THE NEW VOLUNTEERS

the future of civic participation

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MIGROS
culture percentage

Contents

Preface

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For 150 years, contemporary Switzerland has been characterized by the principle of subsidiarity. This "social contract" was included as a principle in the Federal Constitution of 1848. It governs the interaction between state, market and civil society and strengthens self-determination and personal responsibility.

Thus, Switzerland's social and societal model is based on voluntary engagement of the general public. People are committed to the community, assume responsibility for others and thus provided added value for society. They do this, for example, as volunteers in theatre associations, as Red Cross volunteers, as young soccer players' trainers, as local politicians, as attentive neighbours, as fire department volunteers, as participants in citizen science or as Wikipedia editors.

In Switzerland, voluntary participation and civil society are not seen as opposite to the state but as a supplement, as a corrective, if needed, and as a locus of innovation. Whereas the state is primarily responsible for the implementation of legal principles, often the innovative capacity for new impulses is in civic society. Missing public authority resources are not simply substituted with civic engagement, rather civil society actively helps to shape societal change. If we look back on three hundred years of social history in Switzerland,[1] we find that many services which can be traced back to civil society initiatives are today performed by public authorities as a matter of course.

Voluntary work is part of our biography; it stays with us our whole life long. And even if we ourselves are not able to get involved, we still benefit from the fact that others assume this responsibility. In Switzerland, there is no sphere of life which is not substantially influenced by the work of volunteers, associations and militia.

However, mega trends such as flexibility, individualization or mobility change the way we get involved in society. The motives change; temporary and non-binding assignments are increasingly asked for and at the same time the demand for a greater say and codetermination has increased. And the fields of volunteer deployment are changing in the course of digitalization.

In the future we will also need people who show solidarity, who have trust and take responsibility. The "new volunteers" increasingly want to take part in decision-making, not about the "what" but about the "how". They want to organize themselves, experience self-efficacy and shape the world around them as a partner on an equal footing with other people.

The complexity of social challenges is constantly increasing; the corresponding questions cannot be answered from a single perspective. New partnerships between civil society, public authorities and the market are therefore more necessary than ever before - current global issues like digitalization, demographic changes, New Work or climate change need a joint approach.

What is needed for it: a discussion about who can and should undertake which tasks and how claims for dominance can be transformed so that a culture of cooperation comes into existence which is characterized by participation, parity and trust.

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[01] Schumacher, Beatrice (2017): Associations in Switzerland - the Swiss and their Associations. www.vitaminb.ch/publikationen.

Summary

Civil society is essential for Switzerland to function. Associations, non-profit institutions and informal networks undertake important social tasks and responsibilities. The collaboration of citizens also has many positive side-effects. The voluntary networking of society is a social lubricant and the basis for the function of the market and the state. Thus, in communities with greater concentrations of associations the trust between people is greater, the economy grows, and there is less vandalism than there is in societies with few associations.

At present, the forms that civic participation takes are changing. Up to now civil society had largely been organized by means of formal institutions like associations and organizations. Today, the willingness to commit to such rigid structures is decreasing, as our lives are becoming more and more flexible. On the one hand, in terms of geography: We are becoming more mobile; the relationship to the locality is fading. On the other hand, in terms of biography: In our multi-option society, we have more and more possibilities to freely configure our lives. Both of these make us shy away from longer commitments. And both trends will intensify even more in tomorrow's world.

Thus, what will civil society be like in this world? The study "The new volunteers - the future of civic participation" looks into this question. From this analysis, conclusions can also be drawn about how existing institutions - in particular those with declining membership - can constructively attune themselves to the "new volunteers".

Volunteers in general become involved in civic society because they want to do something meaningful. But how does this meaning arise?

In our study we differentiate three factors: "Autonomy", "Social relatedness" and "Efficacy".

Autonomy: Civil society needs breathing spaces. This can be physical spaces, such as brownfields in cities which can be transformed into community gardens or cultural sites or it can be virtual spaces. The government can make sure it prevents these breathing spaces from entering the market (Keyword Net Neutrality). However, it often constrains these breathing spaces with regulations and too little trust.

What is needed therefore is a constructive error culture and more trust. The state, charitable foundations, emergency response organizations and society as a whole must accept risks, setbacks and even misuses. But, the state can also do something to strengthen the trust in a society. Thus, we know from research that a higher level of education leads to greater trust between citizens; the individual examination of social welfare claimants on the other hand lowers mutual trust. Trust can also potentially be promoted by means of digital networking and cooperation. Yet: To what extent profiles, ratings and online IDs in fact increase mutual trust or only lead to more control and fear remains to be seen.

Social relatedness: Most civic engagements start off in local communities. The relationship to the locality is however decreasing in most European countries. Thus, entry opportunities for involvement and participation are also becoming rarer. We therefore have to combine the local with larger frames of reference such as national or global affiliations. National or global campaigns should not lose sight of the local connection: local players should venture to look outside the small-scale box.

Since creating meaning is a collective process, it should be particularly marked in situations where the individual is caught up in something "larger". Rituals and traditions, for example, give individuals the feeling that they are part of something larger. We experience a sense of belonging and see our activity as meaningful. If, by contrast, communities treat their residents like customers, they undermine the emergence of the feeling of belonging.

As a result of individualization, we find it increasingly difficult to commit to a social group. Yet we have a need to belong. In this study we will show that individualization is better than its reputation. We will discuss how individualization can be compatible with belonging. For example in fixed-duration, project-based collaborations, in working together in groups whose members take different roles corresponding to their skills and interests and jointly define rules of cooperation. The decisive element is: The individual must be integrated into the community and be able to help shape it. Modern volunteer activity does not work without participation.

Efficacy: Meaningfulness comes about when one has the feeling that one can make a difference as an individual. We refer to this as experienced efficacy. Volunteers experience efficacy when they can take part in decision-making about the "why", that is, the aims, not just about the "how", that is, the way to achieve this aim. The "why" can be lost when volunteers have to primarily carry out administrative tasks. Administrative tasks can therefore also be passed on to the market. Besides, volunteers should tackle with tasks which are challenging for them and make learning experiences possible. Routine undermines the feeling of meaningfulness.

At least as important for civic engagement is the accessibility of engagement and participation. Many people do not get involved simply because they don't know where. That is why networking is important and it is easier to achieve due to the internet. With Wikipedia articles, YouTube videos, forum entries, online ratings, in short, with Web 2.0, we now find ourselves digitally in a golden age of civic participation. Digital platforms also make cooperation easier in the analogue world.

This study will give a systematic overview of platforms which promote cooperation. We will distinguish whether there are clearly defined suppliers and demanders for services. The internet dissolves the classical difference between sender and recipient. Accordingly, it seems appropriate that the classical difference between helper and helped should be digitally broken down in favour of self-organized participation.

The chief focus of this study will be on the question of which tasks will be performed in future by civil society. In this, we will consider civil society in its interaction with the state and the market. Consequently it is important to understand which task can be taken over by the state and by the market.

The state undertakes tasks which it considers important for all members of society, such as school education or health care. However, due to progress, more tasks have become a necessity. The more that is possible, the more also becomes necessary. So, even school education is not always seen as a necessity. In order to maintain cohesion the state is taking on more and more necessities. The market in turn takes on tasks if they are paid for and the payments are billable. Due to the digital quantification of the world,

more things can be exactly measured. Because of that, more tasks can be billed and financially rewarded. Why would you let someone live with you for free, when it can be financially compensated using Airbnb?

