

Nina Antonov

## **Voluntary work in Germany and Norway**

A comparative study

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## The Author

**Nina Antonov** born in Norway, studied Public Administration and Management at the University of Oslo (B.A.). From 2012 to 2014 she worked as a Projektmanager und Volunteer Coordinator at the Campaign Office of Amnesty International Norway. 2016 she received the degree Master of Arts in Nonprofit-Management und Public Governance at the Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft Berlin and the Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht Berlin, the following text is her final thesis.

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## 1 Introduction

In recent years the voluntary sector has gained a great amount of attention in both the public eye and in national and international politics. The UN proclaimed 2001 as the International Year of Volunteers,<sup>1</sup> and was a strong contributor in increasing the recognition and promotion of volunteering. Ten years later, the European Commission and Council announced 2011 as the European Year of Volunteerism in order to celebrate the efforts of an estimated 100 million European volunteers, and to create an enabling environment for volunteerism.<sup>2</sup> In a time when European countries are facing various challenges—ranging from the financial crisis to the influx of refugees and rising pressure on social services due to demographic changes—one might question the sustainability of the welfare state, and question whether or not new economical solutions and structures for service delivery are necessary. Research suggests that voluntary work contributes to the economy<sup>3</sup>, and that the engagement of volunteers additionally contributes to the production of social capital, which in turn is a critical precondition for democracy and political involvement.<sup>4</sup>

The national benefits of having a large figure of citizens volunteering are numerous. Since the benefits are context-driven, comparative country studies exploring the voluntary sector and the preconditions for voluntary work are important to understand the underlying mechanisms at work in different locations. Despite increased attention to volunteerism both at the national and international level, there have been few cross-national comparative studies conducted on the topic. The present thesis is an attempt to fill this gap in the scholarly literature, describing and analyzing the principle differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway. The thesis ultimately seeks to uncover the major differences in the voluntary sector and volunteerism in each nation, and the reason behind these differences, as well as using this insight to pinpoint particular areas where the countries can learn from each other.

The thesis operates with four main research questions:

- What are the major differences characterizing the volunteers in Germany and Norway?
- Are there any differences in the topical areas in which the volunteers in Germany and Norway work?

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<sup>1</sup> United Nation General Assembly, Resolution A/RES/55/57, *International Year of Volunteers* (2001).

<sup>2</sup> European Union, Council Decision, 37/2010/EC, *European Year of Voluntary Activities Promoting Active Citizenship* (2010).

<sup>3</sup> Lester M. Salamon, *The Rise of the Nonprofit Sector* (Foreign Affairs, vol.44, No.3, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

- How can socio-political factors explain the major differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway?
- Does Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology bring new insight for explaining the differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway?

Since the research questions are quite broad, and there are multiple aspects and levels of volunteerism that one could compare and analyze—from micro-level motivational factors to macro-level political and economic contexts—careful operationalization of the research questions is necessary. This research emphasizes major differences in the socio-political<sup>5</sup> context of each country, exploring and explaining the differences in the German and Norwegian voluntary sector workforce (paid vs. unpaid), the volunteer population (gender and age), the share of volunteers in each country and the different topical areas in which they volunteer. In explaining the differences the thesis predominantly wishes to look at the welfare regimes the countries have established.

In order to perform the comparison and analyze the differences, the thesis makes use of mixed-methodology, combining the comparison of secondary studies with expert interviews. The rationale for this choice is the assumption that the combination will provide the thesis with both the statistical data needed for a valid comparison, as well as more in-depth explanation of the reasons behind the found differences.

In terms of the theoretical framework applied, it should be noted that there has been an increased interest in voluntary work within different research disciplines over the past decades. Across disciplines, the principal questions asked have been why people choose to volunteer and what kinds of people choose to volunteer. However, different disciplines offer contrasting answers to these questions. Whereas psychology has been principally concerned with the importance of parents' function as role models, and in the socialization of children and the teaching about volunteerism from an early age, economic research tends to emphasize the relationships between volunteerism, utility maximization and incentive systems.<sup>6</sup> At a macro level, differences in voluntary work has also been analyzed by looking at factors like political culture and national welfare regimes. This last approach, concerned with political culture and welfare regimes, has been chosen as the most appropriate framework for this thesis.

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<sup>5</sup> *Socio-political* signifies the combination or interaction of social and political factors.

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Simsa, Michael Meyer and Christoph Badelt, *Handbuch der Nonprofit-Organisation* (Schäffer-Poeschel Verlag, 2013), 384.

In his book *The Three Worlds of Welfare State Capitalism* (1990), the Danish political scientist and sociologist Gøsta Esping-Andersen classifies three types of welfare regimes. He bases his typology on what he identifies as the three pillars of welfare production: the state, the family and the private market. This thesis seeks to apply Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology as a basis to explain the major differences in voluntary work between Germany and Norway, and also discusses whether a fourth pillar of welfare production should be added, namely the voluntary sector.

The reasons for choosing these specific countries for comparison lie more in the differences, than the similarities. Germany and Norway differ in various ways, the perhaps most obvious in terms of population density, geographical location and national structure. Whereas Germany is situated at the heart of Europe, with a population of over 81,8 million inhabitants<sup>7</sup>, Norway has a small population of only 5,2 million<sup>8</sup>, spread out in a larger, mountain-filled area in the northern tip of Europe. Germany is a federal republic, divided into 16 constituent states, whereas Norway is a unitary monarchy. Furthermore, the welfare states in the two countries differ greatly. In Germany, the principal of subsidiarity is dominating, which means that welfare tasks to a notable extent get allocated to non-profit stakeholders, and social benefits are more connected to preconditions such as one's status and position. In Norway, on the other hand, the state is relatively strong. People pay high taxes in order to finance a comprehensive welfare state that provides all citizens with universal, social benefits. The contrasts between Germany and Norway can have had an impact on voluntary work, which again would signal possibilities for an exchange of strategies and experiential knowledge based on context. In this sense, the differences make Germany and Norway interesting entities for comparison.

Moreover, and from a more personal aspect, I have experienced the differences between these two countries firsthand. Growing up in Norway with a German mother, and having lived, studied and volunteered in both countries, I feel a strong personal motivation for wanting to do a comparative study of the two states. During my graduate studies in Berlin, I have learned about the various aspects of the third sector in Germany. Simultaneously, I have sought to keep an eye on the Norwegian voluntary sector, attempting to uncover the similarities and differences in the two countries. When the time came to hand in a thesis proposal, I saw it as an opportunity to use my research to answer the questions I have been asking since moving to Germany.

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<sup>7</sup> Number of people registered as living in Germany as per 30.09.2015, Statistisches Bundesamt, *Auf einen Blick*. Accessed July 5, 2016, <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Startseite.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Number of people registered as living in Norway as per 01.04.2015, Statistisk Sentralbyrå. Accessed July 5, 2016, <http://www.ssb.no/>.

The following chapter will lay out the framework for this thesis, presenting key definitions and introducing Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology. This typology constitutes the theoretical framework, and builds the foundation for later analysis. The subsequent third chapter explores the chosen research methodology, and elaborates on the choice to apply a mixed methodology, analyzing existing research as well as conducting interviews. The fourth chapter examines the differences and similarities in voluntary work in Germany and Norway, applying empirical findings from existing research, as well as the information obtained in the expert interviews conducted for the thesis. Chapter five further analyzes the reasons behind the major differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway, using the framework set forward by the welfare state typology. Finally, chapter six presents the conclusions to the research questions, whilst also putting forward some ideas as to how the countries could learn from each other, and suggesting directions for further future research.

## **2 Framework: Key definitions and theoretical basis**

### **2.1 Conceptual framework**

Both the key terms *voluntary work* and *voluntary sector* can be defined and understood in various ways, spending some time on defining the terms applied in this thesis is therefore important to ensure clarity and the quality of the research.

#### **2.1.1 Defining the voluntary sector**

This thesis defines the voluntary sector, also known as the non-profit sector, in compliance with the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (JHCNSP). According to the operationalized definition of this international study, organizations need to exhibit the following criteria in order to be considered part of the voluntary sector:

- *Organized* – The entities must be institutionalized, either in terms of the structure, and/or in terms of the organizations' operation, meaning they need to have some regularity and permanence.
- *Private* – The organizations need to have an institutional identity of their own, and thus be separate from the government. They may still receive support from or cooperate with the state, but they cannot be part of the state apparatus.
- *Non-Profit-Distributing* – The organizations are not allowed to distribute the profit they make to their owners, stockholders or directors. The profit should go to fulfilling the mission and objective of the organization.
- *Self-Governing* – The organizations must have their own internal governance structures, and manage their own activities, operations and affairs.



- *Voluntary* – Participation within or for the organizations must be voluntary, not compulsory or required legally.<sup>9</sup>

According to the JHCNSP the voluntary sector should be understood as a collection of entities that share the mentioned characteristics. The project emphasizes that the scale of the five characteristics may differ greatly from entity to entity, and that the organizations by no means need to have the same structure, management, history or activities.<sup>10</sup>

It is important to note that this definition has been met with some criticism. For instance, Evers and Laville (2004) contest that the definition is not broad enough, leaving out cooperation and mutual aid societies where some of the profit is being distributed amongst the members.<sup>11</sup> This thesis, however, has chosen to utilize the JHCNSP definition, as it is widely regarded as the most accurate and acknowledged definition of the sector, and because the previous existing research used in the comparison of the voluntary sectors in Germany and Norway, as well as the experts who were interviewed, all adhere to this definition, meaning that it provides the greatest consistency. For the validation of the thesis, it is important that there is a shared understanding of the analyzed subject.

Although the voluntary sector is widely identified in the international literature with the term “nonprofit sector”, it is interesting to note that this is not the case in Norway. According to Sivesind et al. (2002), the umbrella term used to identify the sector in Norway is “voluntary organizations” or “frivillige organisasjoner”, which emphasizes the sector’s dependence on its volunteers.<sup>12</sup> Membership, participation and the traditional Norwegian democratic structures, are further features linked with the term. The major stakeholders within the voluntary sector in Norway have rarely seen themselves as constituting a sector, which is also the reason for the term “nonprofit sector” being used only within a narrow group of experts and researchers in Norway, and seldom understood outside this group.<sup>13</sup> In Germany on the other hand, the term “voluntary sector” is seldom used, and more correct terms applied are “der Dritter Sektor” (the third sector), “Zivilgesellschaft” (civil society) and the English term “nonprofit sector”.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the term “Gemeinnütziger Sektor” (Common benefit-sector) is often used in

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<sup>9</sup> Lester M. Salamon, S. Wojciech Sokolowski and Regina List, *Global Civil Society – An Overview* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 2003), 7-8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>11</sup> Adalbert Evers and Jean-Lois Laville, *The Third Sector in Europe* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> Henrik Sivesind et al., *The Voluntary Sector in Norway* (Oslo: ISF, 2002), 9.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> European Commission, *Study on Volunteering in the European Union, National Report – Germany*, (2010), 15.

Germany, emphasizing the tax-reductions the sector enjoys.<sup>15</sup> Representing a combination of “voluntary organizations” and “nonprofit sector,” this thesis will mainly refer to the sector as “the voluntary sector”, and use terms such as “the nonprofit sector” and “third sector” synonymously.

### **2.1.2 Defining voluntary work**

The definition of volunteerism employed in this paper is adapted from the International Labor Organization (ILO). At the request of the Johns Hopkins University Center, ILO developed the *Manual on the Measurement of Volunteer Work*, with the objective to create the first methodological system to generate comparable data on volunteer work in different countries. It also sought to support the fulfillment of the UN General Assembly’s mandate to enhance the knowledge base and establish measurements on the economic contribution of volunteering.<sup>16</sup>

The manual defines volunteer work as “Unpaid non-compulsory work; that is, time individuals give without pay to activities performed either through an organization or directly for others outside their own household”.<sup>17</sup> The ILO emphasizes that voluntary work is a form of service or activity that produces a service or a good, and which is willingly undertaken without receiving reimbursement in form of a wage. Additionally, the definition embraces both formal volunteering (volunteering for an organization) and informal volunteering (activities directly with or for individuals that are not family members or part of the household).<sup>18</sup> The activities that fall under this definition are very diverse, and varies from being a board member, to engaging in environmental- or human rights organizations, to assisting someone with free legal advice, accompanying people with disabilities and unpaid coaching of a soccer club.<sup>19</sup> The different levels of participation and the time spent volunteering can also vary vastly, from occasional help to ongoing service in a long-term initiative.<sup>20</sup>

## **2.2 Theoretical framework: Esping-Andersen’s welfare regimes**

In the same way that establishing consistent terminology is crucial for validity of the analysis, it is important to consider the theoretical framework on which the analysis is built. Considering the importance of socio-political contexts on the development of the voluntary sector,

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<sup>15</sup> Ruth Simsa, Michael Meyer and Christoph Badelt, *Handbuch der Nonprofit-Organisation*, 15.

<sup>16</sup> International Labor Organization, *Manual on the Measurement of Volunteer Work*. (Geneva: ILO, 2008), 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Activities that do not comply with this definition, is for instance the case of a parent helping his or her own child to practice soccer.

<sup>20</sup> International Labor Organization, *Manual on the Measurement of Volunteer Work*,14.

Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology is considered the most appropriate and interesting analytical framework for this thesis.

