term volunteer service, organized by a private organization, with travel and sightseeing (Goede 2013). Due to the voluntary activity component VolunTourism formats are part of the third sector, but are located close to the markets.

When it comes to international volunteer service programmes, two third sectors are involved. Those programmes originate from the third sector of the sending country and at the same time are directly related to the third sector of the host country. In the relevant host countries different actors are involved, who in turn are located in different positions in this sector;

ranging from grassroots charities to profit-oriented private schools as well as a church-run nurseries receiving public funding. Thus, both third sectors mutually influence each other to various degrees. It goes without saying that in international comparison, the two third sectors may differ considerably in size, range, structural and legal framework or funding (see also Salamon 2001). In Germany the nature and intensity of the relationship between state and civil society may differ considerably depending on the third sector positioning of actors or the format of volunteer service programmes.

1.2 The Duality of Public Welfare Orientation

Based on the dual third sector relationship between the sending and host countries, a duality of the principle of public welfare orientation in the case of international volunteer programmes can be observed as well. It might sound trivial to state that an international volunteer service is not carried out in the volunteer's home country. However, this basic fact has far reaching implications: Whereas volunteers, after their return, may continue to voluntarily serve the interests of their own community, their service abroad must be seen in a broader context (Haas 2012, p. 19). The concept of g*lobal citizenship* or *cosmopolitanism* gives a possible framework. This approach positions the individuals and groups concerned within a globalized world in this broader context (e.g. Köhler 2006). A good example is the European Voluntary Service (EVS), which originates from the idea of a European society to be advanced through the EVS-volunteers (European Commission 2011, p. 52 ff.). Accordingly, an international volunteer service organization based in Germany does not exclusively focus on public welfare in Germany but closely co-operates with its partner organization abroad.

1.3 The History and Formats of International Volunteer Service Programmes in Germany

Germany is a very particular case to study the relationship between state and civil society in international volunteer service programmes, since there is not one single but there are not less than five types of international voluntary service programmes overseen and funded by three different federal ministries. Furthermore, when it comes to the relationship between state and civil society, the characteristics of the different international volunteer service programmes vary considerably. A look back in history is necessary in order to understand this diversity.

Even since 1964 national volunteer services in Germany have been evolving in a concerted interaction between civil and public actors and thus can be regarded grossomodo as a joint venture between the state and civil society.

This common genesis does not apply to international volunteer services where over a timespan of some 40 years actors from civil society or from church organizations[2] developed and shaped their volunteer programmes independent of any state intervention. Funds for programme activities were usually raised by private individuals, often through volunteers or their network of private donors. The establishment in 1986 of the so called "Anderer Dienst im Ausland" or ADiA ("Alternative Service abroad") as a substitute for the then mandatory civilian service for males was a first step towards state involvement since the ADiA was administered by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth. With the additional possibility to serve a Freiwilliges Soziales Jahr (FSJ, "Voluntary Social Year") abroad, a programme administered by the same ministry, and with the introduction of the EU sponsored European Voluntary Service in the 1990s, the so called "regulated volunteer programmes" can also take place outside of Germany (Stern and Scheller 2012, p. 19).

The introduction in 2008 by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) of the development policy oriented volunteer programme "*weltwärts*", literally meaning "woirdwards", hence something like "out into the world", brought the financial support (as well as political attention) of international volunteer services to new levels.

In 2009 the Foreign Ministry followed with a programme called "*kulturweit*", literally meaning across cultural boundaries[3]. From the start there was no involvement of civil society and the sole sending organization is the German UNESCO commission, which, being a specialised agency of the United Nations and a part of Germany's foreign cultural and education policy, clearly distinguishes itself from other civil society sending organizations through its closeness to the state and its affiliation to national politics. Consequently, *kulturweit* is regarded as a public competitor by private civil society organizations (BBE 2010, p. 17).

The most recent offspring of Germany's set of international volunteer programme initiatives is the so called "Internationaler Jugendfreiwilligendienst" or "International Youth Volunteer Service" which came into being in 2012 under the auspices of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ). There are several other unregulated programmes in addition to the above which are remainders of the uncontrolled expansion of

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[2] There is a separate and wide ranging debate both on a theological and social science level as to whether the churches are a part of civil society (see for example Adloff 2005, p. 119 f.; Strachwitz 2009). For our purpose we do *not* distinguish if an actor involved has a church or a secular, civil society background. Instead we follow the rationale that a church organization performing a social public duty and following procedures of civil society can hardly be separated from civil society (e.g. Annheim 2001).

[3] *Kulturweit* is legally carried out as part of the official "Voluntary Social Year" abroad. The German UNESCO commission as sole sending organization is accredited with the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth.

international volunteer service programmes described earlier. In 2013 some 1,100 volunteers were dispatched from Germany through one of these programmes (AKLHÜ 2014).

2. Political Theory Approaches on the Relationship between State and Civil Society in the Context of (International) Volunteer Service Programmes

2.1. The Principle of Subsidiarity

International volunteer service organizations refer to the principle of subsidiarity in particular when they appeal for more responsibility and resources for the civil society: "When consequently applying the subsidiarity principle the Federal Ministry of Development could easily delegate certain activities to civil society organizations" (the German Catholic church organization MISEREOR 2011, referring to the *weltwärts* programme). This compares to the assurance of involved ministries and their affiliated agencies[4] that the subsidiarity principle is strictly observed: "The Engagement Global will (...) observe the subsidiary principle in its activities and will take into account existing comparative advantages" (Federal Ministry of Development 2012, p. 5). But what are the implications of the subsidiarity principle for the international volunteer service programmes?

The subsidiarity principle comprises aspects of legitimization, competence assumption and decision making authority. It demands that a public activity or task falls into the responsibility of the smallest possible unit of society being able to manage the issue or that this smallest unit should be enabled to do so (Riklin 1993, p. 443; Koslowski 1997, p. 40). Hence it can be said that it is a socio-philosophical principle with a normative character (Höffe 1993, p. 26 and 28).