When the distribution of tasks between state, market and civil society is being discussed, a competitive situation is often assumed. If the state takes over something then civil society no longer needs to be active. And it seems intuitively right that a stronger state can undermine the people's personal responsibility, or respectively a weak state promotes civic self-organization. If the state provides a great deal of social support, you would expect less volunteer social engagement. Whereas statistical analysis of several European countries has shown: A strong state, measured by its social expenditure, goes together with a great deal of civic engagement. There is no empirical evidence for a competition between state, market and civil society.

It is to be expected that in future more tasks will be taken over by the market. Many tasks which are today shouldered by volunteers will in future be taken care of by robots. That is not a problem if civil society is not seen as a collection of free labour, that is, so to speak as robots.

We should speak of participation rather than volunteer work. In participation there is no distinction between those who give and receive help. There are only participants who approach problems together or explore breathing spaces, who discuss aims together instead of just fulfilling assigned tasks. Participation cannot simply be delegated to the market or robots. Seen this way, the exploration of breathing spaces does not follow competitive logic. It is a matter of exploring potentials and not of righting wrongs.

Such a potential orientation is based more on the thought "that's something we could do" than "someone ought to do something about that" which is often the case with wrongs.

The new volunteers are participative and potential-oriented. They want to have a say rather than just obey. Digital means give us the opportunity to raise participation to a totally new level. The difference between those who help and those who need help is set aside. In order to make participation work, the established players must relinquish control, as entering into breathing spaces is always associated with risks.

Introduction

Who still gets involved in volunteering in the 21st century? Many veteran volunteers have the impression that egoism has gotten out of hand in our society and young people in particular only think about themselves.

This impression of a decline in social engagement is more than just a nostalgic romanticization of the past. Robert Putnam already showed in his influential work "Bowling alone"[2] from 2000 a striking cluster of trends which document this development in the USA. Since the 60s the number of people who take part in volunteering, regularly meet their neighbours, are active in labour unions, go to church and eat dinner together as a family has been decreasing.

These developments are not just observable in the USA. In Switzerland also, social participation has declined in certain areas. Hardly anyone still goes to municipal assemblies, citizen-politics posts (in the swiss "militia system") cannot be filled and volunteer organizations have increasing difficulty in finding fellow campaigners. It is above all formal commitments, that is, voluntary and honorary activities in associations and organizations that are losing popularity according to the Freiwilligenmonitor [Volunteer Work Bulletin] 2016[3]. Informal commitments, activities which are not attached to an organization, appear to have remained stable in the last ten years (see figure 1).

The reasons for the decline are in social and technological changes. In our multi-option society, there are more and more choices in regard to whom (and if) we marry, which job we perform, how we spend our free time, where we live, etc. The consequence: We are less content with our choice, are more likely to shy away from making decisions and from commit-

ments,[4] because every decision for something is also a decisions against all other options. The bond to predetermined structures such as family, residential area, religious communities or gender roles is becoming weaker and individualization is increasing.

One reason for reduced bonding is the increased mobility. Since 1994, the distance which a person (six years and up) in Switzerland travels every day has increased by almost 20 percent and is now 36.8 kilometres.[5] The workplace, the place where one spends one's free time and the place of residence are increasingly distant from each other. And a good freeway connection often plays a more important role in the selection of a place of abode than does identification with the community.

"Particularly in agglomeration a sharp decline in identification with the community has happened and there is thus less willingness to get involved. Many such commuter communities have grown in a very short time from 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants."

RETO LINDEGGER, DIRECTOR OF THE SCHWEIZERISCHER GEMEINDEVERBAND [SWISS ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES]

02 Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. In Culture and politics (pp. 223–234). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

03 Freitag, M., Manatschal, A., & Ackermann, K. (2016). Freiwilligen-Monitor Schweiz 2016. M. Ackermann (Ed.). Zurich: Seismo.

04 Schwartz, B. (2009). The paradox of choice.

05 Bundesamt für Statistik [Federal Statistics Office] (2015). Verkehrsverhalten der Bevölkerung [Population transport behavior]. Results of the micro-census on mobility and transport.

Change in proportion of the population who take part in formal and informal volunteering (from 2006 to 2014)

Proportion of volunteers in %

50

40 — 37,6   38,1 **Informal volunteer activity**

30 —   29,1

28 ————————————————————————————————— 25 **Formal volunteer activity**
         26

20

10

0
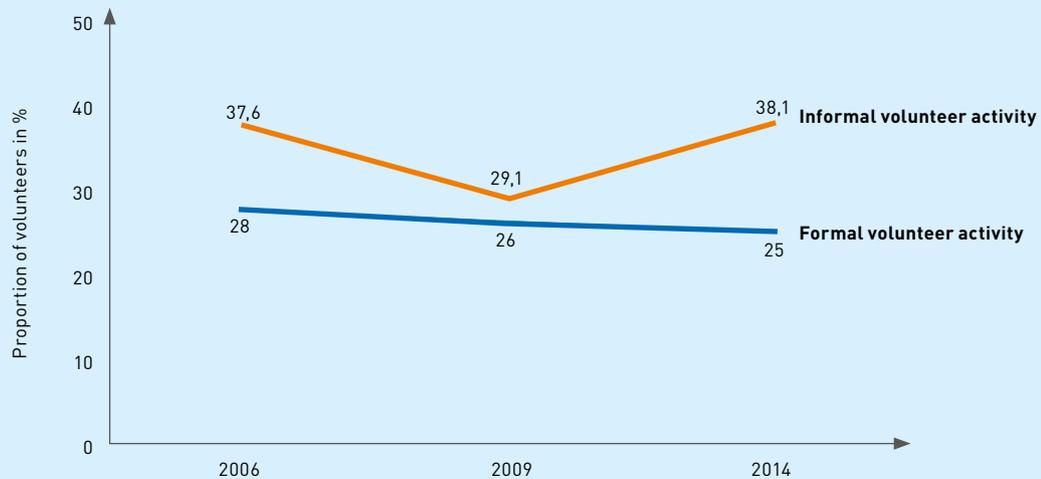   2006   2009   2014

FIGURE 1:
source: Freiwilligen-Monitor 2016

Technological changes likewise play an important role. Robert Putnam, whose book was published in 2000, mentioned television as an important reason for the decline in communality. Because of the simple entertainment from the television, he said, people no longer have such a great need for personal contact with others. By now, people miss the TV. Now it is wistfully romanticized as an electrical campfire, where families used to gather and share experiences together. Nowadays the living room fire has gone out and every family member stares at their own screen with individualized content.[6]

The influence of the (mobile) internet on social participation and communality is complex. We all know the full train compartments where passengers are only staring at their own mobile screens. Cell phones can act as place of refuge especially in unsettling social situations. It prevents uncertain situations for example interaction with strangers. To be sure, Swiss trains were never a place for scintillating interactions, even before the 21st century. However, there are indications of a slight increase in social isolation. Nowadays, children and youths meet up with

friends more rarely and go to fewer parties than 15 years ago. Instead, they are more often on YouTube and on social networks. [7,8] The same studies however, also show that these children and youth spend more time with their families and in particular that they find it easier to interact with their fathers. WhatsApp groups with the family also presumably play a role in this.