### 2.2.1 Roots and background of the welfare regime typology

According to Schubert, Hegelich and Bazant (2009), welfare states can be seen as comparative devices.<sup>21</sup> In an effort to improve the basis for comparisons of welfare states, the Danish political scientist and sociologist Gøsta Esping-Andersen executed a study of 18 countries.<sup>22</sup> The result was published in his book *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* in 1990, where he attempted to correct for the previous over emphasis on the correlation between welfare spending and the size of the welfare state in the scholarly literature.<sup>23</sup> Esping-Andersen argued that the assumption that the correlation between spending and size was linear<sup>24</sup> not only simplified the differences between welfare states, but more importantly that it hid crucial aspects of the distribution and organization of welfare.<sup>25</sup><sup>26</sup> Esping-Andersen therefore created a multidimensional approach which identifies three principal underlying historical factors that cause welfare state differences, and can be used to define which welfare regime a country belongs to.<sup>27</sup>

The first historical factor relates to the way in which class mobilization has taken place, especially with regards to the pattern of working-class political formation.<sup>28</sup> The essential question here is whether the workers forged a socialist class identity or not. The second historical factor Esping-Andersen calls the "political coalition building".<sup>29</sup> He describes the construction of welfare states in the mid-and post-war period as "dictated by whichever [political] force captured the farmers"<sup>30</sup>, and built coalitions with them. The important factor was whether welfare services were incorporated in the state offer, such as in Scandinavia, or left to the market, like in the United States.<sup>31</sup> The third and final historical factor is the states' historical her-

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<sup>21</sup> Klaus Schubert, Simon Hegelich and Ursula Bazant, *The Handbook of European Welfare Systems* (Routledge, 2009), 4.

<sup>22</sup> Esping-Andersen included the following 18 countries in his study: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States (1990: 74).

<sup>23</sup> Gösta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1990), 19-21.

<sup>24</sup> Meaning that when the social budget increased, the size of the welfare state rose correspondently (Esping-Andersen 1990: 19-21).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> For instance, a state could have a high social expenditure due to high pension costs, not necessarily correlating to the size of welfare transfers.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 30-31.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 68-69.

itage, which puts path dependency to ground. This variable consists of three principal factors: 1) whether socialist forces were present, 2) whether a state's history was defined by a strong Catholic Church, and 3) whether an aristocratic/absolutist rule or the laissez-faire maxim was prevailing.<sup>32</sup> In the nations that had absolutist rules, the threat of socialist groups was met with corporate welfare arrangements. The nations where socialist parties ruled emphasized the value of universal benefits.<sup>33</sup>

## 2.2.2 Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology

Esping-Andersen welfare regime typology identifies three different welfare models; the liberal welfare regime, the conservative-corporatist welfare regime and the social-democratic welfare regime.

The liberal welfare regime is characterized by the principal of laissez-faire. Welfare benefits are usually granted to low-income people, and are associated with stigma.<sup>34</sup> They are mostly means-tested, and there are typically strict rules and preconditions for rather modest benefits. People are expected to be self-reliant, and a high level of individuality typically characterizes the cluster. The state encourages the market, both passively, by offering only a minimum of assistance to its citizens, and actively, by subsidizing the private welfare market.<sup>35</sup> The middle class primarily uses the market to ensure their welfare, as receiving help from the state is considered to be a sign of not being able to take care of oneself. The system creates class-dualism between the low-class welfare recipients and the majority receiving welfare from market-providers. Welfare states in most Anglo-Saxon countries, like the United States, Canada and Australia, fall under this category.<sup>36</sup>

The second regime-cluster is known as the conservative-corporatist welfare state.<sup>37</sup> These welfare states are based on national conservatism and shaped by the church. Some authors have even renamed this type the Christian-democratic regime, to emphasis the underlying Christian political forces behind its creation.<sup>38</sup> These states are characterized by being committed to "the preservation of status differentials"<sup>39</sup>, traditional family-hood, and for having a state that "will only interfere when the family's capacity to help its members is exhausted".<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 38-60.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 26-27.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>38</sup> Evelyne Huber and John D. Stephens, *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), 87.

<sup>39</sup> Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, 27.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

This marks a difference from the liberal regime, where the state interferes when the market fails. Historically, the labor unions and left-wing parties were seen as a threat in these nations, as agriculture was rather labor-intensive, and conservative forces in these countries managed to isolate labor from politics by winning the farmers over to their parties.<sup>41</sup> In the countries belonging to the conservative-corporatist welfare regimes, the traditions of organized guilds stood strong and ensured members' welfare. Conservative leaders, such as Bismarck in Germany, further developed this tradition, and had the states offer pensions and social rights depending on a person's occupation and position.<sup>42</sup> Equality and social rights were never significant topics in these nations, but were rather self-evident, whereas status differentials, on the other hand, were important. Income differentiated payments provide differentiated benefits<sup>43</sup>, and one's rights and benefits therefore depend on one's class and status. This is why Esping-Andersen named this type "corporatist".<sup>44</sup> With regards to insurance, the government imposes enterprises to include social rights in the labor contract, making the role of private insurance marginal.<sup>45</sup> Typical examples of countries belonging to this group are Germany, Austria, Belgium, France and Italy.<sup>46</sup>

Finally, the third type known as the social-democratic welfare states, are represented by a system that promotes universalism. The regime type is characterized as "social-democratic" as this was identified as the dominant force behind the social reforms.<sup>47</sup> The socialists opposed privileges for specific groups, and instead supported equal rights for all.<sup>48</sup> In contrast to the liberalist welfare regime, the state offers services at a level and in a magnitude that crowds out the market. In order to win the loyalty of the middle class, the state had to deliver public welfare services that outperformed the private.<sup>49</sup> As opposed to the conservative-corporatist regime, the states stimulated female work participation, and developed services such as elderly care and childcare in order to do so, elevating social expenditure. To finance these extensive services, taxation is relatively high in the social-democratic regime, and workers are given a full employment guarantee, to create a fundable and feasible system.<sup>50</sup> "All benefit; all are dependent; and all will presumably feel obliged to pay".<sup>51</sup> Rather than tol-

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>43</sup> Stein Kuhnle, Aksel Hatland and Tore Inge Romøren. *Den Norske velferdsstaten*. (Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk, 2001), 16.

<sup>44</sup> Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, 27.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

erating a dualism between state and market, or between the working class and the middle class, the social democrats established a welfare state with a mixture of universalistic and redistributing programs, tailored to meet the expectations of the middle class.<sup>52</sup> In this way, as Esping-Andersen explains, “the welfare state participated directly in manufacturing a middle class instrumentally devoted to social democracy”.<sup>53</sup> Through the principle of universalism, manual labor workers enjoy the same rights as white-collar employees, but some goods such as sickness benefits and pensions are still divided by earnings.<sup>54</sup> Where the state in the two other types avoids interfering until market or family fails, the social democratic regime is proactive and seeks to be the first entity to help its citizens.<sup>55</sup> The typical example of this regime is the Nordic countries.

Esping-Andersen’s typology has been described as “ground-breaking”, the “locus classicus” of welfare state typologies, and a “benchmark of international welfare state research”.<sup>56</sup> However, his typology has also been subjected to extensive critique, and alternative typologies have been proposed. A number of scholars have criticized the categorization of countries, and argued that there are more than “three theoretical worlds of welfare”.<sup>57</sup> Esping-Andersen himself recognizes that no pure type exists and that the typology is better viewed as three ideal types, being useful analytic tools.<sup>58</sup>

### **2.2.3 The voluntary sector: A fourth pillar of welfare production?**

In his typology, Esping-Andersen identifies three pillars of the welfare regime, through which welfare is produced and allocated: the labor market, the welfare state, and the family. His work *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990) makes no mention of the voluntary sector. However, in some footnotes in his later work Esping-Andersen does recognize the importance of “the third sector of voluntary, non-profit, welfare delivery”.<sup>59</sup> He acknowledges that the voluntary sector in some countries “plays a meaningful, even significant, role in the administration and delivery of services”.<sup>60</sup> Yet he continues to define the welfare regime as “...the combined, interdependent way in which welfare is produced and allocated between

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Mel Cousins, *European Welfare States – Comparative Perspectives* (Sage Publications, 2005), 109; Schubert, Hegelich and Bazant, *The Handbook of European Welfare Systems*, 5.

<sup>57</sup> Cousins, *European Welfare States – Comparative Perspectives*, 111.

<sup>58</sup> Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, 49.

<sup>59</sup> Gösta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 35, fn. 2.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

state, market and family”.<sup>61</sup> In a further footnote he notes that he is not principally against adding the voluntary sector as a fourth pillar, but insists it would make little empirical difference, since “...it [the voluntary sector] is subsidized by the state”<sup>62</sup>, characterizing the voluntary sector “a semi-public delivery agency.”<sup>63</sup>

## 2.2.4 Contextualization of Esping-Andersen’s typology for this research

In this thesis Esping-Andersen’s welfare regime typology will be used as a framework to explain the differences in the voluntary sector and voluntary work in Germany and Norway. In addition, with regards to Esping-Andersen’s notes on the possible introduction of a fourth pillar, the thesis will use its’ findings as a basis to discuss whether the voluntary sector should be added as a fourth pillar of welfare production to complement the typology. Table 1 highlights the different attributes allocated to the three different regimes identified in Esping-Andersen’s typology:

**Table 1. Characteristics of Esping-Andersen’s three welfare regimes**

Liberal welfare regime	Conservative-corporatist welfare regime	Social-democratic welfare regime
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited social benefits for low-income citizens</li> <li>• Laissez-faire, state interferes when market fails</li> <li>• Welfare state encourages private welfare</li> <li>• Means-testing and strict pre-conditions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preservation of status differentials</li> <li>• State interferes when family fails</li> <li>• Private welfare services of marginal role</li> <li>• National conservatism</li> <li>• Preservation of tradition family-hood</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Universal benefits</li> <li>• State is proactive</li> <li>• State offers high level of benefits, crowding out market</li> <li>• Stimulates married woman to work</li> <li>• High level of redistribution</li> </ul>

Source: Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990).

The characteristics of the conservative-corporatist welfare regime and the social-democratic welfare regime will build the base when explaining the differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway. The thesis will not examine whether the categorizations of Germany and Norway are correct, and takes for granted that Germany belongs to the conservative-corporatist welfare regime, and Norway to the social-democratic welfare regime. Despite the criticism concerning Esping-Andersen’s categorization, there is a wide consensus amongst scholars regarding the placement of certain countries, Germany and Norway being two of

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 36, fn. 5.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

them, which further supports the decision to not question the placement of these countries under their respective regime types.<sup>64</sup>

### 3 Presentation of chosen methodology

There have been extensive debates within academia regarding quantitative and qualitative methodology. Both methodologies have been widely used in research, although mostly independently, since they are said to answer to different epistemological and ontological considerations.<sup>65</sup> Despite the tradition of mainly using either one or the other, combining the two methods is nothing new, although the attention to the specifics of mixed method research is fairly new in theory.<sup>66</sup> As Donna Mertens notes, many researchers have come to the conclusion that mixing qualitative and quantitative methods can enhance the research on complex social issues.<sup>67</sup> A combination of the methods can be used for informational, supplementary and complimentary reasons.<sup>68</sup> In this thesis, it will be used for the latter, as each method will provide added value to the ultimate finding. By comparing existing quantitative data on voluntary work in Germany and Norway, I expect to find more accurate differences on, for instance, the share of volunteers and the topical area in which they work, compared to if I were to use qualitative method only. Conversely, by conducting expert interviews, I expect to unveil more in-depth interpretations of the reasons behind the differences, which could not be found by survey comparisons alone. Thus, by combining the methods this thesis seeks to uncover a more vivid depiction of the social reality.<sup>69</sup>

#### 3.1 Quantitative analysis: A comparison of existing data

When exploring cross-national volunteering, having comparable data is crucial.<sup>70</sup> Clary, Lyons and Wijkstrom propose three ways for collecting such data. One can either use surveys undertaken in particular countries applying the same instrument, studies that have used the same survey instrument in several countries at the same time, or one can conduct a new cross-national study.<sup>71</sup> The last option would by far be the best alternative when studying

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<sup>64</sup> Wil Arts and John Gelissen, *Three Worlds of Welfare State Capitalism or More? A State-of-the-Art Report* (Sage publication, 2002).

<sup>65</sup> Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 454.

<sup>66</sup> Elisabeth Graue and Audrey A. Trainor, *Reviewing qualitative research in the social sciences* (Routledge, 2013), 139.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research – Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (Sage 1998), 28.

<sup>69</sup> Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 452.

<sup>70</sup> Gil Clary, Mark Lyons and Philip Wijkstrom, *Comparative Studies of Volunteering: What is being studied?* (In *Voluntary Action*, Vol.1, Nr.1, Winter 1998), 46.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.



voluntary work in Germany and Norway, as the existing cross-national data material on the topic is rather primitive.<sup>72</sup> However, due to the resources such a study would entail, this thesis has instead used a comparison of three studies based on secondary sources of data. One of the studies is a cross-country study, and thus uses the same instrument for both Germany and Norway, whilst the other two studies are country-specific and hold some methodological differences.