The subsidiary principle also applies to the German public funding law, which is the framework for the public funding of international volunteer service programmes. In the Bundeshaushaltsordnung (the Federal Budget Ordinance) it states that public funding of a service necessitates a substantial interest of the funding government agency in the service rendered and that this service would not or insufficiently be performed with the lack of public funds (§ 23 Bundeshaushaltsordnung, Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, no year of release given). It is a political decision to ascertain a public interest, but in our case, the international volunteer service is not carried out by the federal government, but is put in the hands of the civil society sector. According to the last paragraph of § 23 Bundeshaushaltsordnung the use

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[4] E.g. the Engagement Global (federal agency overseen by the Federal Ministry of Developmentor in a national context the Federal Office for Family and Civil Society Affairs (BAFzA).

of own funds has priority over public funding, a statement that can be interpreted in a way that a volunteer service organization with sufficient own funds is not eligible for public funding.

Contrary to the common assumption the principle of subsidiarity does not mean that a responsibility is to be delegated to the smallest possible unit of society without exception but "a delegation of responsibilities is subject the precondition that it serves the individual in the end" (Höffe 1993, p. 31). In other words, if two units on different level are in conflict about competence, it is not necessarily the lower level that prevails. "On the contrary, the competence of the higher unit has to be strengthened if, as an overriding rationale, this serves the individual best" (ibid. p. 30). In other words the individual (in our case the volunteer) marks the point of reference. "The inherent laws that a sector of society has" and the "concrete circumstances of a deciding situation" must always be taken into consideration in the assignment of tasks and competences (Baumgartner 1997, p. 13). Several criteria such as necessity, efficiency, availability of resources, feasibility, general acceptance, specification, division of tasks, etc. are to be applied (Riklin 1993, p. 446). Or to put it into somewhat schematised words, the subsidiarity principle follows a rationale of "social ethics plus consideration of circumstances" (Höffe 1993, p. 35). This also means that the subsidiarity principle renders no immanent solution in conflicting situations and does not independently answer the question on which level a task has to be assigned (ibid. p. 29 and 35). Hence, the assignment of responsibilities remains subject to political bargaining (Riklin 1993, p. 446).

In international volunteer organizations in Germany the subsidiarity principle is often the source of lively public debate. The principle is used as an argumentative weapon against a perceived dominance of (semi-) state agencies and their interventions. The state, on the other hand, argues that it is (politically) liable to the public and sees a risk in the avoidance of public accountability and general quality standards. This demonstrates that the debate mainly relates to the political context in Germany and to the general relationship between state and civil society here.

2.2 Responsibility and Accountability

Four characteristics are elementary to relations of accountability, respectively responsibility. A subject bearing responsibility; an object to which the subject is accountable; an area for which the subject bears responsibility and rules which regulate the responsibility relationship. These general characteristics can be put into the context of the management of international volunteer service programmes. With the different actors it makes sense to distinguish

between formal responsibility, which arises from rules and legislation such as the Federal Budget Ordinance or the Youth Volunteer Services Act, on the one hand and political responsibility, which arises from customs of politics or from the basic principles of state organization such as the principle of separation of powers, on the other hand.

A basic finding of organizational sociology, namely that a task can be delegated whereas a responsibility cannot (Luhmann 1964, p. 182), might be a clue to the nature of responsibility.

2.2.1 Formal Responsibility

The sending organization is usually the bearer of responsibility. The Youth Volunteer Service Programme which is funded by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth prescribes that "the sending organization has the overall responsibility for the organization and lawful management of the International Youth Volunteer Service Programme" (GMBI 2010, p. 1778). The funding guideline issued by the Federal Ministry of Development for the volunteer service programme *weltwärts* states that "the sending organization has the overall responsibility for the success of the volunteer service" (BMZ 2014, p. 7). The object to which the sending organisations are accountable in this case is the funding ministry. The area of responsibility is the organization or implementation of a volunteer service and the rules can be derived from general rules concerning the nature of the funding relationship[5] on the one hand and the specific regulatory framework[6] of the programme on the other. For instance, the accountability of the sending organization, e.g. its duty to give certain notifications or dispatching proof, is a result of formal responsibility.

2.2.2 Public Accountability and Political Responsibility

When it comes to public accountability and political responsibility, the alternate role a funding ministry assumes makes the key difference to formal responsibility. The ministry is not only object but also subject of responsibility as it becomes accountable. Being part of the executive power (in the sense of the principle of separation of powers) it bears responsibility, namely political responsibility. The object of responsibility is on the one hand parliament, as a legislative body, which also exercises control over government. On the other hand there is responsibility towards the public due to the fact that a publicly funded volunteer service programme is funded with taxpayer's money. The regulatory framework is diverse, ranging from the German constitution to the rules of procedure of the Bundestag. These formal frameworks constitute the public accountability. There are, however, also informal norms and

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[5] Specifically: Federal Budget Ordinance §§ 23 and 44, related administrative rules and the General Auxiliary Conditions for Project Funding Allocation (ANBest-P).
[6] For instance the Youth Volunteer Services Act, related implementation directives, *weltwärts* funding guidelines or the seal of quality for the civilian service according to § 14 b Civilian Service Act.

expectations. These informal rules expand the responsibility from a purely technocrat public accountability to a political responsibility. In any case, the organization or implementation of a volunteer service remains the object of responsibility and thus in theory the potential for conflict between state and civil society is created as both subjects bear a joint responsibility.

Public accountability might, for instance, be in the form of "small inquiries" by members of parliament, a classic instrument of parliamentary control. Matters of international volunteer service programmes were on the parliamentary agenda several times in the past under headings such as "Establishment of a Youth Volunteer Service Programme *kulturweit*"[7], "Problems at the Volunteer Service Programme *weltwärts*"[8], "Improvements for Volunteers Serving in European and International Programmes"[9], and "Developing the Youth Volunteer Service Programmes"[10]. These enquiries are testimony of a considerable monitoring through parliament and evidence of the accountability of the federal government towards parliament.