The digital world is much more participative than television's media one-way street. It offers an unprecedented abundance of opportunities for getting to know people and getting involved. These opportunities are being used. Millions of people meet each other every day via Tinder, Uber, Airbnb, MeetUp, Couchsurfing and many other digital offerings. On Wikipedia, YouTube

[06] http://bit.ly/zzp-tv (Source: bbc.com 6.5.2018)

[07] Willemse, I., & Waller, G. (2010). JAMES: Jugend, Aktivitäten, Medien-Erhebung Schweiz [Youth, activity, media survey]: Report of results of JAMES study 2010. ZHAW. Departement Angewandte Psychologie [Department of Applied Psychology].

[08] http://bit.ly/zzp-kids (Source: economist.com 6.5.2018)

or TripAdvisor we provide the world with valuable information but also with downright silliness without knowing the beneficiaries and without getting paid for it. Most of the time it never even occurs to us to call this behaviour engagement or even volunteer work. It is like bees which pollinate flowers without noticing it.

Hence, in this study we speak of civic participation and not volunteer work, because volunteer work is often associated with altruistic self-sacrifice for the general public and with righting wrongs. In this study we intend to focus on a wide spectrum of participation options which are not just related to deficiencies. Among these are: Driving a disabled person vehicle, taking part in ballots, elections or demonstrations, planning a district flea market, holding an unofficial outdoor party, editing Wikipedia articles, inviting the neighbours for a barbecue, membership of a carnival association, blood donation, distributing blankets to the homeless, offering language teaching to asylum-seekers, shopping for an elderly neighbour, uploading YouTube videos, caring for a neighbourhood compost heap, marking water fountains on a hiking App, involvement in the citizen politics (the swiss "militia system") and lots more. Some of these happen because of a feeling of duty, others because it is fun or one learns something from it.

Three possible lines of approach

In considering the future of civic participation, three different questions can be examined:

→ **Future tasks** Which tasks will be performed by civil society, that is, on the basis of volunteer participation, in the future?
→ **Current tasks** How and by whom will tasks, that are performed by civil society today, be performed in the future?
→ **Institutions** What will existing organizations and institutions, such as hiking associations or the swiss militia system of citizen politics, do in the future?

In this study we will initially concentrate on future tasks (question 1). Which tasks will be performed by civil society in the future? One could argue that the performance of current tasks is most important (question 2) and not what civil society will do in the future (question 1). Civic participation has however an important value that transcends the performance of a particular task. It creates social capital. Thus the number of associations is correlated with more affluence[9] and less criminality[10]. In long-standing social networks, standards for cooperation come into being and inter-personal trust grows. This increases resilience and facilitates the functioning of state and market. This resilience is expressed

09   Franzen, A., & Botzen, K. (2014). "Mir hei e Verein [We've got a club]": Eine Studie über Vereine, Sozialkapital und Wohlstand im Kanton Bern. [A study of associations, social capital and prosperity in the Bernese canton.] Swiss Journal of Sociology, 40(1).

10   Freitag, M. (2016). Das soziale Kapital der Schweiz. [Switzerland's social capital] NZZ Libro. P. 75.

in the ability of civil society to react flexibly to new situations. An example of this would be the civic involvement in the refugee crisis in the summer of 2016.

For this study we performed a review of the literature, carried out around two dozen interviews with experts from research and practice - whose quotations are distributed throughout the whole study - as well as a data analysis with data from the OECD, the Freiwilligen-Monitor [Volunteer Work Bulletin] 2016, World Bank, European Quality of Life Survey, European Values Study and from many more data sources.

Definition

But first we must define what we are referring to when we use the terms civil society and civic participation.

What does "Civil society" mean exactly? Edwards 2009[11] distinguishes three ways in which the term civil society is used: structural, normative and process-oriented.

The structural viewpoint understands civil society as an interweaving of volunteer organizations, institutions and players such as associations, political interest groups, subculture scenes, self-help groups etc.

The normative viewpoint associates civil society with a "good society". Pollack refers to communality and the transcending of private interests among other things as being characteristics which should distinguish involvement in the civil sector.[12] Civil standards of behaviour such as tolerance, common understanding and freedom from violence are central to the normative definition of civil society.

From a process-oriented viewpoint, civil society can also be seen as a permanent process of negotiation about how tomorrow's world should appear. Hence civil society does not correspond to an ideal target situation of a "good society" but rather the way there. Civil society is the place where these discussions and collaborations can take place without legal obligation or financial incentives. It can thus be seen as a corrective to the state and the market.

In our fast-paced and fragmented society, the process-oriented viewpoint is becoming increasingly important. Conversely, institutions (structural viewpoint) and uniform values (normative viewpoint) are dissipating.

Civic participation

What do we mean by civic participation? Two dimensions play an important role in our definition of civic participation, the underlying motivation and the intended sphere of effect.

For motivation it is relevant that participation is motivated neither by legal obligation nor by personal payment in the form of money or other compensation.[13] It must be voluntary.

Along with motivation, the intended sphere of effect is also an important aspect. We understand civic participation to mean behaviour that has its effect outside the sphere of family and friends. Volunteer activities within this sphere are familial responsibilities, favours between friends or hobbies. Only if one wants to achieve something in the extended environs, whether it is in one's district or on the whole planet, do we refer to it as civic participation. The person involved undertakes the role of a "Citoyen" [citizen]. In the sense of the Enlightenment and the values of the French Revolution, the person is independently taking part in the community and helping to shape it. Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote in "Du contrat social" [On the social contract]:[14]

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[11] Edwards, M. (2009). Civil society. Politics.

[12] Pollack, D. (2004). Zivilgesellschaft und Staat in der Demokratie. [Civil society and state in democracy] In Zivilgesellschaft und Sozialkapital [Civil Society and social capital] (pp. 23–40). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

[13] An indirect compensation, in that the world becomes better due to one's own behavior and that in the end one also benefits from it, cannot however be excluded.

[14] Rousseau, J. J. (1762). Du contrat social; ou principes du droit politique [On the Social Contract or Principles of Political Rights].

"Le citoyen est un être éminemment politique (la cité) qui exprime non pas son intérêt individuel mais l'intérêt général. Cet intérêt général ne se résume pas à la somme des volontés particulières mais la dépasse."
JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU [15]

Out of both dimensions, motivation and intended sphere of effect, a matrix of different forms of behaviour arises. Just one cell corresponds to our understanding of civic participation: It combines volunteer activity with effect in the extended environs.

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[15] "The citizen is an eminently political being who expresses not his own interests but the common interest. This common interest is not restricted to the sum of the individual volitions but rather transcends them."

Civil society makes sense

According to our definition, voluntary activity is a central aspect of civic participation. With the reduction in local anchoring, implicit social constraints are becoming less important in engagement and voluntariness is more critical. But why does one do something voluntarily? Many people say that they are involved in voluntary activity because they want to do something "meaningful" which is apparently not always the case in gainful employment.