The combination of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project's data on Germany and Norway stemming from 1995<sup>73</sup>, and a strong wish to compare more recent figures on volunteerism in the two nations, led to the choice of also using the two country-specific surveys. The German Survey on Volunteerism (der Deutsche Freiwilligensurvey) and the Surveys on Voluntary Work in Norway (Undersøkelsene om frivillig innsats i Noreg) are the most extensive and recent national surveys on volunteerism in the two respective countries. Furthermore, they were both conducted in 2004, 2009 and 2014, although they do hold a few methodological differences that might affect the validity of some of my findings. These differences in the surveys will briefly be presented in the following section, and carefully noted throughout the paper, in the cases where they are relevant for the findings of the thesis.

### **3.1.1 Secondary studies for comparison**

#### **The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project**

The thesis makes use of data collected by the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (JHCNSP), directed by Salamon and Anheier. This material is the most comprehensive international data on the scope, structure, financing and role of the nonprofit sector<sup>74</sup>, and was collected using the same survey instrument in all the countries partaking in the study, making the data easily comparable. The project was launched in 1991, first operating with 13 countries and gradually expanded to the 45 countries it collaborates with today. As already noted, the data used for this thesis stem from 1995, creating a need to also look at country-specific surveys for more recent figures.

#### **The German Surveys on Volunteering**

In Germany, the research on voluntarism started in the 1980s, and led to the establishment of a systematically and regular survey on volunteerism.<sup>75</sup> The Germany Survey on Volunteer-

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Salamon, Sokolowski and List, *Global Civil Society – An Overview*, 12.

<sup>74</sup> Center for Civil Society Studies, *Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project*. Accessed June 5, 2016: <http://ccss.jhu.edu/research-projects/comparative-nonprofit-sector-project/>

<sup>75</sup> Simsa, Meyer and Badelt, *Handbuch der Nonprofit-Organisation*, 386.

ing, or “der Deutsche Freiwilligensurvey” (FWS), was conducted in 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014. The first data collection was done by post, and the three last ones by phone. It is a representative survey of voluntary activities of people aged 14 years and older. The survey characterized people who answered that they do voluntary work outside of the family and their workplace as volunteers.<sup>76</sup>

In Germany there has been a debate regarding the findings in the newest survey from 2014. The first three surveys were conducted by the German Centre of Gerontology, and the fourth by the Institute for Applied Social Sciences.<sup>77</sup> A strong voice within the debate is political scientist Roland Roth whom criticized the “serious methodological changes<sup>78</sup>” between the first three and the fourth survey.<sup>79</sup> Roth claims the changes have led to misleading figures on the raise of volunteers between 2009 and 2014, and that it has left the survey incomparable to the previous ones.<sup>80</sup> He further says that, “the impression arises that the research team were mainly interested in finding large numbers and good messages<sup>81</sup>”.<sup>82</sup> The criticism was answered by the research team, which amongst other contest that the rise in the share of volunteers has been steady from 1999 to 2014.<sup>83</sup>

This thesis has no intention of going further into this debate, however it is important to mention the debate to highlight the fact that there might be some methodological weaknesses in these surveys. This thesis first and foremost sets out to explore similarities and differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway using the latest wave of surveys, and not to explain changes in Germany over time. Thus, the potential flaws mentioned should, if at all, only have a minor impact on the findings of the thesis. The thesis will therefore nonetheless base its figures for Germany on the German Survey on Volunteering.

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<sup>76</sup> Julia Simonson, Claudia Vogel and Clemens Tesch-Römer, *Freiwilliges Engagement in Deutschland – Der Deutsche Freiwilligensurvey 2014* (Berlin: DZA 2016), 15.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>78</sup> Original quote by Roth in German: “...gravierende methodische Veränderungen.”

<sup>79</sup> Roland Roth, *Gewinnwarnung – Anmerkungen zur wundersamen Engagementvermehrung des Freiwilligensurvey 2014* (BBE-Newsletter, 10/2016).

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Original quote by Roth in German: “Insgesamt drängt sich der Eindruck auf, dass es dem Forschungsteam vor allem um große Zahlen und gute Botschaften ging.”

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Julia Simonson, Claudia Vogel and Clemens Tesch-Römer, *Was die Engagementforschung vom neuen Freiwilligensurvey lernen kann* (BBE-Newsletter, 11/2016).

## The Surveys on Voluntary Work in Norway 1998-2014

The first Survey on voluntary work in Norway was carried out in 1998 with the goal of mapping all types of voluntary activity in Norway.<sup>84</sup> Since then, the studies have been conducted every five years. The data collection was done by Statistics Norway, who drew a randomly elected survey sample from the national population, limited to people between 16 and 79 years.<sup>85</sup> Except from the year 1998 where the data was collected by mail, the data collection has been conducted by telephone interviews. The response rates ranges from 44,8% in 1998 to 65,1% in 2009. In 2014, the survey held a response rate of 56,9%. It should be noted that there is a tendency for all the surveys to mainly reflect the population majority, since some age groups, education groups and migrant groups are underrepresented.<sup>86</sup>

### 3.1.2 Methodological challenges of studying cross-national volunteerism

There are many methodological challenges in comparing voluntary work in two countries. First of all, measuring voluntary work in one country has in itself proven to be a challenging task. The same way as respondents in research about elections might see voting as a social duty, people may see volunteering as a duty, and therefore feel pressured to give “the correct” answer when being asked whether they are volunteering.<sup>87</sup> This social desirability is especially relevant when interviews are conducted by phone, which is the case for the three latest surveys in both Germany and Norway. Recent research literature on methodology has found that the problem concerning the interviewer effect could possibly be even bigger with regards to measuring the level of the voluntary commitment<sup>88</sup>, and it is necessary to take this into account when answering the research question partly based on the secondary data material on voluntary work in Germany and Norway.

Secondly, comparing data material from different surveys is a task that needs to be handled delicately. In their work “Comparative studies of volunteering: What is being studied?” Clary, Lyons and Wijkstrom describe the many pitfalls researchers can encounter. One of the pitfalls they mention is comparing surveys that do not use the same standard for data collection. Unfortunately, the data material on cross-national volunteerism holds great limitations<sup>89</sup>, and I have therefore chosen to use the country specific surveys, while acknowledging that it will surely affect my results. Nonetheless, I am convinced that the trends in the countries are

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<sup>84</sup> Daniel Arnesen, *Undersøkelsene om Frivillig Innsats 1998-2014 – Dokumentasjonsrapport* (Senter for Forskning på Sivilsamfunn og Frivillig Sektor 2015), 9.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>87</sup> Robert Bernstein, Anita Chadha and Robert Montjoy, *Overreporting Voting: Why It Happens and Why it Matters* (Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol.65, 2001), 22-44.

<sup>88</sup> Ottar Hellevik, *Hva betyr respondentbortfallet i intervjuundersøkelser?* (Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning, 56 nr.2, 2015), 227.

<sup>89</sup> Clary, Lyons and Wijkstrom, *Comparative Studies of Volunteering: What is being studied?*, 46.

still comparable, especially when supporting the data with the findings from the JHCNSP, and the interviews conducted with experts in each country, as a way to justify and verify the findings from the surveys, and give a more nuanced picture of their origin and causes.

## **3.2 Qualitative research: Expert interviews**

### **3.2.1 Presentation of conducted interviews**

With the help of a semi-structured interview guide, a total of four exploratory expert interviews were conducted in Germany and Norway. The data from the interviews will serve as a complementary source of information, and help explore the reasons behind the differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway.<sup>90</sup>

The semi-structured interview guide<sup>91</sup> was divided into thematic units, in passages with similar topics relevant for the research questions. The point of the guide was not to follow it question by question, but rather, as proposed by Bogner, Littig and Menz (2014) to have a rough outline to assure that all topics were being covered and to have a base for the planned conversations.<sup>92</sup> The passages were as following; 1) Definitions and understanding, 2) The voluntary sector and voluntary work in Germany/Norway, 3) Social characteristics, 4) The history of the sector, 5) The welfare regime, 6) In comparison with Germany/Norway, and 7) Development and challenges.

To avoid what Bogner, Littig and Menz (2009) refers to as “the naïve image of the expert as source of objective information”<sup>93</sup>, I sought to speak with two experts in Norway and two in Germany. By doing this, I sought to have the two experts in each country complement each other, creating greater credibility for the information received, and allowing adjusting for potential biases.

According to Gläser and Laudel a person is considered an expert if he or she “...possesses special knowledge of a social phenomenon which the interviewer is interested in”.<sup>94</sup> With regards to the social phenomenon of interest being voluntary work in Germany and Norway, I find it safe to say that all the selected interviewees possess the required special knowledge to qualify as experts.

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<sup>90</sup> As described in chapter 3.2.2 only three of the four interviews could be recorded, the information attained in the last interview was mainly used for contextual knowledge.

<sup>91</sup> The semi-structured interview guide is attached as Appendix 4.

<sup>92</sup> Alexander Bogner, Beate Littig and Wolfgang Menz, *Interviewing Experts* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 27-28.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*: 117.

## The experts

Daniel Arnesen<sup>95</sup> is a Research Fellow at the Norwegian Institute for Social Research. He has partaken in a number of studies on the voluntary sector and voluntary work in Norway. In 2015, Arnesen wrote the documentation report on the Surveys on Voluntary Work in Norway 1998-2014, the same country-studies used in this thesis.<sup>96</sup>

Morten Johansen<sup>97</sup> is a Political Advisor in The Association of NGOs in Norway (Frivillighet Norge), and is responsible for research on voluntary work. The Association was founded in 2005, and is an umbrella organization for the voluntary sector in Norway. Currently the Association consists of more than 290 member organizations.

Eckhard Priller<sup>98</sup> is the Research Co-Director at the Maecenata Institute for Philanthropy and Civil Society in Berlin. Priller is a sociologist and economist, and has done a plethora of research on civil society and civic engagement. For instance, Priller was in part responsible for the German part of the JHCNSP.

Serge Embacher is a Project Manager at the National Network for Civil Society in Germany (BBE). Embacher is a political scientist and journalist, and has published monographs and numerous of articles on the topic of civil society and democratic politics.

### 3.2.2 Challenges encountered in conducting the interviews

Unfortunately, one of the experts in Germany did not want the interview conversation to be recorded. The information attained during the conversation was therefore mainly used for contextual knowledge. Due to the fact that the interview took place relatively late in the research process, and I had already collected extensive material for Germany, a further interview was not conducted.

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<sup>95</sup> The interview with Daniel Arnesen was conducted the 15.06.2016 in Oslo. See Appendix 1 for the transcription of the interview.

<sup>96</sup> The initial plan was to interview Karl Henrik Sivesind from Norway, a Research Professor at the Institute for Social Research. Sivesind updated the Norwegian part of the JHCNSP (2006-07) and was included in the UN Statistics Division's Expert Panel for revising the Handbook on Non-Profit Institutions in the System of National Accounts (2013-14). The idea was that Sivesind from Norway and Priller from Germany hold fairly similar research backgrounds on the voluntary sector, and thus would make excellent experts representing each country. Unfortunately, due to sickness, Karl-Henrik Sivesind could not attend the planned interview, and since my time in Oslo was limited, it was no option to reschedule. Gratefully, Sivesind arranged an interview with his colleague, Daniel Arnesen, who contributed very useful insights.

<sup>97</sup> The interview with Morten Johansen was conducted the 17.06.2016 in Oslo. See Appendix 2 for the transcription of the interview.

<sup>98</sup> The interview with Eckhard Priller was conducted the 08.06.2016 in Berlin. See Appendix 3 for the transcription of the interview.

### **3.3 Comparative method of analysis: The point-by-point method**

This thesis applies the comparative method of analysis, as described by Walk (1998). The method provides the framework for understanding the differences and similarities between two entities. According to Walk, there are two basic ways to structure a comparative research project, either through what he calls a text-by-text method or a point-by-point method. In the first case, all the data of Germany would be described, followed by all the data of Norway, or the other way around. In the other, the comparisons are structured around different points, under which the countries are examined. The latter method was chosen in order to create a more reader-friendly flow in the comparison, and a clearer picture of the differences and similarities.<sup>99</sup> The thesis will be structured around topical comparisons, and consistently start with presenting the German case, followed by the Norwegian case. Since the thesis is viewing the two entities as equals, this method seemed to be the most useful.

## **4 Comparison of voluntary work in Germany and Norway**

This chapter will explore the differences and similarities in voluntary work in Germany and Norway. Looking at key figures such as the ratio between volunteers and paid workers, the number of people engaged in voluntary work, the areas in which they work, and their social characteristics, the chapter will first present a point-by-point comparison. Whilst the second part of the chapter will explore the possible explanations behind any major differences uncovered.