In contrast to public accountability, political responsibility lacks clear limitations. Political responsibility can be unlimited even if the funding ministry is made responsible only by third parties and the sending organization formally "bears the overall responsibility for the success of the volunteer service programme" (BMZ 2014, p. 7). The exemplary cases of a *weltwärts*-volunteer being unhappy with the assigned duties, a leaking roof or sudden homesickness are not political per se. Neither is this relevant for public accountability. Yet, these examples have the potential of becoming a political issues if, for instance, concerned parents contact a well-known magazine and the *weltwärts* programme becomes the subject of media focus. If the volunteer's uncle sends a list of deficiencies to his fellow party member who happens to be the local member of parliament – the existence of a political responsibility always resonates. A reference to the sending organization with its formal responsibility would not be enough to exonerate the funding ministry. Hence, it does not come as a surprise if in the case of a swine flu breakout in Mexico, the funding ministries feel responsible for the well-being of "their" volunteers. The ministries' actions taken in response to a perceived crisis might be criticized by civil society organizations as being intrusive, however, if the minister's office calls the concerned department of its own ministry following-up on a journalist's enquiries or on the intervention of a member of parliament is certainly not made in consideration of the principle of subsidiarity in the first place.

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[7] http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/16/122/1612281.pdf
[8] http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/16/101/1610100.pdf
[9] http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/14/058/1405893.pdf
[10] http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/17/007/1700707.pdf

2.3   Principal-Agent Theory

In the case of publicly funded international volunteer service programmes the relationship between state and civil society is similar to that of a traditional customer-supplier relation. In our opinion, which might differ from the self-assessment of most civil society actors, this similarity can be derived from the fact that public funds are distributed within the legal framework of the German public funding legislation. This procedure implies that public funding is only available, if the federal state has a "substantial interest" in the services rendered (§ 23 BHO, BMI no release date given)[11].

The principal-agent theory gives a widely used framework to describe the actors having a customer-supplier relationship. The theory was firstly used in the economic sciences, however, is nowadays widely applied in social sciences including political science. Amongst a multitude of adaptions in the political sciences the modelling of a principal-agent chain of delegation characterizing the relationship of actors in a parliamentary democracy has found an exceptionally wide acceptance (Strøm 2000). When applied to the German political system, the theory identifies a chain of delegation starting with the electorate and continuing with the German Bundestag, the Chancellor, the federal ministers to the ministerial bureaucracies. In this chain the electorate is the principal for the Bundestag-agent, who in turn is the principal for the chancellor and so on. The chain of delegation helps to explain and understand the relations of responsibility and accountability which affect the programme funding ministries. Whereas ministerial bureaucracies act as principal for the sending agencies they fund, if formal responsibility is concerned, they switch role from object to subject when assuming political responsibility or public accountability and become the agent for the minister heading the ministry. Over several levels the minister in turn is linked through the delegation chain to the electorate. This perception opens the door for a fresh interpretation of administrative actions within the context of volunteer service programmes. From this perspective state interference, as it is perceived by civil society, often happens to be the result of political responsibility and public accountability. Hence, the underlying rationale, namely the control of the governing body through parliament and public, becomes a profoundly democratic one.

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[11] In full: "Expenditure and service commitments to agencies other than the federal administration for certain purposes may only be budgeted if the federal state has a substantial interest in the services rendered by these agencies and if these services will not or insufficiently be provided without federal funding."

2.4 Economic Theory of Bureaucracy

Many actors from the civil society sector perceive the organization and management of international volunteer service programmes as being very bureaucratic. There are several behavioural theories on bureaucracy trying to explain state administrative action. Those theories coming from the school of New Political Economy (Lehner 1981) postulate that individual bureaucrats are rational benefit-maximizers (which does not set them apart from benefit-maximizers in the civil sector); these bureaucrats derive their benefits from the exercise of power, prestige and the possibilities of patronage (Niskanen 1971). All these elements induce an expansion of bureaucracy.

2.5 Preliminary Conclusion

In sum we come to the following preliminary conclusion: subsidiarity is a central element of a community based on democratic principles. It is indispensable for a community's functioning and continuous existence (Münkler 1993, p. 67). At the same time it is also true that public accountability and political responsibility, which cannot be delegated, limits the application of the subsidiarity principle. None of these principles stands isolated or is exclusively valid. "The problem of the subsidiarity principle is certainly not its lack of acceptance, but its ambiguity and lack of clarity in the way it is used by some as a postulate." (Baumgartner 1997, p. 13). The subsidiarity principle is normative, and neither Aristotle nor the social teachings of the Catholic Church give a framework which defines its implications for the (international) volunteer services. The interpretation of subsidiarity in this context therefore must remain subject to the political bargaining taking into account further applicable principles, norms and legislation.

3. Empirical Analysis of the Role of State and Civil Society in International Volunteer Services

Much has been written about "the role of state and civil society in volunteer services". What is missing is a simple stocktaking, which we will try to carry out in the following section for the international volunteer service programmes. We examine the actual division of tasks between state and civil society in the publicly funded volunteer service programmes: Alternative Service abroad (ADiA)[12], European Voluntary Service, Voluntary Social Year

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[12] For several decades the Alternative Service abraoad was a programme for sending volunteers abroad as an alternative to national civilian service with considerable numbers of postings. Even since the suspension of national military or civilian service, it is still used in the same format, though on a much smaller scale.

Abroad, International Youth Volunteer Service Progamme, *kulturweit* and *weltwärts*. We also throw light on the so-called "unregulated services", which are not publicly funded, but whose significance arises due to the more than 1,100 assignments of volunteers per year (AKLHÜ 2014). Looking from various aspects, four dimensions of the organization of the volunteer service programmes are evaluated: Funding, management, execution and ownership. Sources used are official documents, discussions with various actors from state and civil society as well as the authors' own experiences.