"When one speaks with volunteers, in 80% of the interviews, the question of meaning is explained within the first 2-3 minutes. One hears the statement 'that makes sense for me' very often."
THEO WEHNER, WORK PSYCHOLOGIST, ETH ZURICH

But what makes something meaningful? How do tasks need to be constructed so that they are seen as "meaningful" and therefore appeal to civil society? In the end, everyone must answer this question for themselves. Nonetheless, there are patterns which underlie human creation of meaning. The "Self-Determination Theory" of Deci und Ryan[16] offers an indicator for this. They distinguish three universal human basic needs which guide our self-determined, that is, voluntary behaviour:

→ **Autonomy**
→ **Social relatedness**
→ **Efficacy**

These needs are reflected in the motifs which were surveyed in the Freiwilligen-Monitor [Volunteer Work Bulletin] 2016. Out of the answers provided, the following received the most agreement: "Making a difference with other people" and "Helping other people". Both answers include social relatedness (with and for others)

and efficacy (making a difference and helping). Autonomy was not explicitly addressed in any of the answers provided. However, volunteer activity is by definition self-determination.

The three factors; autonomy, social relatedness and efficacy will be reviewed below in relation to civic participation. Trends which influence these factors will also be discussed. The three basic needs of the "Self-determination theory" will serves as the structure for this. Although they relate primarily to the individual, wide-ranging social factors can also be classified into these categories.

Autonomy - Civil society needs breathing spaces

Autonomy is the feeling that one can decide for oneself. The motives are not externally determined, such as by money or legal constraints, but are rather of an intrinsic nature. Therefore they must be meaningful for the individual. In order to experience autonomy, creative breathing space is needed. Breathing spaces refer to physical places but also to unregulated, untrodden fields of action. Civil society is an experimental laboratory for this. As soon as something is possible, as soon as a new field is discovered, someone will try to venture into this field and play around with it, just because it can be done.

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[16]   http://bit.ly/zzp-sdt (Source: wikipedia.org 6.5.2018)

"Civil society is often at the leading edge of developments since it is suited to the role of social experimentation area. The internet also was originally a non-profit enterprise. When the project has thrived well enough then the market enters and from then on it is regulated by the state. In my opinion the avant-garde function of civil society is still greatly underestimated."
GEORG VON SCHNURBEIN, DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE FOR PHILANTHROPY STUDIES, BASLE

PHYSICAL AND VIRTUAL PLACES

Since the wall came down in 1989, Berlin has been an extremely popular city for young, urban people. Why is this city the epitome of creativity and social innovation for many people? One factor is the breathing space available in extensive Berlin. Many industrial areas are lying fallow and low residential rents have enabled a creative scene to develop since the wall came down. In Switzerland, the Hardturm brownfield in Zurich[17] and the docklands in Basle[18] are similar examples of urban breathing spaces which allow for experiments (partially) outside the market.

In many cases these breathing spaces are used by gastronomy. They can pursue market-economy based targets but do not have to make these obligatory conditions of their activity. Thus there are many (not just in Berlin) who open a bar in a laundry room or cellar or carry a generator and speakers into a wood to put on a party there.

"It seems that for many younger people gastronomy has the status which culture had for us in the past: as a field in which imaginative individual initiative is possible, where one can quickly and achieve something visible."
MARTIN HELLER, CULTURAL ENTREPRENEUR, HELLER ENTERPRISES

The civic significance of the gastronomy business also lies in the fact that restaurants, bars and associations are places of interaction. For rural communities the closing of the last village pub is a social problem.

However, the land and real estate prices in places like Berlin are increasing because of their increasing attractiveness. These sources of creativity are on the verge of drying up. In the competition for space between market and civil society, the market often prevails since the benefit of a company is easier to quantify than that of a community garden in the district. Also the owners of a plot of land profit when it is sold to the highest bidder, whereas a social innovation benefits all stakeholders.

The internet is an interesting example of a breathing space. Initially, only few were able to imagine what could be done with it aside from writing emails or accessing documents in other universities. Civil society discovered this field for itself and turned the internet into an unparalleled playground with blogs, chats, data exchange etc. long before the market had discovered the potential for itself.

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[17] http://www.stadionbrache.ch (6.5.2018)
[18] http://holzpark-klybeck.ch (6.5.2018)

Now this playground is in danger. If net neutrality is lost it is in danger of becoming the domain of the highest bidder. Net neutrality means that the data speed does not depend on the person who is surfing or providing content. Without this regulation there could be a gentrification of the internet: The highest bidders will displace non-profit data or at least these will move more slowly.[19]

So, as soon as a new breathing space appears, it is entered into by civil society and explored (example: Berlin 1989). When free space becomes scarce (example Berlin: 2018), the market increasingly takes over. The state can prevent the assimilation of those breathing spaces by the market by means of regulations such as net neutrality. But regulations often constrict breathing spaces.

PREVENTING RISKS RATHER THAN CREATING OPPORTUNITIES

Breathing spaces have many more dimensions beyond spaciousness. "Burning Man" is an annual festival in the Nevada desert. There is no official program, instead there is vibrant self-organization and creative involvement of the participants. One of the mottoes of "Burning Man" is "Safety Third". Safety should not be the first priority, even though people have already died there occasionally.

Regulations which exclude every risk do not only limit the attractiveness of quirky desert festivals. Only those who hazard setbacks, misuses, accidents, losses and injuries can break new ground. Taking risks is a prerequisite for the experimental laboratory that is civil society to function. People are more likely to get involved in countries where personal freedom is less regulated.[20] Regulations often limit this breathing

space. Anyone who regularly cooks for strangers at home for a contribution to cost is violating the [Swiss] innkeeper law. Bar licenses or fire department requirements can be a barrier to involvement in the cultural sector.

"Why does someone who regularly sells cans of beer need to have a bar license?"
CHRISTIAN MUELLER – FREISTAAT UNTERES KLEINBASEL [THE FREE STATE OF LOWER KLEINBASEL]

It is not only government regulations which hamper civic participation. Getting money from charitable foundations is also laborious. One must write applications, fill out forms and sign contracts. Contracts become longer every year; control and bureaucratization have increased markedly. More and more eventualities are considered.

"In the past, charitable foundations had a patron who would say: 'I really like what you are doing, here, take 1,000 Francs. Today if you want to make an impact measurement, if you want to be in line with strategy, it requires a certain formalization so that one achieve more quality. With the state, a political component also plays along too.

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[19] http://bit.ly/zzp-neutral (source: freepress.net 6.5.2018)
[20] The "Personal Freedom Index" measured by the Legatum Foundation measures personal freedom of choice, speech, faith and movement for different countries. The Personal Freedom Index 2016 correlated on a national level with the proportion of the population who take part in voluntary activities at least once a month according to the Quality of Life Survey 2016 (r = .66, p < .00001). See method appendix http://www.gdi.ch/zg-methode for a detailed analysis.

*When parliaments are dominated by parties
who want to dismantle the welfare state the
administration is extremely anxious not to do
anything wrong and starts to act more
complicated than necessary."*
HEINZ ALTORFER, VICE PRESIDENT OF
THE SCHWEIZERISCHE GEMEINNÜTZIGE
GESELLSCHAFT [SWISS CHARITABLE SOCIETY]

Bureaucratization is also increasing in the private sector. Between 1983 and 2014, the number of managers and supervisors in US companies rose by 90% whereas the remaining work areas only grew by 40%.[21] Hence, an increasing number of people work at planning and controlling the work of others. When volunteers are included then one must relinquish part of the control. Whoever wants create a community garden using volunteers may not dictate the types of plant used. Volunteers are not just an unpaid workforce.