### **4.1 Differences and similarities in voluntary work**

#### **4.1.1 Size and composition of the third sector workforce**

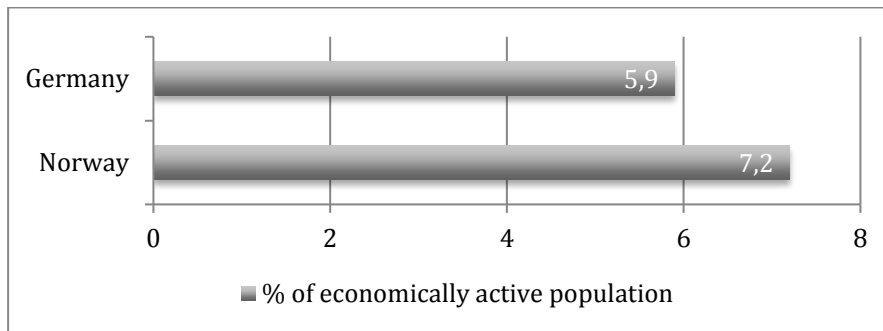
Based on the size of the workforce (paid workers and volunteers), the third sector in Germany and Norway are fairly similar in size, in an international perspective, where the figures varies from a high share of 14% in the Netherlands, to a low 0,4% in Mexico.<sup>100</sup> As figure 1 illustrates, the third sector accounts for 5,9% of the economically active population in Germany. In Norway, the share, at 7,2%, is just slightly higher. However, when looking at the share of volunteers within the workforce and the functions they take on, notable differences begin to emerge.

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<sup>99</sup> Kerry Walk, *How to write a comparative analysis* (Writing center at Harvard University, 1998), n.p.

<sup>100</sup> Salamon, Sokolowski and List, *Global Civil Society – An Overview*, 17.

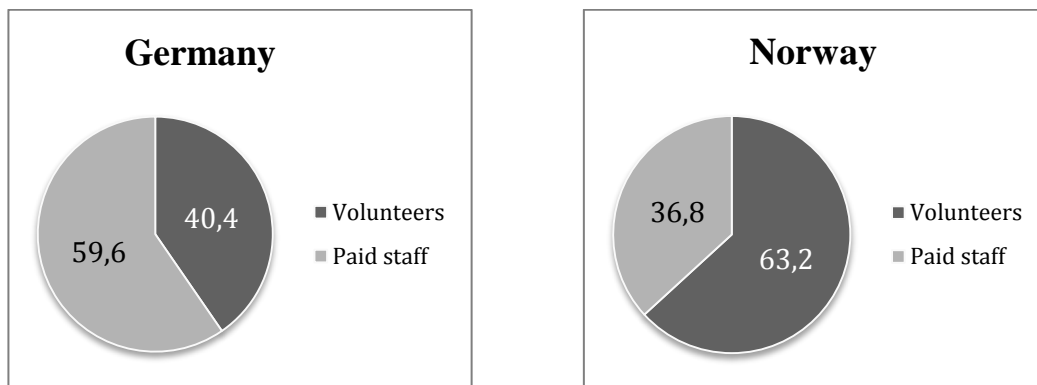
**Figure 1. Civil society organization workforce in Germany and Norway, in percent**



Sources: Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project. Salamon et al. 2003, 17.

According to the JHCNSP, 5,9% of the economically active population in Germany worked in civil society organizations, of which 40,4% were volunteers and 59,6% were paid workers.<sup>101</sup> In Norway, 7,2% of the economically active population worked in the sector, of which 63,2% were volunteers and 36,8% were paid workers.<sup>102</sup> Figure 2 illustrates how the German sector predominantly consists of paid workers, whereas the situation in Norway is the opposite.

**Figure 2. The share of volunteers and paid workers (FTE) in the civil society organization workforce in Germany and Norway, in percent**



Sources: Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project. Salamon et al. 2003, 19.

With a relatively low level of paid workers and a high level of volunteers, the Norwegian sector represents a composition that is unusual in an international perspective. The pattern for all the countries that partook in the JHCNSP, shows that the larger the paid workforce, the more volunteers they are likely to have, and the other way around.<sup>103</sup> It is just in the case of the Nordic countries, that this does not ring true. As the German sociologist and economist Eckhard Priller points out, the composition of volunteers and paid workers varies vastly from

<sup>101</sup> The JHCNSP calculated voluntary workers and paid workers into full time-equivalents (FTE), in order to be able to compare them to each other.

<sup>102</sup> Salamon, Sokolowski and List, *Global Civil Society – An Overview*, 22.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*: 19.

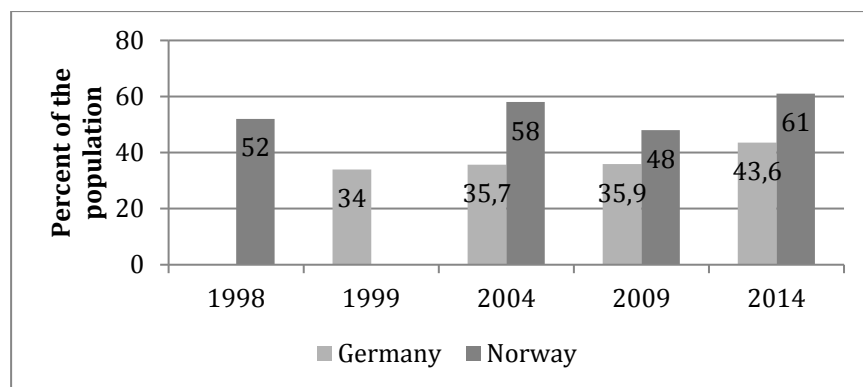
area to area. In the realm of sports, for instance, the share of volunteers versus paid workers is larger than in the social field, a domain that predominantly consists of paid workers. He argues that the rather unusual composition in the Norwegian third sector workforce is due to the fact that so many social services, such as health care and education, are provided by the state in Norway, and thus that the third sector is not needed as much in these areas as it is in Germany.<sup>104</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Differences in the share of volunteers in Germany and Norway

As Figure 1 and 2 indicates, Norway has a larger civil society workforce than Germany, consisting of a higher share of volunteers. The most recent country specific surveys, namely the German surveys on volunteering and the Norwegian surveys on voluntary work 1998-2014, make it possible to compare the shares of volunteers of the total population in each country.<sup>105</sup> The findings in the surveys also give information on how the development has been over time.

Figure 3 show that Norway has had a higher rate of volunteers than Germany in the time period of 2004-2014. The first surveys referred to were conducted in 1998 and 1999 in Norway and Germany respectively, and the figures suggest that the rate of volunteer growth must have been higher in Norway than in Germany during the period from 1998 to 2014.

**Figure 3. Percentage of volunteers in Germany and Norway, 1998-2014**



Sources: FWS 2014, Simonson et al., 92; Frivillig innsats 1998-2014, Folkestad et al., 25.

<sup>104</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.13, nr.580-586.

<sup>105</sup> As a consequence of the methodological differences in the conduction of the surveys, the shares of volunteers cannot be compared directly with full accuracy, a matter that has been taken into account. The German survey on volunteering (FWS 2014) had 28.689 respondents, whereas the Norwegian survey for 2014 had 1921 and where the FWS 2014 asked people aged 14 years and older, the Norwegian survey asked 16-79 year olds. Even though the surveys' definitions for voluntary work are the same, the questions asked for finding the share of volunteers also differ. The full documentation reports for the surveys can be found here: <http://www.samfunnsforskning.no/Publikasjoner/Andre-rapporter/2015/2015-3> and here: [https://www.dza.de/fileadmin/dza/pdf/fdz/FWS2014\\_Erhebungsinstrument.pdf](https://www.dza.de/fileadmin/dza/pdf/fdz/FWS2014_Erhebungsinstrument.pdf).



The most recent figures from 2014 show that 43,6% of the German population aged 14 years and older were involved in voluntary work, equivalent to 30,9 million people in total numbers<sup>106</sup>, whereas 61% of the Norwegian population between the age of 16 and 79 volunteered. As illustrated in the figure, the level of voluntary work in Norway was over 50% for the whole period from 1998-2014, with the exception of the year 2009. Following said year, there has been a high increase in people being involved in voluntary work in both countries. With an increase of 13 percent points the rise from 2009 and 2014 was slightly larger in Norway than in Germany, where it holds 7,7 percent points. In the survey on Germany, the increase has largely been explained with changes in the society and improvements in the preconditions for voluntary work. Volunteerism is receiving more attention in the public eye, both from the media and in political circles.<sup>107</sup> In addition, the number of organizations and associations has risen, more people hold an education, and pensioners stay healthy for longer.<sup>108</sup> The researchers that conducted the Norwegian studies emphasize that the rise could also been caused by the data collection process<sup>109</sup>, an issue which, as already mentioned, has also been discussed in Germany. Nonetheless, even when taking into consideration the margins of error from the data surveys, the figures show that voluntary work in both countries has been relatively stable and rising. It is also safe to conclude that a notable difference in the voluntary sector in Germany and Norway is that Norway holds a higher rate of volunteers than Germany, corroborated by the available data from the JHCNSP, as shown in Figure 1 and 2, as well as the experts.<sup>110</sup>

#### **4.1.3 Topical areas of volunteerism: Expressive vs. service functions**

Another crucial difference becomes apparent when looking at the areas in which the civil society workforce partakes, where there are important differences between Germany and Norway. In order to facilitate a comparison in this area, the JHCNSP divided twelve activities into two categories, distinguishing between what they call service functions and expressive functions.<sup>111</sup> Expressive functions are activities that provide platforms for the expression of cultural, ideological and religious values, amongst other, whilst service functions are aimed at

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<sup>106</sup> Simonson, Vogel and Tesch-Römer, *Der Deutsche Freiwilligensurvey 2014*, 92.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 91.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

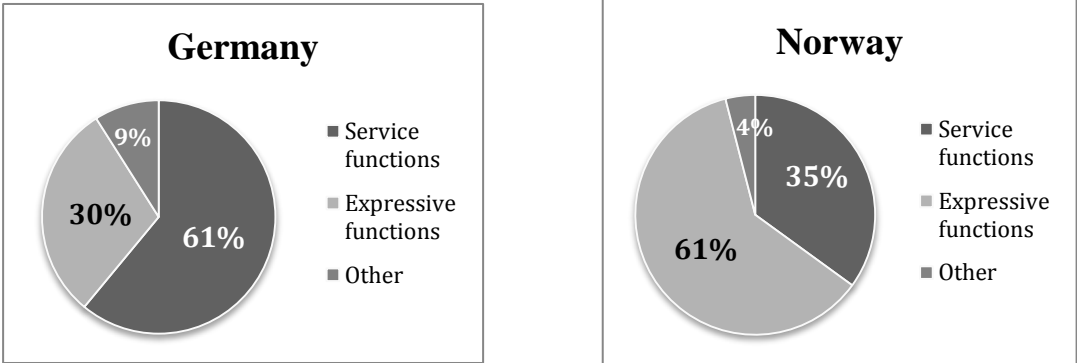
<sup>109</sup> Folkestad et al., *Frivillig innsats i Norge 1998-2014 – Kva kjenneteikner dei frivillige og kva har endra seg?* (Bergen/Oslo: Senter for Forskning på Sivilsamfunn og Frivillig sektor, Rapport 2015:4), 25.

<sup>110</sup> Appendix 2 (Morten Johansen), p.2, nr.46-47.

<sup>111</sup> Salamon, Sokolowski and List, *Global Civil Society – An Overview*, 22.

the delivery of services, such as healthcare and education.<sup>112</sup> As Figure 4 shows, the civil society workforce (both paid workers and voluntary) in Germany is predominantly occupied with service functions, whilst the Norwegian workforce is predominately expressive.<sup>113</sup>

**Figure 4. Civil society workforce in Germany and Norway in service and expressive roles**



Sources: JHCNSP, Salamon, Sokolowski and List, *Global Civil Society – An Overview*, 26.

As noted earlier by Priller, this can be understood as a result of the Norwegian State’s provision of a great amount of the services that would count as service-functions according to this dichotomy.<sup>114</sup> In Germany, on the other hand, the state relocated a lot of the services to the third sector following the reunification.<sup>115</sup> The German welfare associations, with 1,8 million paid workers and around 3 million volunteers, for instance is a key example of a third sector actor that plays a central role in the production and delivery of welfare services.<sup>116</sup>

Nevertheless, although a high share of the German workforce (paid and voluntary) are involved in service functions, the field with the highest rate of voluntary workers is sports, as can be seen in Table 2. In fact, sports attracted a remarkable large share of the volunteers in both Germany and Norway, according to the respective surveys in which the respondents were asked to identify the organization for which they were volunteering.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>114</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.13, nr.581.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 12, nr.543-545

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 13, nr.572-574

<sup>117</sup> Again, the methodological differences affect the comparison. The FWS 2014 divided the organizations into 14 categories, whilst the Norwegian survey divided them into 15 categories. Furthermore, the categories hold different names, and therefore different meanings. The percentages are not directly comparable, but are relevant to express where the volunteers work in Germany and Norway.

**Table 2. Voluntary work by organizational types in Germany<sup>118</sup>, 2014. Percentages of the population (Multiple answers possible).**

Sports	16,3
School and kindergarten	9,1
Culture and music	9,0
Social work	8,5
Church and religion	7,6
Hobby and leisure	5,8
After school youth work or education for adults	4,0
Politics and political interest associations	3,6
Environmental protection and animal welfare	3,5
Emergency service and voluntary fire brigade	2,9
Employers interest advocacy, external from the workplace	2,5
Health care	2,5
Justice and crime	1,2
Other areas	2,7
N (unweight) =	28.689

Source: FWS 2014, Simonson, Vogel and Tesch-Römer, 110. Own translation.