3.1 Funding

Funding is a central aspect in the relationship between state and civil society, if only because under normal conditions this relationship is only then established through the flow of funds. This becomes clear in the comparison with the unregulated services: It is here where no money flows to the civil society that the organizations, in the conception and arrangement of the services, are obliged to adhere to the standard rules, yet are completely independent of state influence.

The legal framework for financial aid is provided by the public funding law, according to which a "substantial interest" of the federal government is a primary prerequisite for funding. This results in strong implications for the relationship between state and civil society. The first potential for conflict lies in the interpretation of the "substantial interest" of the federal government. On the state side a certain understanding of management may arise, a "he who pays the piper, calls the tune" effect. On the civil society side however, the acknowledgement of the "substantial interest" of the state, which automatically comes with the funding, is often less defined, and leads to an understanding that the state provides money for "their" project, but according to the principle of subsidiarity, otherwise has no say in it. From this assumption, the question about the proportion of state financing - no programme is 100 percent state-financed - is particularly interesting.

While there is no state funding in the case of ADiA i.e. the organization and/or the volunteers are responsible for all costs, the European Voluntary Service and *weltwärts* receive the most means. In the case of *weltwärts*, 75 percent of funding is from the state, 25 percent from civil society sources, while in the case of the EVS the proportion of own contributions can be much smaller. With both programmes, the volunteers may share the costs on a voluntary basis (such as through sponsoring); but participation may not be made dependant on it. In the cases of the International Youth Volunteer Service Programme (IJFD) and the Voluntary Soccial Year (and therefore also *kulturweit*) costs, which are not covered by the subsidies of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Woman and Youth or the Foreign

Ministry, are borne either by the volunteers or partly also by the sending and the host organizations. These means are well below the *weltwärts* subsidies.

3.2 Management

3.2.1 Making the rules

In the interaction between state and civil society, rule-making naturally plays a central role. Rules are drafted in laws such as the Youth Volunteer Services Act, but above all also in implementation guidelines such as the "Funding Guidelines for the Implementation of the Development Policy Volunteer Service *weltwärts*". At first sight it would seem thus: The state makes the rules, which have to be fulfilled by the sending organizations. On closer inspection one can see that in some programmes there are actually quite a few possibilities for civil society to participate in making the rules. In addition to the question "Who makes the rules?", we judge the rule-making according to the degree of state regulation. The mere number of relevant documents and their length is already a good indicator, but also the "perceived regulation" on the part of the sending organizations. Conversely for the organizations it means: The less regulated a service is, the more freedom they have in providing the services.

Kulturweit (with its lack of civil society participatory structures) and the European Voluntary Service (regulated by the EU) show a comparatively high state-defined degree of rule-making. In the case of *weltwärts* there is the possibility to take part in decision making, including a programme control committee, in which numerous civil society participants are represented. The rules negotiated therein however are – understandably – subject to approval by the Ministry of Development. Nevertheless the handiwork of the civil society can clearly be recognized in the funding guidelines, which came into force on 1st January 2014. At the same time *weltwärts* is viewed by the sending organizations as very much "regulated", more so than for instance the International Youth Volunteer Programme (IJFD). With the latter there is a lack of formal participatory structures, the civil society organizations were however involved, e.g. in the drafting of the Youth Volunteer Services Act. Compared to the FSJ imAusland, the set of rules of the IJFD are certainly more extensive.

Altogether the subject of rule-making – manifest in the criteria rule-setting and degree of regulation – is clearly anchored on the state side. The only exceptions are the Alternative Service abroad and by definition naturally the unregulated services.

3.2.2 Extent of State Regulation

Beyond making the rules, to what extent does the state intervene in the actual activities of the volunteer service? This question is not as simple to answer as the subject of "making the rules", since it is determined more by concrete examples rather than defined sets of rules. The state tends to interfere when something does not happen according to plan. An unexpected crisis situation – a typhoon in the Philippines; a volunteer accused of drug trafficking; a terror warning in North Africa – can prompt the state to get involved. But also needs expressed by one government department to the supporting ministry, can be causes.

In the case of *weltwärts* for example this went so far that the Ministry of Development, on the insistence of some German embassies, installed a national point of contact in various countries. This instrument was conceived together with actors from civil society, and yet unwillingly accepted by them, because it created a structure of direct access on the programme level in the host countries. What can be an expression of concrete political pressure to act or care and support, can sometimes be seen as patronizing by civil society. Conversely the understandable doubts of the civil society are often interpreted by the ministry as exaggerated and unfounded fear. Particularly in such cases there is a danger that the principle of the subsidiarity and that of political responsibility come into conflict.

In addition breaches of the rules by the sending organizations provoke the funding ministry to take action, for example when a volunteer is sent abroad without a valid visa. If a ministry then intervenes, then it sees itself as taking necessary administrative action; for the other it is annoying interference or not having realised the complicated visa procedures for the volunteers and organizations.

Particularly with *weltwärts*, the question of the extent of state control is perceived as particularly dominant; in the case of the programmes funded by the Ministry for Family Affairs, the extent of state regulation is less.

3.2.3 Quality

Quality is a cross-sectional topic and as such comes under the area of management. Here it will be evaluated as to what extent state or civil society actors concern themselves with quality management and what degree of the possibly state-induced commitment does the aspect of quality have.