*"If volunteers are to be integrated in organization
they should not have too many rules imposed
on them. They want to perform self-determined
jobs. That does not affect just organizations.
The state also can and should promote civic
engagement but should never lead or coordinate it.
Even giving awards to volunteers is tricky because
it puts the state in a patronizing relationship to
civil society. Voluntary work is part of civil society
which organizes and appraises itself."*
LUKAS NIEDERBERGER, MANAGING DIRECTOR
SCHWEIZERISCHE GEMEINNÜTZIGE GESELL-
SCHAFT (SGG) [SWISS CHARITABLE SOCIETY]

That does not mean that all regulations are unnecessary. But it is important to be aware of their problematic effects. Thus, the following case in Maryland, USA, made headlines: Residents notified the police because a pair of siblings (six and ten years old) were walking through the neighbourhood unattended. The children were taken into custody by the police in Silver Spring Park, around one kilometre away from their family home and only handed over to their parents after they had signed a declaration that they would never again leave their children unattended.[22] A school in London banned its children from touching snow - to prevent snowball fights in which they could be injured.[23] In Switzerland too, children are increasingly seldom left unattended.[24]

When children do not have the opportunity to become independent that leads to many missed opportunities on an individual and societal level. So it is a matter of gauging: How many risks will one accept for children in order to give future generations the chance to learn to be independent? This trade-off between safety and freedom plays a role in all regulations. How many cases of food poisoning will one put up with for a lively culture and gastronomy scene? How many volunteers does one discourage with controls and bureaucracy in resource allocation to prevent a few cases of misuse? There is no 100% security. These decisions are always a trade-off.

Such considerations are especially difficult since the negative consequences of a lack of regulations are usually much more visible than the positive. Negative cases are often tragic individual fates. The positive consequences of lack of

21   http://bit.ly/zzp-bureau (source: hbr.org 6.5.2018)
22   http://bit.ly/zzp-cps (source: wusa9.com 6.5.2018)
23   http://bit.ly/zzp-snow (source: independent.co.uk 6.5.2018)
24   http://bit.ly/zzp-stube (source: nnz.ch 6.5.2018)
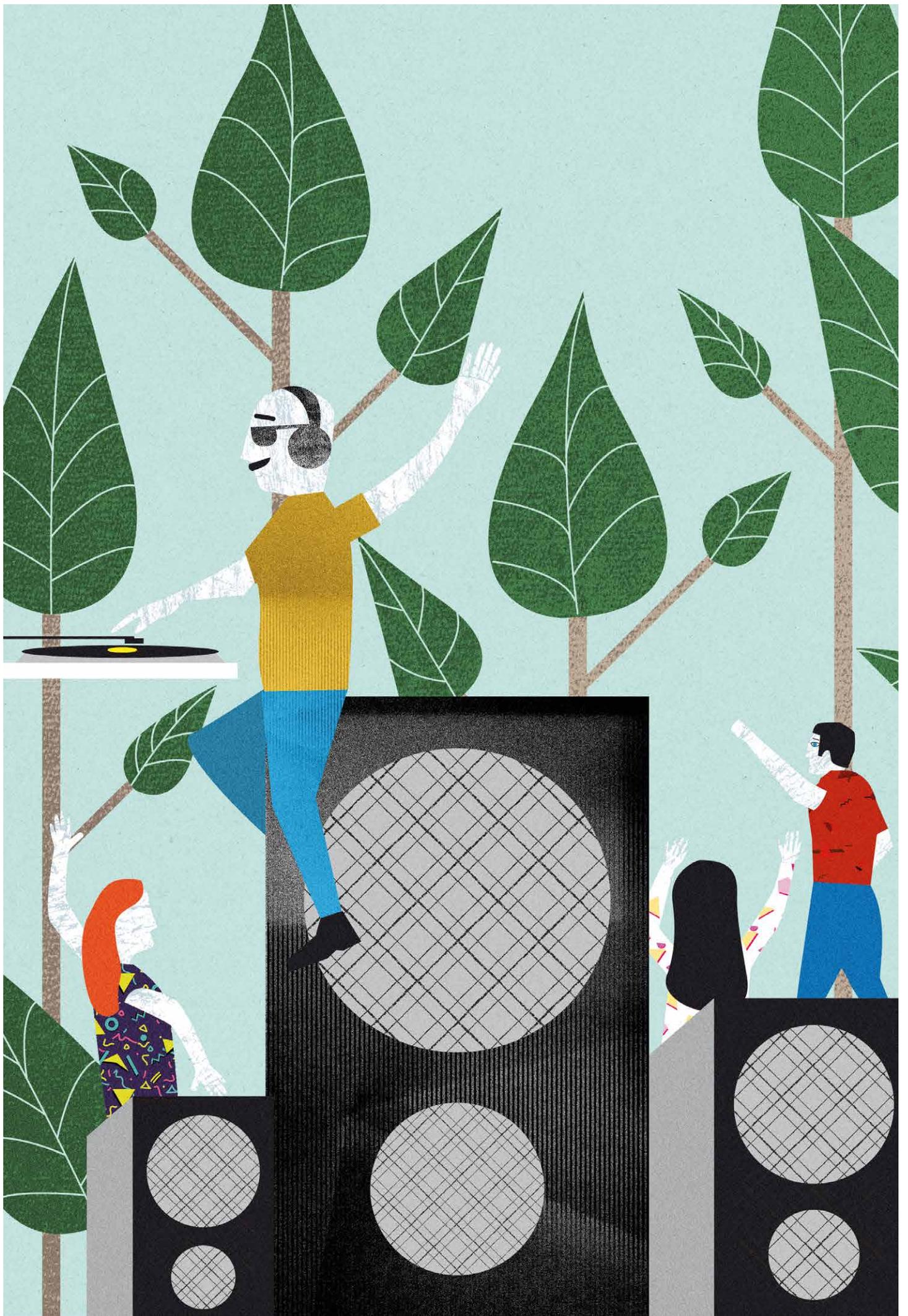
regulation are more abstract, such as a generation who has learned to be independent. A decision maker is thus more likely to be criticized for specific negative consequences than for missed abstract chances. The effect: One is more likely to be sued if "something happens" than if "nothing happened".

"A problem that one should not underestimate with volunteer work is insurance cover. What happens if a private person helps someone at home and causes damage there. Who is then liable for it?"
PETER KÜNZLE, MANAGING DIRECTOR BENEVOL, ST. GALLEN

Fear of legal consequences is a permanent presence in many civic ventures. No matter whether it is a crafts afternoon in a community centre or cultural events in rooms without fire department inspection. Soon, the question arises: "What if something happens?" Who carries the responsibility?" Who is liable if someone is injured or something breaks? Hence only official organizations may post jobs on the volunteer platform benevol-jobs.ch.