The German Freiwilligensurvey found that 16,3% of the respondents volunteered in organizations in the area of sports in 2014, whereas 25% percent of the Norwegians respondents stated to belong to this sector in their country the same year.<sup>119</sup> Priller describes the field of sport as something very traditional in Germany, but presumes that the numbers of volunteers in the area will decrease in the coming years.<sup>120</sup> According to him, there has been a development in Germany where every sport has gotten its own club, which again has its own board of approximately five volunteers. Seeing that Germany has an estimated 90.000 sports clubs, the consequent number of volunteers is considerable. Priller's prediction that the number of volunteers within sports will decline in the coming years, is based on the assumption that the different sports clubs are likely to slowly start merging, which again will lead to fewer boards and hence fewer volunteers.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Some of the terms in the organizational types are specific for Germany, and are thus hard to translate. See Appendix 5 for the original table in German language.

<sup>119</sup> Folkestad et al., *Frivillig innsats i Norge 1998-2014 – Kva kjenneteikner dei frivillige og kva har endra seg?*, 29.

<sup>120</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.10, nr.451-460.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

**Table 3. Voluntary work by organizational types in Norway<sup>122</sup>, 1998-2014. Percentages of the population (Multiple answers possible).**

	1998	2004	2009	2014
Sports	19	24	20	25
Residents associations, housing associations and local community	5	19	13	17
Hobby, leisure, outdoor activity and social associations	10	20	13	16
Arts and culture, marching bands and choirs	9	10	11	13
Housing cooperatives and building societies	-	8	7	11
Education, training and research	7	7	4	9
Religion and life stance, including the Church of Norway	2	5	5	7
Health, caretaking and rescue work	3	7	4	6
Social services and substance-abuse related care	6	4	4	6
International exchanges, emergency relief, development aid and human rights work	3	3	3	6
Vocational associations, trade associations and trade unions	9	4	5	6
Conservation, environmental protection and animal welfare	1	3	2	5
Political Parties	3	3	2	4
Legal aid	3	4	2	3
Other areas	3	1	1	2
N (unweight) =	1693	1235	1579	1921

Source: Frivillig innsats 1998-2014, Folkestad et al., 29. The percentages are weighted. Own translation.

The percentage of volunteers within sports organizations in Norway has been stable over time, and has maintained its place as the principle area of volunteer work since the first survey in 1998. As Arnesen puts it, "...most kids participate in a sport, for example football or handball. It is very essential in the Norwegian culture when it comes to participation, and it also means that the parents have to do voluntary work in that connections".<sup>123</sup>

Although Norway and Germany shares the sports sector as the biggest arena of volunteering, the countries mark important differences, once looking at the second biggest sector of volunteering. In Germany, the second largest area in which people volunteer is in education and kindergartens. In Norway on the other hand, education is only listed as number 7 out of 15 categories included in the survey. The methodical differences make it hard to compare the activity levels in the different sectors for the two countries, however it is unproblematic to draw the conclusion that the principle areas of voluntary work in the countries differ. The organizational type with the largest amount of volunteers in Norway, after sports, is neighborhood associations, hobby organizations and art- and cultural organizations. As pointed to by Arnesen nearly 50% of voluntary work in Norway is done within culture, arts, sports and social recreation.<sup>124</sup> These are all activities that would classify as so-called expressive functions. Also in Germany, volunteerism is predominantly occupied with expressive function, but

<sup>122</sup> Some of the terms in the organizational types are very specific for Norway, and are thus hard to translate. See Appendix 6 for the original table in Norwegian language.

<sup>123</sup> Appendix 1 (Daniel Arnesen), p.3, nr.110-113.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p.8, nr.351-352.

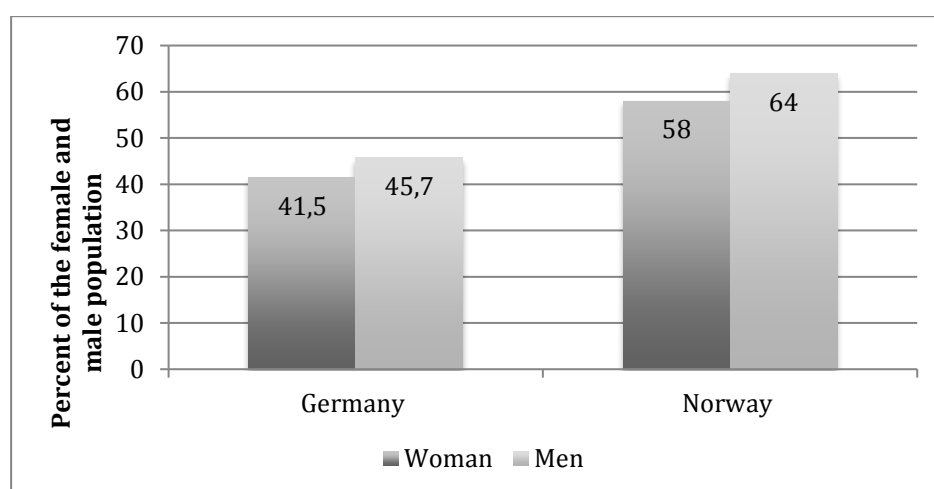
the service functions, like education and health-care, play a marginally larger role here than in Norway.<sup>125</sup>

#### 4.1.4 Comparison of the social characteristics of the volunteers

##### More men than women do voluntary work in both countries

In both Germany and Norway the data suggests that men participate more than women in voluntary work. As Figure 5 illustrates, 41,5% of women in Germany engaged voluntarily, compared to 45,7% of the men.<sup>126</sup> Whilst in Norway, 58% of the total female population, and 64% of the male population volunteered.<sup>127</sup>

Figure 5. Percentage of woman and men doing voluntary work in Germany and Norway, 2014



Source: FWS 2014, Simonson et al., 93; Frivillig innsats 1998-2014, Folkestad et al., 45.

In Germany, the gap between male and female participation holds a difference of 4,2 percent points, whereas the difference is a bit bigger in Norway, with 6 percent points. Priller reasons the fact that more men participate in voluntary work in Germany with men more often taking on voluntary board positions compared to women.<sup>128</sup> Whereas the Norwegian survey discloses that more men than woman participate as volunteers in sports, and that the level of voluntary engagement is equal amongst the genders elsewhere.<sup>129</sup>

##### People aged 30 to 49 volunteer the most in both countries

<sup>125</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.10, nr.440-442.

<sup>126</sup> Simonson, Vogel and Tesch-Römer, *Der Deutsche Freiwilligensurvey 2014*, 93.

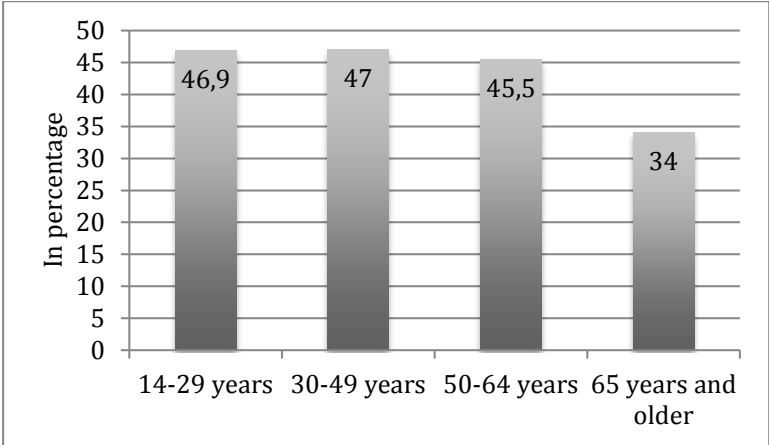
<sup>127</sup> Folkestad et al., *Frivillig innsats i Norge 1998-2014 – Kva kjenneteikner dei frivillige og kva har endra seg?*, 45.

<sup>128</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.11, nr.507-510.

<sup>129</sup> Folkestad et al., *Frivillig innsats i Norge 1998-2014 – Kva kjenneteikner dei frivillige og kva har endra seg?*, 39.

In the German survey, respondents were divided into four age groups; 14-29 years of age, 30-49, 50-64, and 65 years and older. According to the findings, the age group with the most volunteers in 2014 was the group of adults aged 30-49, at 47%, closely followed by the group of young adults aged 14-29 years, with 46,9% participation.<sup>130</sup>

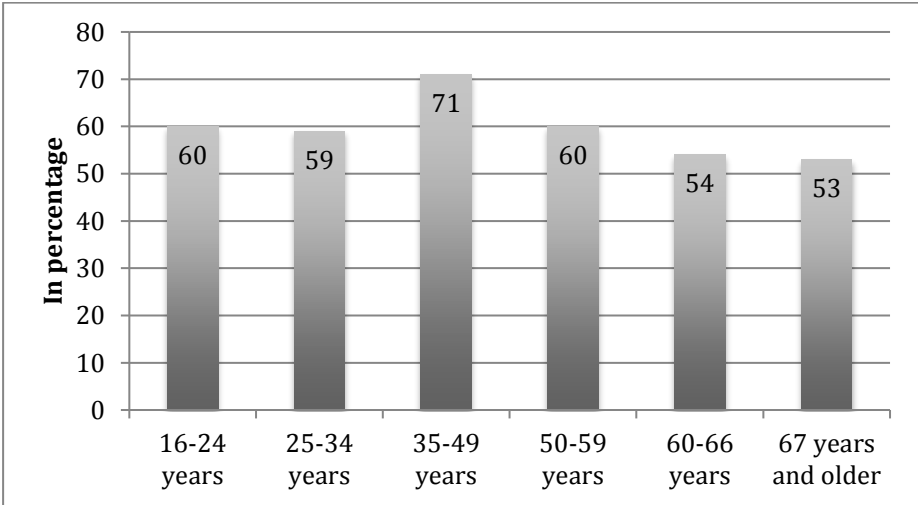
**Figure 6. Shares of volunteers in Germany in 2014, by age**



Source: FWS 2014, Simonson, Vogel and Tesch-Römer, 93.

In the Norwegian survey, the respondents were divided into six age groups; 16-24, 25-34, 35-49, 50-59, 60-66 and 67 years and older. Figure 7 shows that the age group that did the most voluntary work was the group aged 35-49. 71% of the Norwegian population aged 35-49 years responded to having participated with voluntary work in 2014.<sup>131</sup>

**Figure 7. Shares of volunteers in Norway in 2014, by age**



Source: Frivillig innsats 1998-2014, Folkestad et al., 37.

<sup>130</sup> Simonson, Vogel and Tesch-Römer, *Der Deutsche Freiwilligensurvey 2014*, 16.

<sup>131</sup> Folkestad et.al., *Frivillig innsats i Norge 1998-2014 – Kva kjenneteikner dei frivillige og kva har endra seg?*, 38.

The methodological differences, and the fact that there are variations within the groups as well<sup>132</sup>, make a direct comparison between the countries impossible. Nevertheless, based on the findings from the surveys, the overall picture shows that people aged 30 to 49 tend to volunteer the most in both countries.

#### 4.1.5 Work or engagement: Terms used for volunteerism

The interviews conducted with the researchers at the different research institutes in Germany and Norway showed that they all apply the same definition of voluntary work, from ILO, in accordance with the stated definition for this thesis, described in chapter 2. However, although the researchers all defined the concept of volunteerism the same way, it should be observed that there was an interesting distinction between Germany and Norway in the terms used to describe it. In Germany they try to avoid using the term “work” when talking about voluntarism, whilst “voluntary work” is the common term in Norway.

According to Priller, the reason they avoid the term work in Germany is that they wish to make a clear separation between unpaid and paid work, and see it as a challenge that the term “work” is associated with economic or other compensation and benefits.<sup>133</sup> He highlights that Germans in fact have a number of different terms associated with volunteerism, all of which avoid using the word “work”<sup>134</sup>.<sup>135</sup> For instance, a common way to address volunteerism is by using the term “Bürgerschaftliches Engagement” (civic engagement), which, according to the expert, gained popularity through the German Enquete-Kommission Zukunft des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements<sup>136</sup> (the Commission of Inquiry). “Zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement”, “freiwilliges engagement” (volunteerism), “Ehrenamtliches Engagement” or just “Ehrenamt” are other terms which are frequently used in Germany<sup>137</sup>, which, in the words of Priller, “...despite small differences in the meaning of the terms, they are often applied to describe the same thing”<sup>138</sup>.<sup>139</sup> The Norwegian experts on the other hand do not consider the

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.1, nr.20-25.

<sup>134</sup> It must be noted that the term “freiwilligenarbeit” (voluntary work) does occur in the German literature, for example in More-Hollerweger and Rameder’s work *Freiwilligenarbeit in Nonprofit-Organisationen* (Voluntary work in Nonprofit-Organizations) in Badelt 2013 (pp. 381-399), but according to Priller they try to avoid using it (see Appendix 3, p.1, nr.20-25).

<sup>135</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.1, nr.20-25.

<sup>136</sup> In 1999, the German Bundestag decided to establish the Commission of Inquiry Future of civic engagement. Their goal was to promote civic engagement in Germany (Deutscher Bundestag 2002, Drucksache 14/8900).

<sup>137</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.1, nr.6-11.

<sup>138</sup> The original quote in German: “...auch wenn kleine unterschiede da sind, werden die ganze Begriffsschiene oft in einen Topf geworfen.”