The spectrum ranges from a "seal of quality" with the character of voluntary commitment of the Alternative Service abroad to direct state intervention mechanisms in the case of *weltwärts*. Its recently introduced quality management is a seemingly complex hybrid system

of committees and actors with varying authority, in which the sending organizations must join a quality association supported by the civil society and predominantly financed by the state. Every year a survey of volunteers provides insight into aspects of the quality of the results of the sending organizations, but also allows the ministry to directly intervene in breaches of rules. In addition there are external inspections and a working group for quality. In between is the European Voluntary Service, in which the respective national agencies of the European Union programme take a strong position, however each volunteer organization must define its own quality system. Thus it fulfils an important, self-determining role in the development of quality. Starting from 2014, in the new edition of the programme, the aspects of quality, controlled by the national agencies, are to become more important and more binding for the volunteer organizations.

As is similarly the case in *weltwärts*, in the IJFD the connection to a central institution for quality management is a must, and thus also an obligatory certification. With the FSJ, the volunteer organizations must be attached to a federal supervisory board, which ensures quality standards and development; the supervisory boards – with the exception of those based in the central department of the Federal Office for Family and Civil Society Affairs– are civil society structures.

3.3   Implementation

3.3.1   Selection of the Assignments

The suitability of assignments for a volunteer programme plays an important role in the success of an international volunteer service. This has also been recognised by the sponsors, who also wish to have their say in the selection of assignments. But to what extent is the selection of assignments influenced by the state; for example by endorsement procedures?

With the Voluntary Social Year there is no such procedure. Here only a guideline regulates which kinds of assignments are considered. In the case of ADiA assignments are examined, but are then endorsed for an unlimited period of time. With the IJFD this endorsement must be renewed every five years. With *weltwärts* and the European Voluntary Service, the state side delves much deeper in this aspect. Up until recently, with *weltwärts* each individual assignment was examined with the utmost care and usually endorsed for three years. With the new guidelines having taken effect on 1st January 2014, this procedure was changed to a registration procedure and the civil society quality groups (see 3.2.3) received more responsibility in this area. However, the Ministry of Development will continue, through the

coordination centre *weltwärts*[13], to carry out sample controls. With the European Voluntary Service, assignment projects are accredited by the national agency for three years each.

3.3.2   Type of assignments

An exact classification of the assignments according to civil society or state definitions is not an easy task. Since all assignments should in some way be for the common good, they generally come under the umbrella of the third sector. As described in 1.1, the types of organizations in this non-profit area however can be extremely varied and in addition depend on the respective social welfare system of the country. It is therefore possible that civil society organizations may be active in state institutions, such as schools or in public memorial sites. Even if the question whether the assignments are to be found more in civil society or in state organizations can only be vaguely answered, certain tendencies for the German international volunteer programmes can be observed.

With *weltwärts*, for example, a point of reference can be found in the statistics: According to data of the "coordinating body of *weltwärts*" 0.3 percent of assignments are based in "public administration" of the partner countries. For the IJFD there are no statistics available for this. In general it can be assumed – with the exception of *kulturweit* – that the assignments in all forms are predominantly located in the civil society. Nevertheless even some (semi-) state organizations (e.g. schools) can provide assignment places, even in the unregulated services. Thus at this point the unregulated services diverge somewhat from their otherwise strictly civil society pattern.

Kulturweit is particularly unusual in this case. With few exceptions all volunteer assignments of the Foreign Ministry programme are in establishments of the public German foreign cultural and educational policy such as Goethe Institutes and German schools. Even if some of these positions exhibit quite civil society type structures and activities, nevertheless in the third sector model they are clearly located close to the state.

3.3.3   Selection and Profile of the Volunteers

The selection of the volunteers in all programmes is the responsibility of the sending organizations. There are however on the part of the state certain guidelines and selection characteristics, which are at times specific exclusion criteria (age), or sometimes those of a more lyrical nature (open-mindedness).

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[13] The "coordination centre *weltwärts*" is a part of Engagement Global gGmbH.

The Andere Dienst im Ausland has the least state selection guidelines; there isn't even an age limit. In the cases of the FSJ im Ausland, IJFD and *weltwärts* there are criteria, which the volunteers must fulfil. Most important is age, but also foreign language ability, willingness to get involved and to work in a team. However, the volunteer organizations evaluate (one could almost say: naturally) independently, to what extent the volunteers fulfil these criteria; there is no verification carried out by state institutions. In the FSJ im Ausland and the European Voluntary Service certain projects can be given preference, where there are volunteers with a higher need of funding. In the case of the EVS this may be the preference to send a disabled person, if there are good applications, but there are not sufficient funds for everyone. In such cases there is an indirect state influence on the selection of volunteers. In this area *kulturweit* is the most rooted in the state, for the reasons already mentioned. With the decision to administer the programme through only one sending organization, *kulturweit* automatically only has access to volunteers from a certain social milieu. In the case of *weltwärts* one can assume that the variety of volunteer organizations – 180 active organizations – provides for a relatively larger ideological and regional diversification of volunteers. However in all international volunteer services young people with higher education qualifications are clearly over-represented (Jakob 2013, p.12).

3.3.4 Placement of Volunteers

The placement of volunteers or rather deciding which volunteers match best with which assignments – generally also called "matching" – in most cases is in the hands of the civil society. With *weltwärts* the state is involved in the contract between the organizations and the volunteers but "matching" is however the exclusive territory of the civil society. The only exception in this area is again *kulturweit* due to the previously mentioned state-linked role of the UNESCO commission. To what extent the partner organizations are involved in this matching process, varies from organization to organization. With *weltwärts* this involvement is part of the quality criteria.

3.3.5 Pedagogical Support

The pedagogical support respectively training programme is an important characteristic of an international volunteer service. It is particularly due to the contact with people in another country that the learning processes are clearly of a different nature than with domestic assignments; they are trans-cultural and potentially global and a training accompaniment is often much more complex (mid-term seminars abroad, seminars on returning etc.). A good training concept is therefore also an important quality criterion. Here the questions arise as to

how much leeway the organizations have in the various services with regard to content and who carries out the seminars.