"The mere possibility of legal consequences to some extent hangs like the sword of Damocles over our deliberations and also leads to us forgoing certain activities. For example, should one set up a wood workshop with circular saws and planers? We have done that now. Although we attach great importance to safety there and are very careful, we cannot one hundred percent exclude the possibility that something could happen there sometime. If something should happen, it is possible that we would need to close the workshop or massively adjust what we offer."
SABINE SCHENK, MANAGING DIRECTOR GEMEINSCHAFTSZENTREN [COMMUNITY CENTRES] ZÜRICH

An error culture, such as has been long preached about in business (with limited success) would also be helpful for civil society. The state, charitable foundations, emergency response organizations and society as a whole have to accept risks, setbacks, even misuses.

REGULATION AS AN EXPRESSION OF MISTRUST

Trust is needed in order to have breathing spaces. In his book "Das soziale Kapital der Schweiz" {Switzerland's social capital], Markus Freitag defines trust as belief in the general good will and reliability of one's fellow human beings.[25] A lively, constructive error culture only develops on the basis of trust. The players must trust that fellow human beings, applicants to charitable foundations, volunteers etc. are not acting fraudulently. Those engaged must trust that possible setbacks and errors will be tolerated. Whoever does not have this trust would rather not take risks. Politicians establish regulations, bureaucrats become finicky and potential volunteers become passive.

The "Vertrauensmonitor [Trust monitor]" is a special analysis by the Freiwilligenmonitor [Volunteer Work Bulletin] 2016. It shows a clear correlation between trust and civil participation in Switzerland.[26] Members of volunteer organizations and those engaged in volunteer work are

[25] Freitag, M. (2016). Das soziale Kapital der Schweiz. [Switzerland's social capital] NZZ Libro.

[26] Lamprecht, M., Fischer, A., Bürgi, R., & Stamm, H. (2016). Vertrauensmonitor [Trust Monitor]. Das gesellschaftliche Engagement und Vertrauen [Social Engagement and Trust]. Zurich: Migros-Kulturprozent [Culture Percentage].

Change in trust in Swiss institutions in the last ten years

(queried on a scale of 1 to 10)
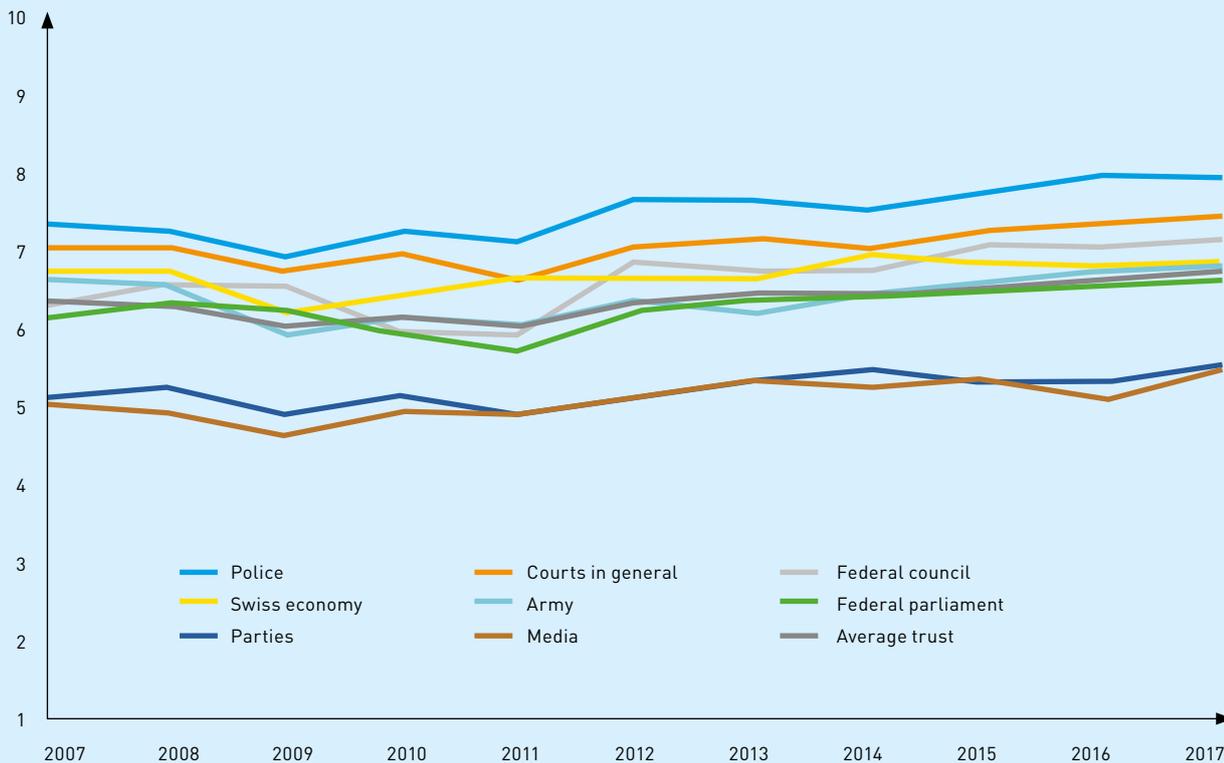
FIGURE 2
Source: ETH Center for Security Studies

more likely to trust authorities and strangers than those who do not engage. This effect cannot just be explained by differences in age, education, income or language regions between those who engage from those who do not engage. Even if causality is hard to prove; these data indicate: People who have more trust are more likely to get involved and conversely, associations and organizations are places where people learn to trust.[27]

If the state expresses distrust through regulations, individuals and organizations do it with contracts. If there is little trust between members of a society, more and more transactions will be regulated by contracts. More lawyers, more regulation, more security are needed. Cooperation is only possible at a high cost.

"If everyone were to trust each other completely we would not need any contracts"

MARKUS FREITAG, CHAIR OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY, INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE, BERN.

The connection between trust, lawyers and engagement can be empirically demonstrated in a European comparison. In countries with greater density of lawyers, there is less trust towards

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27 Even though this correlation sounds plausible it is controversial: Wollebæk, D., & Selle, P. (2003). Participation and social capital formation: Norway in a comparative perspective. Scandinavian Political Studies, 26(1), 67–91.

strangers[28] and less engagement.[29] Robert Putnam likewise shows: The decline in membership of associations in the USA is accompanied by an increase in lawyers (as well as police officers and security staff).[30] All told, the American political scientist draws a bleak picture of trust in the USA. It has been declining steadily since the 60s. Every generation trusts their fellow citizens less than the previous. Studies which demonstrate loss of trust in western institutions are along similar lines.[31] They say that people have less and less trust in their governments, the press and science.

This picture appears differently in Switzerland especially. For many years trust has been increasing in Swiss institutions (see figure 2).[32]

Even if, according to the Trust Monitor, younger Swiss people have somewhat less trust of strangers, no trend is seen over a longer period.[33] Even the much-maligned individualization is if anything better than its reputation. Although it is accompanied by a weakening of familial bonds, there is nonetheless also a growing trust of strangers. Thus, trust in strangers is correlated positively with the degree of individualization of a country (according to Hofstede)[34] (see figure 3).

Trust towards strangers is a precondition for the development of an individualistic society. In such a culture, we are no longer reliant on familial clan structures; instead we pay social security contributions which benefit unknown people.