<sup>139</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.2, nr.77-78.

term “work” problematic, but instead views its usage as an acknowledgement of the activity carried out. Hence, the term “frivillig arbeid” (voluntary work) is the most common used terminology, and in fact only generally accepted terminology, used in Norway.<sup>140</sup> This justification complies with the one of the ILO, who by using the term “work” also wishes to acknowledge the work that is being done. Interestingly, when defining what voluntary work actually entails, despite the use of different terminologies, there was a common understanding between all the informants that voluntary work is something that matches the definition of the ILO’s Manual on the Measurement of volunteer Work.

## **4.2 Defining the major differences and explaining their origin**

According to the empirical findings, the major differences that crystalize from the comparison of the voluntary sectors in Germany and Norway are the following:

- The terms used to define and describe voluntary work in the two countries differ
- The share of volunteers is larger in Norway than in Germany
- Voluntary work takes on different functions in the two countries

Furthermore, the findings suggest that there are no major differences in the gender composition of the volunteers. Men volunteer slightly more than woman in both countries. Due to the methodological differences in the exploration of the age composition, this cannot be directly compared between the countries. Nonetheless, the overall picture demonstrates that the age groups doing most voluntary work are fairly similar in Germany and Norway. Although some smaller differences in the mentioned social characteristics can be found, these will not be included in the discussion, as they do not comply with the thesis’ definition of *major differences*, as stated in the research questions.

### **4.2.1 Historical and cultural reasons for the different shares of volunteers**

“Together with Sweden, the participation in voluntary work in Norway is the highest in the world”.<sup>141</sup> This statement, belonging to Morten Johansen, can in his opinion be brought down to a peculiar Norwegian mindset, which reads: “we get together and we fix this”.<sup>142</sup> A mindset, which he explains, stems from a long historical tradition of grassroots movements. “People participated in order to address certain issues in the society”.<sup>143</sup> Daniel Arnesen also stresses the importance of the movements, such as the farmer-movement, sobriety-movement, worker-movements and those related to the struggle of independence, in contrib-

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<sup>140</sup> Appendix 1 (Daniel Arnesen), p.2, nr.64-68 and Appendix 2 (Morten Johansen), p.1, nr.36-39.

<sup>141</sup> Appendix 2 (Morten Johansen), p.2, nr.45-46.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p.2, nr.48.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p.2, nr.49.



uting to shape today's collective identity.<sup>144</sup> He also acknowledges the importance of the Lutheran culture, which he says is about doing hard work and contributing as a good citizen, for creating the egalitarian society that he says Norway is characterized by.<sup>145</sup> Arnesen also mentions a cultural skepticism towards philanthropy as a reason for why voluntary work became so important. According to him, the skepticism was based on the idea that "it is more important to contribute with effort, instead of money"<sup>146</sup>, since philanthropy got immediately associated with the class struggle.<sup>147</sup> Following what Arnesen refers to as the "norm of equality"<sup>148</sup>, Johansen furthermore highlights the egalitarian tradition and culture in Norway, and explains it by linking it to voluntary work in sports. Johansen explains that in order to prevent divisions in class backgrounds, for instance having only the upper class affording to play a particular sport like football, parents and other people would come together and contribute voluntarily by painting the club house or shoveling snow from the fields, to keep the membership fees low and accessible for all.<sup>149</sup> "This is a concept that mirrors the Norwegian society as a whole, it's a fairly egalitarian society".<sup>150</sup> Johansen further argues that the fact that Norway has a rather flat class structure, and is less hierarchical than he predicts Germany to be, means that people find it easier to organize and get together to achieve common goals.<sup>151</sup> Another interesting point regarding volunteers in Norway is that despite the share of volunteers being high, a lot of Norwegians, as Johansen points out, do not consider themselves as doing voluntary work, even though they are. "Most of the people in Norway think that less than 40% are doing voluntary work, which shows that Norwegians don't have a strong self-identity with volunteering".<sup>152</sup> Both Arnesen and Johansen views the fact that a large share of the population participates as something embedded in the Norwegian egalitarian culture, and thus not something citizens feel the need to label. "...in previous decades it was just a given that people volunteered. It wasn't really questioned whether they volunteered or not, because everyone did it".<sup>153</sup>

The Norwegian experts furthermore stress the importance and tradition of the so-called "dugnad". There is no direct translation of the Norwegian term "dugnad", but the word describes a concept of volunteerism where people from the same neighborhood, sports club or

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<sup>144</sup> Appendix 1 (Daniel Arnesen), p.8, nr.340-342.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p.9, nr.414-420.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p.10, nr.425.

<sup>149</sup> Appendix 2 (Morten Johansen), p.3, nr.90-95.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p.3, nr.95-96.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p.4, nr.138-140.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., p.2, nr.54-57.

<sup>153</sup> Appendix 1 (Daniel Arnesen), p.3, nr.101-102.

workplace come together to create, prepare or repair something in collective cooperation.<sup>154</sup> As opposed to “community work days”, which is common in nations like the United States, the dugnad-activity is not regarded as voluntary work, but rather as a fundamental responsibility that all citizens have to participate for the common good. The activities can span widely, but typical activities include mowing the lawn outside an apartment building or preparing a clubhouse for a new sports season. “Dugnad” was elected the national word for the year 2004, and is the word that is considered to best describe what is “typically Norwegian”.<sup>155</sup> The fact that “dugnad” won, in the words of Arnesen “...says a lot about what Norwegian culture is”.<sup>156</sup> It is also important to note that “dugnad” is a social setting, not just an activity.

In order to get to know someone, you need to do it in a certain context. The Norwegian experts describe Norwegians as being relatively “cold” people, and “difficult to get to know”<sup>157</sup>, whilst simultaneously, generally speaking, constituting a people that likes being associated with one another.<sup>158</sup> Voluntary work in this sense plays a great role as a socialization platform. “If you want to get to know people here, you need to do it in a certain context. In that sense voluntary organizations are important social arenas for people to get to know each other. That is a basic sociological insight from me as a sociologist”.<sup>159</sup> As accentuated by Johansen, people in Norway usually socialize within a context and that they prefer “...getting together and get something done”.<sup>160</sup> “When a lot of people think that way, others have to do it as well”.<sup>161</sup>

The assumption that people in Norway are more community oriented than in Germany, which in turn can lead to more voluntary work, is something that the German sociologist and economist, Eckhard Priller, agrees with. He mentions the different levels of trust, shared values, historical backgrounds and the different sizes of the countries as important factors for why the share of volunteerism differs.<sup>162</sup> “In Germany there has been a series of fractures in the

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<sup>154</sup> UN Volunteers, *State of the world's volunteerism report 2011* (2011), p.2, Box.1.1: Traditional forms of volunteerism.

<sup>155</sup> “Typically Norwegian” (Typisk Norsk) is a Norwegian TV-show hosted by the state channel NRK. Each year the TV-show hosted an election where the Norwegian people could vote for the word they found “typically Norwegian”. See Nordugnad, *Hva er egentlig dugnad?*, Accessed July 2, 2016, [www.nordugnad.no/hva-er-egentlig-dugnad](http://www.nordugnad.no/hva-er-egentlig-dugnad).

<sup>156</sup> Appendix 1 (Daniel Arnesen), p.4, nr.156-159.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., nr.144.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., nr.145-147.

<sup>160</sup> Appendix 2 (Morten Johansen), p.2, nr. 52.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., p.5, nr.193.

<sup>162</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.15, nr. 698-711.

level of voluntary work, as a result of the country's history"<sup>163</sup>, he insists, pointing to Nazism and the GDR as such historical events. "The people that engaged voluntarily during the Nazism all of a sudden disappeared"<sup>164, 165</sup> and also after the reunification in 1989, the level of volunteerism in East Germany heavily decreased.<sup>166</sup> According to him, there are still big differences between the former East- and West Germany.<sup>167</sup> Priller sees the history of the level of voluntary work in Norway as a far more linear, raising curve, whereas the German one consists of more "ups and downs".<sup>168</sup> As an additional factor that potentially could explain the differences in shares of volunteers, Priller mentions the differences in population density in Germany and Norway<sup>169</sup>, referring to the fact that Norway is bigger than Germany in size, but holds a far smaller population. "In Germany, we also have the situation that there are more voluntary workers in the rural areas, because if they don't do something, nothing will happen"<sup>170, 171</sup>

#### **4.2.2 Why Germans and Norwegians volunteer in different topical areas**

The experts have fairly similar presumptions of why voluntary work in Germany to a bigger extent is carried out within the service functions than in Norway, relating intimately to the histories and development of the two states. Priller draws connections to what he describes as "the crisis of the German social state" after the reunification<sup>172</sup>, when a lot of the social services got relocated from the state to the voluntary welfare associations in the third sector.<sup>173</sup> "...that is the reason for the service-field being so important in voluntary engagement"<sup>174, 175</sup> According to Priller, a further historical distinction is the separation between the church and state, whereupon the church benefited from being active in the welfare area.<sup>176</sup> "It is an opportunity to create a positive image in society"<sup>177, 178</sup> Priller further explains that the German

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> The original quote in German: "Die Leute die sich im Nationalsozialismus engagiert hatten, waren mit einem Mal weg vom Fenster."

<sup>165</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.15, nr.699-700.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p.13, nr.604-607.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., p.15, nr.700-703.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., nr.706-707.

<sup>170</sup> The original quote in German: "Wir haben in Deutschland auch die Situation, dass wir in ländliche Regionen auch mehr Engagement haben, weil wenn man nichts selber macht, passiert auch nichts."

<sup>171</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.15, nr.706-709.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p.5, nr.204.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p.12, nr.543.

<sup>174</sup> Original quote in German: "...dadurch hat der Dienstleistungsbereich einen hohen Stellenwert im Engagement bekommen."

<sup>175</sup> Appendix 3 (Eckhard Priller), p.12, nr.544-545.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p.12, nr.546-547.

<sup>177</sup> Original quote in German: "Das ist ja die Möglichkeit ein positives Image in der Bevölkerung zu bekommen."

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., p.12, nr.548-550.

welfare state indirectly has played a role in determining the sectors of voluntary participation through financial support provided to certain areas. There are some gaps in the social sector that the government attempts to fill by encouraging the building of the right infrastructure and creating good conditions for voluntarism.<sup>179</sup> According to Priller, there have been many debates in Germany concerning the use of voluntary work as a gap-filler.<sup>180</sup>

The services that in Germany to a certain extent has been relocated to the third sector, such as health-care services, are to a large extent provided by the state in Norway, which in turn leaves little space and need for voluntary work.<sup>181</sup> As in the case of Germany, Norway's history has played a big role in the development of the national voluntary sector, however it affected the state and voluntarism in a rather different direction than in Germany. Arnesen describes how in the 1950s, when the welfare state was first developed, certain important organizations, such as the Norwegian Woman's Public Health Association, were pushing for the state to take greater responsibility in delivering welfare services, and how in many cases the state took over tasks that earlier were attended to by organizations.<sup>182</sup> Voluntary organizations were important advocates for the public authority taking over the responsibility in delivering welfare- and health services. Today there are ongoing debates regarding whether non-profit organizations would be better suited to take care of certain welfare tasks, however the majority of the population still believes that these types of services should be provided by the state.<sup>183</sup> Next to the welfare state, both Arnesen and Johansen presume that Norway's oil wealth and the fact that the society became more affluent in the 1960s were further factors that played a role in the development of voluntary work with more expressive functions.<sup>184</sup>

## **5 The explanatory power of Esping-Andersen's typology**

As explored in the theoretical chapter, Gösta Esping-Andersen created the welfare typology based on variations in what he identifies as the three pillars of welfare: family, state and market. He emphasizes the historical development of a country in shaping the current welfare state, something this thesis' findings suggests has played a key role also in the shaping voluntary sector. The comparison of voluntary work in Germany and Norway identified three major differences: 1) the countries use different terms to address and describe voluntary work, 2) the share of volunteers is higher in Norway than in Germany, and 3) the volunteers in the two countries operate in different sectors. Based on the characteristics of Esping-

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p.14, nr.645-653.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., p.13, nr.580-586.

<sup>182</sup> Appendix 1 (Daniel Arnesen), p.6, nr.230-233.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p.6, nr.247-249.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., p.8, nr.369-370.

Andersen's conservative-corporatist welfare regime and the social-democratic welfare regime this chapter will use his typology to explain these differences.

### 5.1 Different terminology: A question concerning status differentials?

As seen in Table 4, an essential characteristic of the conservative-corporatist regime type is the preservation of status differentials, a feature that does not apply to the social democratic type.

**Table 4. The characteristics of the conservative-corporatist welfare regime and the social-democratic welfare regime, by Esping-Andersen**

Conservative-corporatist welfare regime	Social-democratic welfare regime
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preservation of status differentials</li> <li>• State interferes when family fails</li> <li>• Private welfare services of marginal role</li> <li>• National conservatism</li> <li>• Preservation of tradition family-hood</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Universal benefits</li> <li>• State is proactive</li> <li>• State offers high level of benefits, crowding out market</li> <li>• Stimulates married woman to work</li> <li>• High level of redistribution</li> </ul>

Source: Based on Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*.