With *weltwärts* the submission of a training concept, which is closely scrutinised, is part of the acceptance procedure for sending organizations. Even in the quality requirement list in the case of *weltwärts* it is stipulated that the partner organizations and former volunteers should be involved in the training programme. In the case of the Ministry of Development sponsored programme however, all seminars are carried out by the civil society. With the voluntary social year abroad (FSJ imAusland) the training programme is of similarly high importance and is explicitly mentioned in the Youth Volunteer Services Act. As with the IJFD, training is carried out solely by the volunteer organizations.

In addition to *kulturweit*, the EVS is also quite unusual. In this case the volunteer organizations are responsible for an appropriate training programme, but it must firstly correspond to the guidelines set by the European Commission, and secondly the national agencies organise the central introductory training courses and interim meetings, which the volunteers must attend. These seminars may only be provided by the volunteer organizations in justified cases.

3.3.6 Co-operation with the Partner Organizations

The partner organizations abroad are traditionally very important in the international voluntary services. They can either be identical to the place of assignment or take a superordinate role and approve and supervise volunteers from a central point, but place them in different assignments.

With nearly all programmes, the tasks of co-operation and contact with these partner organizations fall solely on the volunteer organizations. Even with the *weltwärts* programme, which is conceptually more partner oriented not least because of its focus on development policy, Engagement Global or rather the "coordination centre *weltwärts*" and the Ministry of Development do not have direct access to the partner institutions. If a minister wishes to meet the volunteers and partner organizations locally, then the contact is always made by the sending organizations. However in the list of quality requirements, there are guidelines regarding the co-operation with the partner organizations. These are to be followed for example when selecting volunteers. And recently in the case of *weltwärts* there were the first partner conferences for all programmes. Employees of the ministry and the "coordination centre *weltwärts*" participated in these; the organization was exclusively the responsibility of the civil society, the ministry provided the funding.

3.3.7 Returnee Measures

Returnee measures is a post assignment work which includes all arrangements of the programme after completing the assignment, except the post assignment seminar, which is part of the training programme.

In the case of the BMFSFJ programmes, the returnee measures is not funded. Thus there is also no state influence, but the volunteer organizations thereby also have fewer possibilities to specifically support the potential of the returning volunteers' commitment. International volunteer services can be seen as catalyst for voluntary work in Germany in the future (Fischer and Haas 2012). Funding post assignment work also helps to strengthen civil society and civic commitment in Germany. Only in the case of *weltwärts* are the returnee measures an integral component of its own, equal target of the programme. Post assignment projects of the volunteer or alumni organizations are funded by *weltwärts*. There are clearly certain state-determined targets to be funded and it has its own concept, but according to the volunteer organizations funding is relatively "generous". Because the selection of the projects is in the hands of the fund-provider, the state nevertheless has influence on the agenda of the returnee measures.

With the EVS there are also some funded post assignment activities, such as the "Comeback Event" and the "EuroPeers project"[14]. The latter is offered within the framework of the whole "Youth in Action" programme, but according to Youth for Europe, between 80 and 90 percent of the participants are former EVS volunteers. However, both activities are centrally organized and coordinated by the national agency; we therefore evaluate the state influence here as greater than with *weltwärts*.

In the case of *kulturweit* it is strongest. As numerous regional alumni groups have been formed in recent years, which organize themselves, establish networks and even fund themselves, the involvement of civil society in post assignment work is greater than in other areas of *kulturweit*, which have been looked at.

3.4　Ownership and Public Relations

In the online glossary of the Ministry of Development (BMZ undated), the term "ownership" is described as being used in the development policy debate, in order to describe people's identification with one of its projects. The question of to whom a volunteer service actually belongs, only arose with the introduction of *weltwärts*, when the Ministry of Development

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[14] https://www.europeers.de/

labelled this service as the "volunteer service *of* the Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development" (italics by the authors).

The question of ownership is particularly relevant because there are good reasons for the assumption that there is a causal connection between the degree of state ownership and the degree of (perceived) political responsibility of the state: The greater the ownership of the ministry, the greater its political responsibility. What consequences this has was described in detail in section 2.2.2.

Ownership is difficult to define and has also much to do with "perceived" ownership, which obviously depends on certain categories which we have already dealt with. We therefore predominantly link the topic of ownership to how strongly the state components are emphasised in the communication of the voluntary service in the public domain.

With *weltwärts* the possession suggesting "of the" has meanwhile been abolished and the emphasis put on "collaboration", but with *kulturweit* the slogan "the volunteer service *of* the Foreign Office" (italics by the authors) is still emblazoned in the logo. With the EVS a funded project must, among other things, "aim to increase the visibility (…) of the programme" (European Commission 2013, p. 7). And while each *kulturweit* year is rubberstamped by the ministry, the Ministry for Family Affairs (BMFSFJ) does not collect any statistics on assignments for the ADiA, but with the IJFD makes sure however that the federal funding is clearly visible. *Weltwärts* and *kulturweit* maintain a target group-oriented website– a measure, which the BMFSFJ does without. With regard to branding, *weltwärts* and *kulturweit* give the volunteers a sense of identity. To the disappointment of the civil society, many volunteers see themselves first as volunteers of *weltwärts* and then as volunteers of a sub-organization. With *kulturweit* that is no problem, since there is only one sending organization.