That does not necessarily mean that more and more trust arises as a result of increasing individualization and the state should simply keep out of it since otherwise it regulates everything to death. The Trust Monitor shows a clear asso-

ciation between education, a classical governmental task, and trust. The better educated they are, the more likely people are to trust and volunteer. So one should not lump together all State interventions. It depends on the type of state service as Kumlin and Rothstein showed in a study in Sweden.[35] Poeple who receive flat-rate benefits such as family allowances trust their fellow human beings more than people who receive specific benefits which are determined by an exact examination of their situation. People who are met with distrust, in that perhaps social investigators screen their private life on the state's behalf, are themselves more likely to be distrustful in relation to others. According to the authors, many state benefits in Sweden are of

28 In European countries of equal wealth, the density of lawyers (published in the "CCBE Lawyers Statistic") correlated negatively with the average trust per country with which strangers are met (measured in the European Quality of Life Survey 2016). That means the fewer lawyers, the more trust ($r = -.37$, $p = .034$, $n = 33$, after statistical control for GDP). See method appendix http://www.gdi.ch/zg-methode for a detailed analysis.

29 In European countries of equal wealth, the density of lawyers (published in the "CCBE Lawyers Statistic") correlated negatively with proportion of people per country who participate in volunteer activity at least once per month (measured in the European Quality of Life Survey 2016). That means the fewer lawyers, the more engagement ($r = -.42$, $p = .014$, $n = 33$, after statistical control for GDP). See method appendix http://www.gdi.ch/zg-methode for a detailed analysis.

30 Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. In Culture and politics (pp. 223–234). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

31 http://bit.ly/zzp-edel (source: edelman.com 6.5.2018)

32 http://bit.ly/zzp-css (source: css.ethz.ch 6.5.2018)

33 Freitag, M. (2016). Das soziale Kapital der Schweiz. [Switzerland's social capital] NZZ Libro.

34 http://bit.ly/zzp-hof (source: hofstede-insights.com 6.5.2018)

35 Kumlin, S., & Rothstein, B. (2005). Making and breaking social capital: The impact of welfare-state institutions. Comparative political studies, 38(4), 339–365.

a flat-rate nature. Consequently, a stronger social state and a healthy civil society go hand in hand there.

DIGITALIZATION PROMOTES TRUST

Thanks to digital platforms we increasingly trust strangers. The founders of platforms like Airbnb or Uber were all confronted with the same scepticism when they first introduced their ideas. Who is going to let strangers live in their home? Who would reveal their credit card data via a website? Who would climb into a stranger's car? One thing is common to all these objections: They imply a lack of trust.

Nowadays we do this in many areas as a matter of course. And most people have a very good experience with trusting strangers on these platform and sharing cars, houses or their leisure time with them. This trust is actively promoted by the platforms.

Online identity is important in this. Most online platforms have a rating system. 1-5 star ratings are given and reviews are written. Reputation, which was previously construed more implicitly in social surroundings, is quantified and raised to a global level. Trust comes about because the users assume that nobody wants to jeopardize his/her good reputation. Platforms often use the reputation which was built up on other platforms. Thus, one can only open an account with the dating App Tinder if one signs on via one's Facebook account and has at least 50 friends there.

The topic of digital ID comes up for discussion time and again. The canton of Schaffhausen has already introduced a digital citizen's ID which facilitates interaction with canton administration for citizens. In principle however, a digital ID could also be used for digital participation beyond the framework of a canton. If one is only registered at one place and all data about one's own behaviour on and offline come together there, one knows whom one can trust. Because this person is not just a nice Airbnb guest, they also have no misleading product photos posted on Ricardo [Swiss marketplace website]. If the review on Ricardo should turn out bad, that is not as bad as if one's universal digital reputation were to be tarnished.

The Chinese Social Credit Score which is to be introduced in 2020 takes this logic to the extreme. Every Chinese person shall be assessed with a score of between 350 and 950 points. Into this assessment will be fed behaviour patterns, such as on-time bill payment, compliance with contracts or other infringements of law. Someone who often buys diapers is seen as a trustworthy person and receives a higher assessment than someone who spends money on alcohol and computer games. Anyone who expresses criticism of the system on social media receives a deduction. Good news about the government lead to an upgrade in one's rating. What's more, it is not just one's own behaviour which matters, but also that of those surrounding one. If my friend expresses criticism of the system on social media or otherwise acts dissolutely, my score will also suffer as a result.

The social credit score can have an influence on whether on is willing to offer a person a room on Airbnb or buy something from them on Alibaba. The score also decides whether you receive a credit or a visa for Europe.

Individualism and trust

Individualism (according to Hofstede) correlated positively (r = .6, p ← .001, n = 31) with the average trust per country with which strangers are met (according to the European Quality of Life Survey 2016). The correlation drops (r = .19, p = .3, n = 31) when controlled for Gross Domestic Product. See method appendix www.gdi.ch/zg-methode for a detailed analysis.
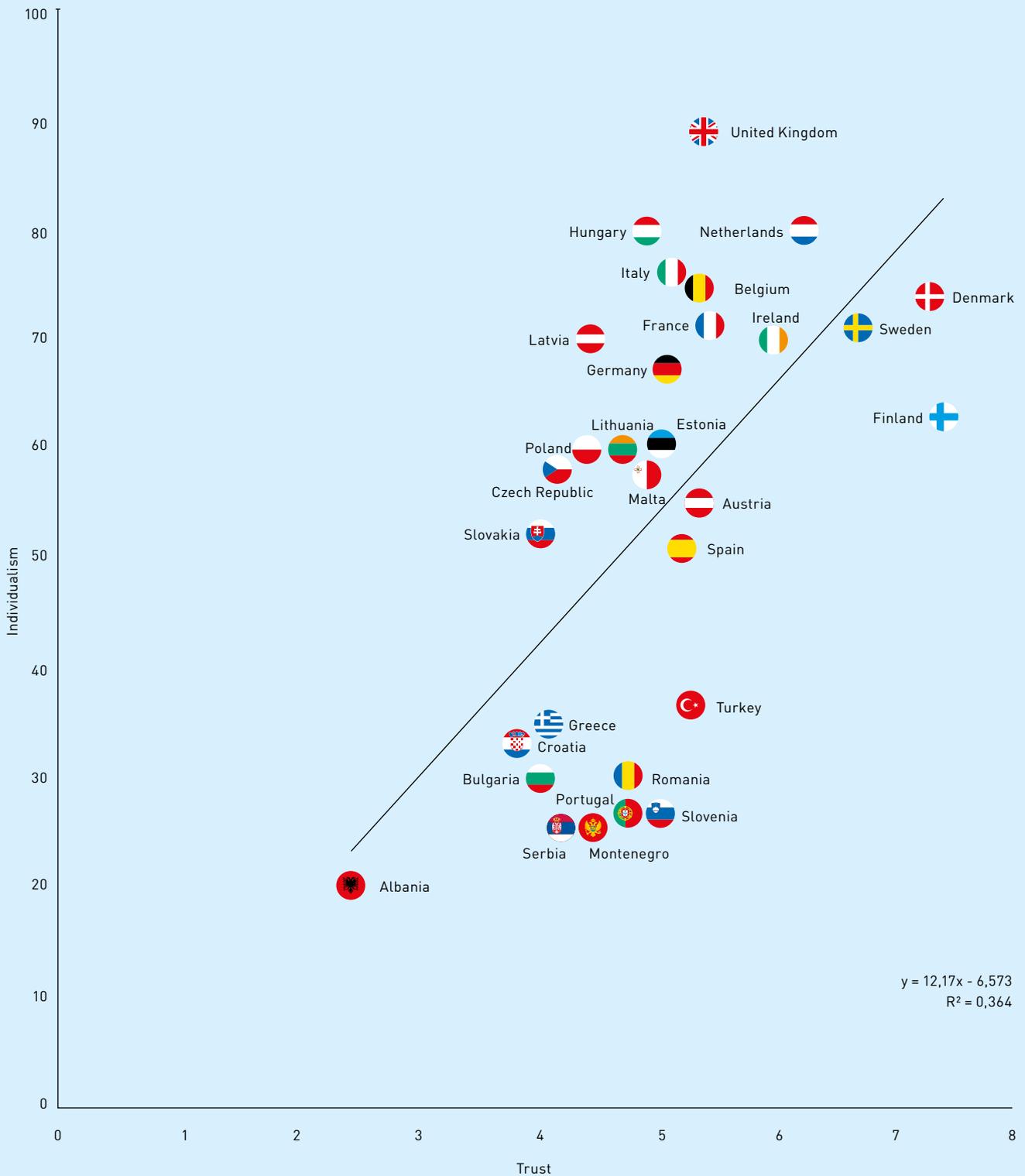