The fact that social rights and benefits depend on a person's status in the corporatist-conservative regime, could explain why it is seen as more important to distinguish between unpaid and paid work in Germany than it is in Norway, as such differentiation can play an important role in circumventing certain expectations amongst the volunteers. The rights received as a paid worker exceed the reception of a monetary salary, and separating work from volunteering emphasizes not only that the remuneration of one activity and non-remuneration of another, but that one group has greater rights than the other. Although this rights differential can be found within the social democratic regime as well, it is less marked. For instance, an employer in a corporatist-conservative regime has the obligation to include specific rights in the labor contract. In Germany, 50% of a worker's social insurance is paid by the organization they work for<sup>185</sup>, whereas in the social democratic regime, public health insurance is provided regardless of one's labor status. Even though the term voluntary work does appear in the German literature, the interviews conducted demonstrate how German scholars and professionals try to avoid using the term when describing volunteerism, whilst it

<sup>185</sup> Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz, *Sozialgesetzbuch §20 (2) SGB IV* (From 23.12.1976). Accessed July 2, 2016, [https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/sgb\\_4/\\_20.html](https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/sgb_4/_20.html).

is the common term to address the activity in Norway. The fact that the social democratic regime provides universal benefits can be seen as an explaining factor for why the term voluntary work is viewed as unproblematic to use in Norway.

The welfare regime's emphasis on status-differentials and universalism can be said to have had an effect on cultural values and mentality, beyond differentiating social benefits. With regards to the difference in the terms used for voluntary work in Germany and Norway, the findings stated in chapter 4 clearly demonstrate labeling an activity that is being undertaken is less important in Norway than in Germany. This reflects Arnesen sentiments that Norwegians do not have a strong self-identity with volunteering, as well as the lack of other available terms to address voluntary work. Germany, on the other hand, operates with many different terms to describe this activity. As highlighted by Priller, one of the most frequently used terms is the word "Ehrenamt", directly translated into "honorary position". The term actually stems from the Prussian reforms, which stipulated that citizens were obliged to function as "Ehrenamtliche" without receiving a compensation<sup>186</sup>, but is today used to address various forms of volunteering. The fact that the term "honorary position" has been transmitted into daily life and everyday speech, can be seen as a national cultural emphasis on the positive status associated with this type of work.

Moreover, a further explanation of the different terms used can be drawn from the differences in how the regimes traditionally has facilitated and encouraged female labor participation. Feminist voices in academia have long argued that work should not be exclusively understood as paid work, encouraging the recognition of activities concerning household and childcare as work as well.<sup>187</sup> Whilst a historic characteristic of the conservative-corporatist regime is the preservation of traditional family-hood, the social democratic welfare regime has stimulated married woman and mothers to work. Avoiding the use of the term work to characterize unpaid activities –be it voluntary work or household activities - could arguably be seen as a way to preserve the historical exclusivity of the formal workplace, as well as a traditional understanding of family-hood. In this sense, the Norwegian use of work to describe unpaid activities could be seen in relation to the State's social welfare policies aimed at promoting female labor participation, by taking over welfare tasks that traditionally has fallen on women, such as childcare. This entails a tacit recognition of the work undertaken in the

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<sup>186</sup> Joachim Winkler et al., *Über das Ehrenamt. Wismarer Schriften zu Management und Recht* (Bremen: Europäischer Hochschulverlag GmbH & Co. KG, 2011), 26.

<sup>187</sup> Gisela Notz, *Zum Begriff der Arbeit aus feministischer Perspektive* (In *Emanzipation*, 1, Nr.1, Spring 2011), n.p.

home. In fact, equality in Norway largely builds on the political will to see links between working life, family, welfare and equality.<sup>188</sup>

## 5.2 High share of volunteers: A result of a universalistic regime?

The social democratic welfare type is characterized by universalism, with comprehensive benefits and low levels of inequality. Norwegian citizens pay relatively high taxes, and are willing to do so because of a belief in reciprocity—an acknowledgement that they will be repaid for their efforts in healthcare or retirement benefits<sup>189</sup>—and a desire to finance the universal benefits they value. The fact that the population is willing to pay high taxes to finance the universal benefits can in turn be understood as having an important impact on the sense of unity, as described by the Norwegian experts in the previous chapter. The emphasis on universalism and equality in Norway, compared to a conservative-corporatist state type concerned with status in Germany, can be seen as an important reason in explaining the different levels of volunteerism in the two. As seen in chapter 4, the largest share of voluntary work in Norway is carried out within the areas of sports and culture, where the Norwegian “dugnad” plays an important role. Seeking to keep membership fees low, people come together and work for free, to make recreational activities accessible to all. This reflects the egalitarianism that Esping-Andersen identifies as a key promoter of the welfare state. On the same note, the more hierarchical German societal structure, could, as pointed to by the experts, make it harder for people to get together and organize, as the importance of status might promote a more fragmented society.

Despite of this, comparing the social democratic and the conservative-corporatist regimes, of Norway and Germany respectively, it could be seen as a paradox that Norway has a higher share of volunteers than Germany. One could easily be led to believe that having a state that provides extensive social benefits suggest that the system leaves little room for volunteers, and that such a state hence has a smaller voluntary sector than a conservative/corporatist state like Germany, where big parts of the delivery of social services is left to the third sector. However, as seen in chapter 4, although there are some evidence of a crowding-out effect, it has, in the case of Norway, only affected volunteerism in service-functions. The fact that 61% of the Norwegian population volunteers further indicates that regime type alone cannot explain the difference in participation in voluntary work in Germany and Norway.

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<sup>188</sup> Barne-, Likestillings- og Inkluderingsdepartementet, *Likestilling 2014, Regjeringens handlingsplan for likestilling mellom kjønnene* (2014).

<sup>189</sup> Appendix 1 (Daniel Arnesen), p.5, nr.195-203.

### 5.3 Influence of the welfare regime on the areas of voluntary work

However, Esping-Andersen's typology proves very useful in explaining the major difference found in the comparison of the voluntary sectors in Germany and Norway, namely the fact that more people volunteer in the service functions in Germany, than they do in Norway. As previously discussed, the fact that the social-democratic regime provides a greater scope of social benefits, and the Norwegian state's strong role in welfare service provisions, could explain why volunteers are much less active in the service functions in Norway compared to in Germany. Rather than waiting until the family fails, as in the conservative-corporatist regime, the social democratic welfare regime is proactive and seeks to constitute the primary assistance agency. Due to the importance of universalism in the social democratic type, the state is concerned with offering all citizens the same services, something that would be less likely achieved if these tasks became outsourced or relocated to private actors and nonprofit organizations. The value of predictability in the quality and reception of services could also be seen as a reason for why voluntary activity is not as welcomed in the welfare provision sector in Norway.

The fact that citizens pay high taxes for the public services could furthermore create resentments towards volunteerism within the service-field, as the citizens already pay the state to take care of this and expect it to do so effectively. This notion was shared by German expert Priller, who expressed a certain degree of skepticism towards using volunteers to fill the gaps that the state leaves open, due to the potential free-pass this gives the State.<sup>190</sup> Using the German concept of a Tafel as an example, he pointed to how strong volunteerism can discourage or hinder the state from taking responsibility over a specific issue.<sup>191</sup> Tafels are run by volunteers, and are places that collect excess food from super markets, restaurants etc., and distribute it to people that are unable to meet their own needs through the marketplace. Critical voices have argued that this type of volunteering contributes to the problem, rather than bringing about a solution, as it enables the state to disclaim its responsibility for the wellbeing of its citizens.<sup>192</sup>

Despite the typology's explanatory power, highlighting why there are less people volunteering in service functions in Norway than in Germany, there is one major characteristic with the German welfare delivery that the typology is unable to explain. Namely, the importance of the voluntary welfare associations, which are neither part of the pillars state or family, nor the private market. In Germany, the voluntary welfare associations hold a central role in the de-

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<sup>190</sup> Appendix 3 (Echard Priller), p.12, nr. 493-505.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., p.10, nr. 460-468.

<sup>192</sup> Berliner Tafel, *Die Kritik an den Tafeln, Nr.1*. Accessed July 2, 2016, <http://www.berliner-tafel.de/berliner-tafel/das-original/die-debatte/die-kritik-an-den-tafeln/#/item/3304>.



livery of both social welfare and health care, which according to Priller also explains why there are more volunteers in the service sector in Germany than in Norway. Whereas the typology characterizes the conservative-corporatist welfare regime by the state first interfering when the family fails, the principles of subsidiarity in Germany says that the state first intervenes when the Non-profit organizations fail.<sup>193</sup> The principle was introduced in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and gives preferences to the voluntary welfare associations to the provision of welfare services.<sup>194</sup> The importance of these welfare associations is central in explaining the overall service-dominance in the civil society in Germany, as seen in Figure 4. In total the six biggest welfare associations<sup>195</sup> accounts for approximately 2,5 to 3 million volunteers, as well as 1,4 million paid workers.<sup>196</sup>

#### **5.4 The voluntary sector as a fourth pillar of welfare production**

Esping-Andersen identifies the state, the market and the family as the three basic components of welfare regimes, providing and allocating welfare services. He leaves the third sector conspicuous by its absence. This is regardless of the fact that voluntary welfare associations often play a key role in delivering certain welfare services, as is the case in Germany. Esping-Andersen, as detailed in the theoretical chapter of this thesis, only first mentioned the voluntary sector in the footnotes in his later work *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*, published nine years after his renowned welfare regime typology. In these footnotes, he acknowledges that the voluntary sector can play a significant role in service delivery, and mentions Germany specifically as an example of a country where "...a large part of health care is, (...), non-profit."<sup>197</sup> The fact that Esping-Andersen justifies leaving out the voluntary sector by claiming it would not make an empirical difference to include it<sup>198</sup>, can be seen as an underestimate on his behalf of the importance of the voluntary sector in countries like Germany. Arguing that "...the lion's share of revenue comes from fees and from public subsidies"<sup>199</sup> Esping-Andersen equates the voluntary sector with a "semi-public delivery agency".<sup>200</sup> Although it in the case of the German voluntary welfare associations is correct that they are largely financed by the state, it can be questioned whether this fact condones put-

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<sup>193</sup> European Commission, *Study on Volunteering in the European Union, National Report – Germany*, (2010), p.1, fn.3.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>195</sup> The six voluntary welfare associations in Germany are: Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO), Deutscher Caritasverband (DCV), Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (DRK), Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband (Der Paritätische), Diakonisches Werk der EKD (DW der EKD) and the Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWST).

<sup>196</sup> Bundesgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege, *Freie Wohlfahrtspflege Deutschland*, n.p. Accessed July 3, 2016, <http://www.bagfw.de/ueber-uns/freie-wohlfahrtspflege-deutschland/>.

<sup>197</sup> Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*, p.35, fn. 2.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p.36, fn. 5.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, p.35, fn. 2.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p.36, fn. 5.

ting equating the third sector with the state. As his justification fails to consider the volunteers themselves, in other words in the case of Germany, the 2,5 to 3 million people volunteering within the welfare associations. These people work with welfare production and delivery without receiving remuneration, and can therefore not be understood as being financed by the state.

The findings from the comparison of the voluntary sectors in Germany and Norway, demonstrate that the argument for adding the voluntary sector as a fourth pillar of welfare production is stronger in the German case than the Norwegian one, as most welfare services are produced and delivered by the state in Norway. Although it is clear that this fourth pillar will be of more relevance to certain regimes than to others, it seems to pinpoint a very relevant and real difference. Furthermore, as mentioned by the experts, there is a considerable ongoing debate in Norway regarding whether it is time to change the welfare system structure. Recent events such as the oil-crisis and the high influx of refugees, have caused pressure on the welfare state, which again has opened up a debate regarding whether or not the state should open up for new welfare providers.<sup>201</sup> Esping-Andersen himself even mentions the pressure on the welfare states, and discusses the necessity of states opening up to new providers in his 2002 work *Why We Need a New Welfare State*.<sup>202</sup> Norwegian volunteer expert Arnesen confirms that both the private marked and the third sector constitute likely options in the Norwegian case.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, Table 3 (see p.28), exploring voluntary work in Norway by the topical areas in which they work, did indeed show a slight increase in voluntary work within the areas of education, health and social services over the past 5 years, which could be an indicator that such a shift has already started taking place. This could imply that a fourth pillar would soon be relevant and appropriate in the case of the social democratic regimes as well, and further supporting the argument for adding the voluntary sector as a fourth pillar of welfare production.

## **6 Final remarks and possible learning opportunities**

The thesis set out to study and explain the major differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway. As has been explored in detail, Germany and Norway have a relatively similar sized civil society workforce from an international perspective, however, when taking a closer look at the voluntary sectors of the two countries notable differences start emerging. In par-

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<sup>201</sup> Appendix 1 (Daniel Arnesen), p.9, nr.398-400.

<sup>202</sup> Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *Towards The Good Society, Once Again?* In Esping-Andersen et al., *Why We Need A New Welfare State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1-25.

<sup>203</sup> Appendix 1 (Daniel Arnesen), pp.5-6, nr.226-240.

ticular with regards to the shares of volunteers and the topical areas in which these work. The major differences identified by this thesis are as follows:

- 1) The countries use different terminologies when addressing voluntary work. Whereas one in Germany avoids using the word “work” to distinguish volunteering from paid work, in Norway the characteristic of volunteering as work is seen as unproblematic;
- 2) The share of volunteers is larger in Norway than in Germany, and;
- 3) The volunteers in Germany are more active in the service sector compared to Norway where the functions of the volunteers are highly expressive dominant.