3.5   Preliminary Conclusions

To summarize, in the overview diagram below, we have placed the various forms of volunteer service in the dimensions studied, on an axle between civil society and the state. The more balanced the division of tasks between civil society and the state in the respective dimensions, the closer to the centre of the axle the service will be located. And the more influence either the civil society or state actors have on the dimension, the closer the service will be to "its" respective pole.
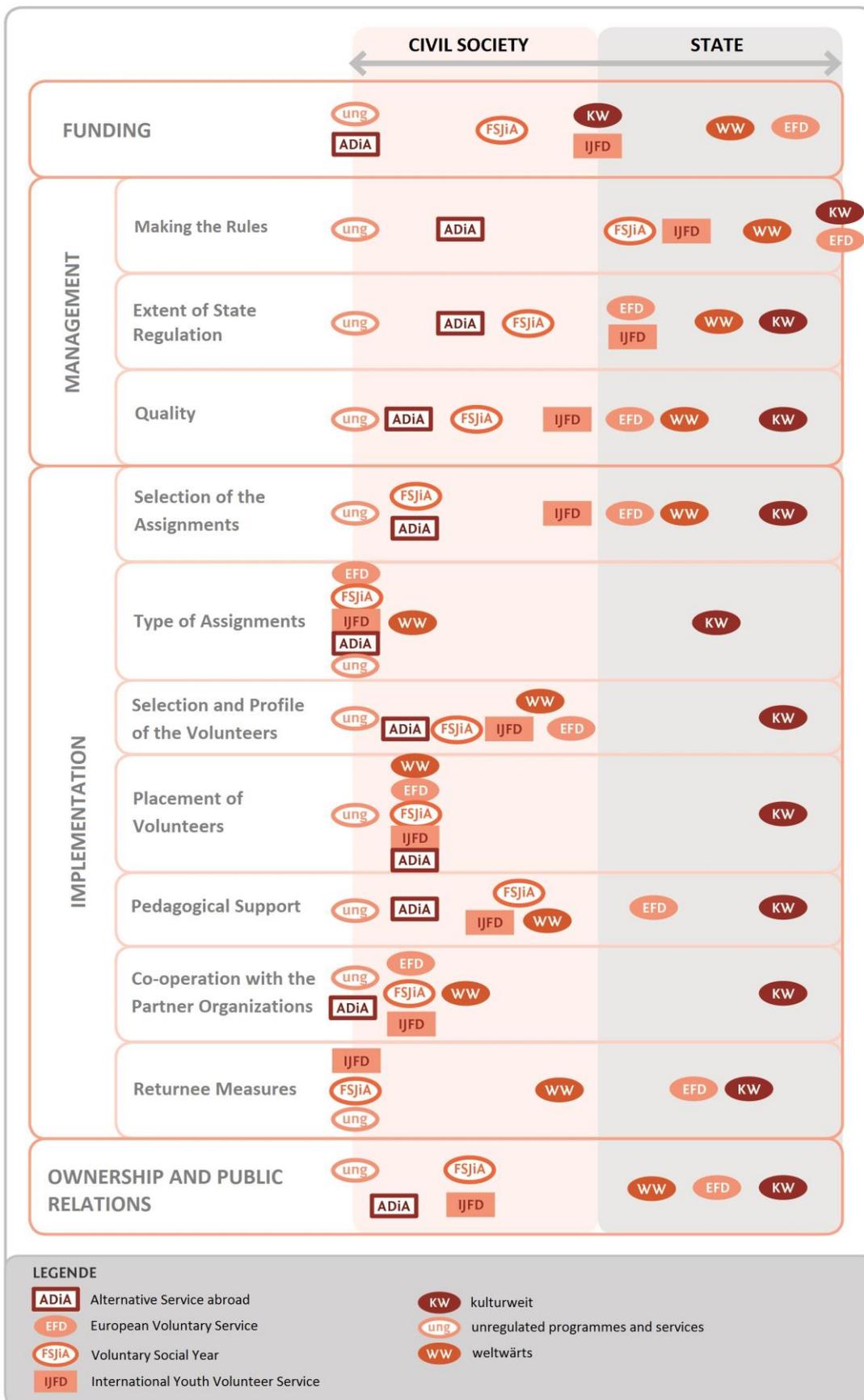
Chart 2: Division of tasks between civil society and state actors

Source: Own chart.

The overview diagram shows: There is a considerable empirical variance in the task distribution between state and civil society. At the same time, however, we can observe a certain consistency within the forms of service: In principle, above and beyond their various dimensions, services remain true to their civil society or state roots.

It is of little surprise that state influence in the unregulated services is very low, while the civil society freedom of scope is highest. The ADiA lies just beyond the state perception threshold and allows the volunteer organizations much freedom – but attracts no public funding. It is also graphically evident that in clear contrast, *kulturweit* can almost be seen as a state service. It is only in the areas of funding and returnee measures that the Foreign Ministry programme deviates from its otherwise standard pattern. The previously mentioned state-affiliated and exclusive role of the German UNESCO Commission is responsible for this classification.

What is most apparent, is what *weltwärts* and the EVS have in common. Both services are very "closely connected to the state" in the areas of funding, management and ownership. In the way these are carried out however, both have on the whole ceded much scope and own responsibility to civil society. The EVS differs here only in the areas of training programmes and post assignment work, where it is clearly more influenced by the state.

In contrast, the services funded by the BMFSFJ clearly exhibit more civil society responsibilities – even in management and ownership. Rule-making is here clearly dominated by the state, but the influence in its depth of control and in quality management is substantially less compared to the EVS and *weltwärts*.

4   Voluntary Service Programmes in other Countries in the Global North

In numerous countries in the Global North there are state funded international voluntary service programmes following a similar concept. As explained, compared to other countries, the landscape of funding schemes in Germany is considerably more differentiated and complex. For this reason, when observing the relationship between state and civil society in international voluntary service programmes, in addition to the stakeholders, one must also analyse the history and culture of the civil societies and voluntary service sectors concerned. At this point we cannot go deeper into this area. However, using examples from international voluntary service programmes in Australia, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway and the USA, we can show that our theoretical approach and analytical framework can in principle be used in other national contexts.

In the international voluntary service programmes in the countries mentioned, the role of the state in the Peace Corps in the USA is distinctive. The implementing body has the status of a US governmental authority and has sole responsibility for designing the programme, selection, preparation and placing the volunteers as well as the cooperation with the partner organizations. Also in the case of the Australian Youth Ambassadors for Development Program, which was devised by the state development cooperation agency AusAid, no civil society organizations are involved. Austraining International Pty Ltd is responsible for implementing the programme, a governmental development cooperation organization for project management. Australian NGOs may cooperate with the programme and support building relationships with foreign partner organizations, however, overall responsibility is with Austraining and thus in the hands of a single state organization (Scheller/Stern/Raetzell 2010, p.55f.). As such, the Peace Corps and the AusAid programme are the most comparable with *kulturweit*, which also virtually foresees no involvement of civil society and in which a single organization, commissioned by the state, is responsible for the implementation.

In Norway civil society is strongly involved: In the so-called Youth Programme, which is offered by the Fredskorpset (FK Norway), the state has a much smaller role to play. FK Norway is a governmental institution supported by the foreign ministry and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, but similar to the German *weltwärts* programme, the FK Norway mainly looks after the funding and the regulatory framework. National and foreign actors of civil society are responsible for the selection, preparation and placement of volunteers. They set targets with the FK Norway, which then supports quality control and provides part or full funding. The Norwegian programme is open to concepts provided by civil society partners within the set rules (Scheller/Stern/Raetzell 2010, p.56). In contrast to the programmes in the USA and Australia it can be assumed that the principle of subsidiarity at least implicitly places a role in creating this programme.

The programmes of the Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) from Great Britain and the Danish Young Volunteers - Global Contact Program of the MellemfolkeligtSamvirke Denmark (MS Denmark – Association for International Co-operation) differ markedly from the structure of the German international voluntary service programmes. Both are more or less solely responsible for carrying out voluntary services, but have signed framework agreements over several years with the state implementing organizations Department for International Development (DFID) and Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), from whom they receive 60 – 70 percent of their total budget. In the case of MS Denmark only a small portion is allocated to the Global Contact Program, which finances itself through fund-raising and its own means. Strategic targets are agreed on with the state institutions, which are in

line with the state EZ goals; civil society organizations are given much leeway in planning and implementing their programmes. Until 2011 the DFID worked together with three sending organizations, of which VSO is the largest (Scheller/Stern/Raetzell 2010, p.56).

In 2011 a new pilot funding programme was launched by the DIFD in the UK, the International Citizen Service (ICS). For the implementation a consortium of six sending organizations was formed – including VSO. What was interesting was the fact that two sending organizations were chosen from the consortium to form the Programme Coordinating Body. This is responsible for the programme management, which includes media and marketing, training, data management, monitoring and evaluation (UK DIFD 2011, p.1). One of the first evaluation reports on the new programme examined this consortium approach and states: "The benefits of the consortium approach include `brand value´ of the individual agencies as well as their considerable experience in managing international volunteer (and youth) schemes. Stronger ICS branding should be a priority for the Consortium…"(UK DIFD 2011, p.26). As is the case with the German *weltwärts* programme, the civil society sending organizations seem to have an interest not to let their own brand core be merged with state 'branding'. In contrast to this, the brand *weltwärts* developed a swift momentum to the extent that no stakeholder of the programme would demand an even stronger emphasis of this brand. In the case of Great Britain's ICS the brands of the sending organizations – particularly VSO – seem to be much stronger than the title of the new governmental programme. We believe this could be a sign of a current process of negotiation about ownership between the state and civil society in the UK.

It would seem that also by international comparison there is a considerable variance in the division of tasks between the state and civil society in the various international voluntary services.

5 Conclusion

What is the general position in the relationship between state and civil society in the international volunteer services? Our theoretical analysis shows that the principle of subsidiarity and the principle of responsibility are in a conflict, which cannot be easily resolved in favour of one or the other principles. Our empirical analysis shows that the German voluntary service formats often differ substantially in the division of roles between state and civil society. Here it is again apparent how differentiated and complex the funding programmes in Germany have developed. If one considers that both the principle of subsidiarity and the principle of responsibility have equally validity for all these types of

service as regulatory policy assumptions, then it is remarkable how differently these principles are interpreted. Even by international comparison it is clear that the interaction between state and civil society in the structure of international voluntary services can be very different. It can range from very state oriented services in the USA and Australia, where public authorities administer international voluntary services, to other formats – such as in Norway, the UK, or Denmark, where the state provides rough guidelines, but the sending organizations have relative freedom in the implementation.

A possible explanation for the diverse organization of the volunteer services under the responsibility of the German ministries, the Ministry for Family Affairs (BMFSFJ) and the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), is the different management idiosyncrasies in the two ministries. If one were to characterize all federal ministries according to their legislative or rather executive activities[15], then the BMZ would be a much stronger executive ministry than the BMFSFJ. To express it more simply: The BMZ does not make laws; it governs projects and organizations of development policy in the case of its most important implementing organization (GIZ) according to an explicit mission logic. The employees of the BMZ absorb this logic with the ministerial mother's milk, which is why it is not surprising that they use this understanding in the management of *weltwärts*. In comparison the BMFSFJ is more a funding ministry, which also makes laws and thus provides a different understanding of governance.[16]

The background and character of the EVS on the other hand are influenced by the structures of the European Union and the centralized administration by the European Commission, from which it is forged. In addition to the high level of bureaucratisation, the Brussels institution is characterized by service orientation, which may explain the strong role of the national agency Youth for Europe. In general it shows that the proportion of funding from public sources is a good predictor of the extent of state influence in the other dimensions. Or to put it the other way round: The higher the proportion of funding of a volunteer service from within the civil society, the more freedom it has in creating and developing the service.

Whatever the relationship between state and civil society, neither the principle of subsidiarity nor that of responsibility should be used as "argumentative weapons" in order to further its own interests. Our theoretical analysis makes clear that the guiding principle for the actors of both civil society and the state, is that the volunteers and the partner organizations as well as the places of assignment carry out or support a successful and good volunteer service.

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[15] In spite of intensive research we have not been able to find research on this matter.
[16] The German type of corporatism might also be an explanatory approach which will be an object of our further research.

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