The typology created by Esping-Andersen is found to partially explain the identified differences, as welfare state regimes are found to impact the differences in voluntary work in the two countries. However, as demonstrated in chapter 5, it fails to serve as a single factor explanation. The thesis clearly finds evidence that the differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway customarily have its foundations in historical and cultural factors, as described by the experts.

With regards to Esping-Andersen’s welfare regime typology, it is important to note that welfare states in the real world are under constant development, whilst a typology is an ideal type. Max Weber describes an ideal type as an analytical construct for theorizing and comparing, stressing that nothing in the real world fits perfectly into an ideal type.<sup>204</sup> The pressure the European welfare states have experienced in the past and are currently experiencing, as a consequence of the international financial crisis, demographical changes and influx of refugees, could lead to changes which pushes the theoretical framework for comparison further apart from reality, thus leaving the categorizations from Esping-Andersen’s typology less clear. In Norway, the current debate concerning whether the state should transfer social tasks to the non-profit sector is an example on such a potential change, which also makes a strong argument for adding a fourth pillar of welfare production as a base for the typology. By adding the voluntary sector, the typology adds a new pillar that relates the typology closer to the reality, under which the role of the welfare state expands and contracts over time. As the welfare state shrinks, the fourth pillar could become more visible and needed. Thus, providing a less static typology. Although there have been some discussions regarding adding a fourth pillar, including Esping-Andersen’s own assessments, this thesis suggests that it would be fruitful to conduct more in depth research dedicated to the topic alone, especially with regards to the future development of welfare distribution in many industrialized countries.

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<sup>204</sup> Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Illinois: The free press of Glencoe, 1949), 90.

Moreover, having explored the differences and the reasons behind these, some areas where the countries hold special expertise and success crystallized, creating possibilities for cross-national exchanges and learning-opportunities. A notable area is that of voluntary service provision. If the Norwegian state decides to transfer a share of the welfare tasks to the voluntary sector, Norway can and should look to Germany, a country that has shown to have broad experience in this arena. The voluntary welfare associations in Germany are very particular from an international perspective, and the cooperation between the German state and the third sector, the professional management of the associations' volunteers, and the recruitment of these to conduct welfare service tasks is something Norway could profit on learning from Germany. Conversely, Norway is an international forerunner when it comes to the country's high share of volunteers, a resource that Germany could potentially benefit from expanding. Unfortunately in this case, as the thesis has shown, the high share of volunteers in Norway is largely a result of an egalitarian mindset amongst the people deeply embedded in the country's history and culture, which makes it difficult to pin-point the success to a specific measure. The history of the mass movements, the Lutheran culture and the tradition of *dugnad* are all very country-specific factors to Norway, and therefore also hard to transfer to Germany. Nonetheless, when looking at the positive impact that the *dugnads* have in Norway, with repercussions beyond getting a neighborhood cleaned or keeping sport membership fees low, implementing a similar concept in Germany could be fruitful for raising the country's share of volunteers. By adjusting the concept to be less frequent than in Norway, and emphasizing the social aspect of it, the implementation of the measure seems realistic. The benefits of implementing a social activity such as "dugnads" in Germany could perhaps contribute to enhance the feeling of unity and fellowship, as it does in Norway, which have also shown to have a positive impact on voluntarism.

To conclude, this thesis finds that the differences in voluntary work in Germany and Norway have led to specialized competence in each country, which the other country could benefit from learning. Furthermore despite of all the differences found regarding voluntary work in Germany and Norway, this thesis finds that the countries have one major thing in common: volunteerism is immensely important for both nations, and constitutes a crucial part of the national fabric.

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## Appendices

Note: Appendix 1-3 *Transcription interviews* are available on request to the author (nina.antonov@hotmail.com)

### Appendix 4. The semi-structured interview guide

#### **TOPIC SECTION 1 – DEFINITIONS AND UNDERSTANDING**

1. How would you define “voluntary work”?
2. How do you think people in general in Germany/Norway define voluntary work?
3. What are the terms used for describing voluntary work in Germany/Norway?

#### **TOPIC SECTION 2 – THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR AND VOLUNTARY WORK IN GERMANY/NORWAY**

4. What role does voluntary work play in Germany/Norway? What advantages does it have?
5. Do you see any disadvantages with voluntary work in Germany/Norway?
6. What are the special features/characteristics in voluntary work in Germany/Norway in an international perspective?
  - a. Where does Germany/Norway differ from other countries, especially from Norway/Germany?
7. Is there, from your perspective, any characteristics with Germany/Norway that have had an effect on voluntary work? In positive or negative way. (Culture, history, structure etc.)

#### **Questions for the German experts:**

8. According to the Johns Hopkins-Study the civil society workforce in Germany work with activities that are defined as service functions. What do you think is the reason?
9. According to the Johns Hopkins-Study Germanys voluntary sector has a higher level of paid employment (with 59,6%) than volunteers (40,4%). Why do you think that is?
  - a. In Norway, according to the same study, it is the other way around. Can you say something about that?
10. The findings in the “Freiwilligensurveys” show that the share of volunteers in Germany has increased with about 10 percent points the last 15 years. What do you think is the reason for that?
  - a. Do you think this trend will continue?
11. What adjustments or action should be undertaken to further increase the share of volunteers? And should it be a goal?

#### **Questions for the Norwegian experts:**

12. According to the rapport “Fra medlembaserte organisasjoner til koordinert frivillighet?”, Norway has the highest rates for volunteers world wide. Why is that?
13. According to the Johns Hopkins-Study, the voluntary sector in Norway consists of a higher rate of volunteers (with 63% - when they have been calculated into full-time-equivalents) than paid workers (37%). These figures are quite unusual in an international perspective. What do you think is the reason behind that?
14. What do you think is the reason for the voluntary sector in Norway mainly engaging in activities defined as „expressive functions“?
  - a. There has been a noticeable increase in voluntary work within health care and in the health-sector in Norway. Why?



15. According to the Norwegian rapport, voluntary work is gradually increasing. At least from the year 2004 and 2014. What adjustments or actions should be undertaken in order for there to be even more volunteers in Norway?
16. Should it be a goal to have as many volunteers as possible? Or do you believe there is a "roof"?

### **TOPIC SECTION 3 – SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS**

17. Is it expected in the German/Norwegian society that people do voluntary work?
18. What are the general thoughts on volunteering in Germany/Norway?
  - a. Are people positive minded to it?
19. Is it possible to describe some values for Germany/Norway? (What does Germany/Norway stand for?)
20. Is there a strong sense of trust amongst the German/Norwegian people?
  - a. Is the country split, or is there a sense of unity?
21. Would you say that the norms of reciprocity are strong in Germany/Norway?
  - a. If Person A buys Person B dinner, is it expected of Person B to buy person A dinner another time?
22. Does Germany/Norway as a country possess a high level of Social Capital?
  - a. Do you have any thoughts on how this is in Norway/Germany?

### **TOPIC SECTION 4 - HISTORY**

23. Are there any „events“ in the German/Norwegian history that have had an effect on voluntary work in Germany/Norway today?
  - a. The rates on volunteers, where they work etc.?
24. What role does/has the history of Germany/Norway played on volunteerism today?

### **TOPIC SECTION 5 – THE WELFARE REGIME**

25. Would you still define Germany as conservative-corporatist/ Norway as social-democratic, as Gösta-Esping Andersen does in his typology?
26. What role does the state play on voluntary work?
  - a. Has the role changed over time? (Less grants from the state for example?)

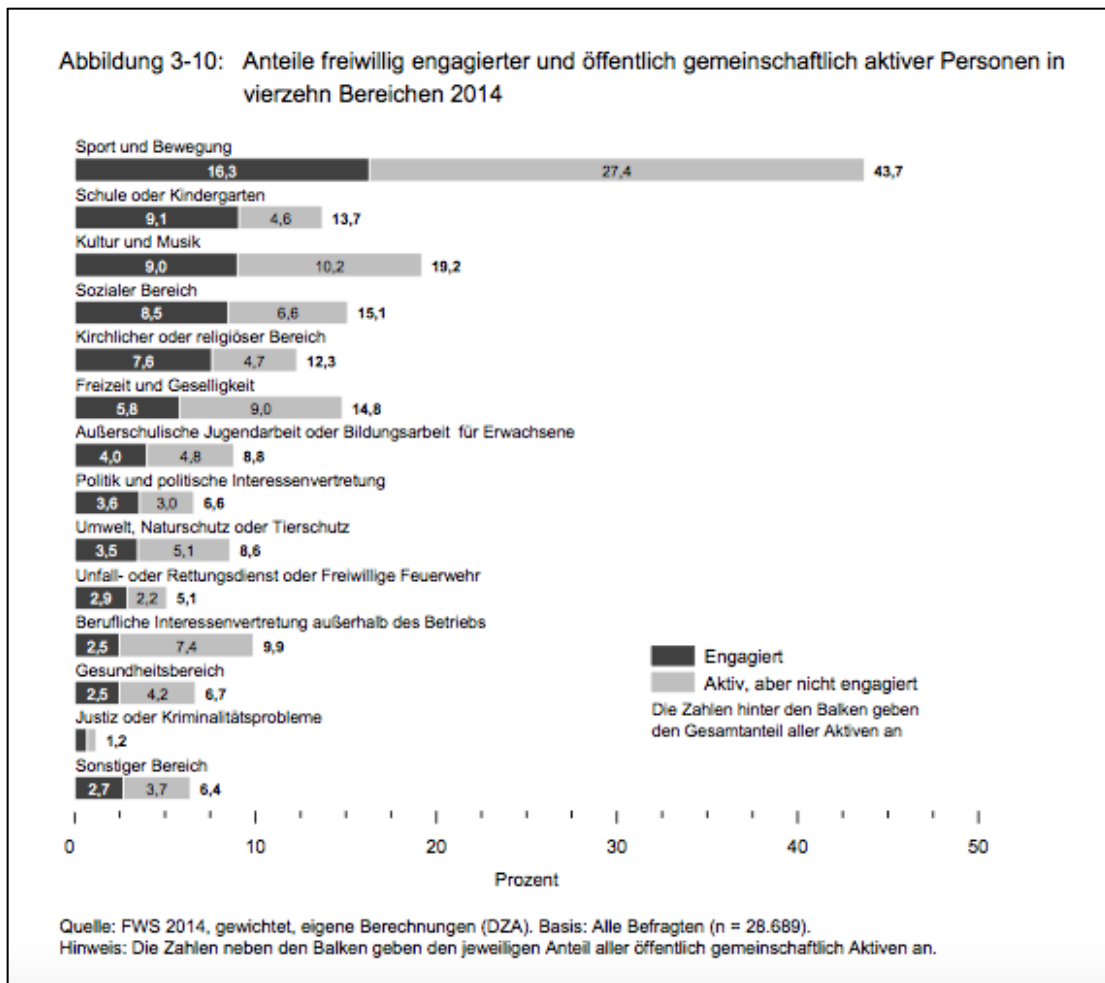
### **TOPIC SECTION 6 – IN COMPARISON**

27. What is particular about the German/Norwegian voluntary sector in an International perspective?
28. What would you say, or what do you think, are the main differences between voluntary work in Germany and Norway?
29. What are the most important factors to compare in your view when looking at similarities and differences in voluntary work in the two countries?
30. Do you think the countries can learn from each other?

### **TOPIC SECTION 7 – DEVELOPMENT AND CHALLENGES**

31. Where do you see the greatest changes and challenges in voluntary work in Germany/Norway today?
  - a. Social media, online activism, changed patterns in volunteering?
32. What challenges do you see in comparing voluntary work in two nations?
33. Are you under the impression that European countries are getting more and more similar?
34. Is there anything else you think we should talk about?

## Appendix 5. Table of voluntary work by organizational types in Germany (original)



Source: Simonson, Vogel and Tesch-Römer, *Der Deutsche Freiwilligensurvey 2014*, p. 110.

Appendix 6. Table of voluntary work by organizational types in Norway (original)

*Tabell 5. Frivillig arbeid fordelt etter organisasjonstypa, 1998-2014. Prosentdel av befolkninga. Prosent (Fleire svar mogleg).*

	1998	2004	2009	2014
Idrett og sport	19	24	20	25
Velforeiningar, grendelag og nærmiljø	5	19	13	17
Hobby, fritid, utandørsaktivitet og sosiale foreiningar	10	20	13	16
Kunst og kultur, korps og kor	9	10	11	13
Burettslag og bustadbyggjelag	-	8	7	11
Religion og livssyn, inkludert Den norske kirke	7	7	4	9
Utdanning, opplæring og forskning	2	5	5	8
Helse, pleie og redningsarbeid	3	7	4	6
Sosiale tenester og rusmiddelomsorg	6	4	4	6
Internasjonal utveksling, naudhjelp, bistand og menneskerettsarbeid	3	3	3	6
Yrkes-, bransje- og fagforeiningar	9	4	5	6
Natur-, miljø- og dyrevern	1	3	2	5
Politiske parti	3	3	2	4
Andre områder	3	4	2	3
Rettighets-, støtte- og fråhaldsarbeid	3	1	1	2
N (uvekta) =	1693	1235	1579	1921

Kjelde: Frivillig innsats 1998-2014. Prosenttala er vekta.

Source: Folkestad et al., *Frivillig innsats i Norge 1998-2014 – Kva kjenneteikner dei frivillige og kva har endra seg?*, p. 29.

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