$y = 12{,}17x - 6{,}573$
$R^2 = 0{,}364$

Individualism

Trust

"If their score reaches 600, they can take out a Just Spend loan of up to 5,000 yuan (around £565) to use to shop online, as long as it's on an Alibaba site. Reach 650 points, they may rent a car without leaving a deposit. They are also entitled to faster check-in at hotels and use of the VIP check-in at Beijing Capital International Airport. Those with more than 666 points can get a cash loan of up to 50,000 yuan (£5,700), obviously from Ant Financial Services. Get above 700 and they can apply for Singapore travel without supporting documents such as an employee letter. And at 750, they get fast-tracked application to a coveted pan-European Schengen visa."

RACHEL BOTSMAN, AUTHOR OF
'WHO CAN YOU TRUST?'[36]

From a western point of view, these are disturbing developments. It remains to be seen whether this strange mixture of trust through hyper-regulation actually leads to more positive behaviour patterns of interpersonal interactions, especially with strangers, or more likely to decrease from fear of doing something wrong and damaging one's own credit score.

But it is not just in China that our trustworthiness is captured. Another fascinating example is the App Tala.[37] It rates the creditworthiness of people in developing countries who have no access to banks but have a smartphone. With this they can gain access to cheaper micro-credits than using loan-sharks. The App determines creditworthiness over the smartphone itself, by combining more than 10,000 data points according to its own reports. A person, for example, who has many contacts in his or her contact book and communicates with many different people is seen as more trustworthy than someone with few contacts. A person whose address-book has entries for both first and second

name is seen as more conscientious and thus more creditworthy. Hence we carry around data which prove our trustworthiness with us. Allowing an App to access it is enough. If we are mistrustful towards people, access to such data could simplify interpersonal interactions. But we must be willing to divulge part of our own data in exchange.

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36   http://bit.ly/zzp-scs (source: wired.co.uk 6.5.2018)

37   https://tala.co (6.5.2018)

Social relatedness - meaning creation happens in a social context

Along with autonomy, that is, the feeling of being able to decide for oneself, and the breathing space required for it, social relatedness is the second important factor for a task's potential to have meaning.

MEANING CREATION IN SOCIAL PROXIMITY

Meaning creation is a social undertaking and initially occurs in one's social proximity. Family and friends are the most important source of meaning.[38] Memberships in associations are often motivated by the need for fellowship and not by the association's aims. The significance of deep friendship is growing in Switzerland.[39] That could be one reason why membership of associations is losing its attraction. One no longer needs to look for social contacts in an association.

Not only being together but also doing together generates meaning. Experimental studies have shown that the mere presence of others leads one to perceive experiences and ultimately one's own life as more meaningful.[40] That is why we like to go to the movie theatre with others even

[38]   Lambert, N. M., Stillman, T. F., Baumeister, R. F., Fincham, F. D., Hicks, J. A., & Graham, S. M. (2010). Family as a salient source of meaning in young adulthood. The Journal of Positive Psychology, 5(5), 367–376.
[39]   http://bit.ly/zzp-freund (source: nzzas.nzz.ch 6.5.2018)
[40]   Lambert, N. M., Stillman, T. F., Hicks, J. A., Kamble, S., Baumeister, R. F., & Fincham, F. D. (2013). To belong is to matter: Sense of belonging enhances meaning in life. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 39(11), 1418–1427.

though it is dark there and one hardly speaks. Sharing of experiences and selfies on social media is often seen as the expression of a narcissistic culture. However it can also be interpreted as a collective process of meaning creation. We categorize our experiences together and thus experience them more intensely. Recognition from others confirms one's own meaning creation process and the actions deriving therefrom. This is also important with engagement.

"When people have the feeling of having lost status or that their actions are no longer recognized, they are gone very quickly. No matter how noble the institution's aims are."

HEINZ ALTORFER, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SCHWEIZERISCHE GEMEINNÜTZIGE GESELLSCHAFT [SWISS CHARITABLE SOCIETY]

MEANING CREATION IN A CULTURAL CONTEXT

Meaning creation, apart from happening in one's social proximity, also happens in a cultural context. People construct meaning from the building blocks which their culture offers. Among those are values and ideologies. In this way we communicate concepts of meaning not just with friends and family but also with strangers.

The Israeli historian Yuval Harari takes it that a joint belief in a cultural fiction is the basis for large-scale cooperation which goes beyond acquaintances or relatives.[41] This fiction can take very different forms. These are things which only exist inside people's minds - hence the term fiction. Examples are religion, nation state, money, honour, humanism, a company etc. Fictions on which enough people agree are among the most powerful tools which humankind has ever produced. Consensus about a fiction increases trust. I find it easier to trust a person who believes in the same God as I do. Since he/she creates meaning similarly to me.

THE SENSE OF LOCAL ATTACHMENT IS ESSENTIAL FOR ENGAGEMENT

For volunteers, attachment also plays a role. People who see themselves primarily as European or global citizens twice as frequently make efforts for human rights and development aid as those who identify primarily locally or nationally.[42] After communities are merged, fewer citizens take part in elections.[43] The new fiction has not yet been internalized.

Which cooperation-promoting fictions will be important in the future? The number of people who, according to the European Quality of Life Survey 2016, feel close to their neighbour sank from 67% in 2011 to 63% in 2016 in all of Europe with few exceptions. In Switzerland also, the reference points for identification are shifting. One reason is increasing mobility (see Introduction, p. 8) - away from the local towards the nation state (see figure 4).[44]

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[41] Harari, Y. N. (2014). Sapiens: A brief history of humankind. London: Harvill Secke.

[42] From all those surveyed in the European Values Study (66,000 people) from 46 European countries and their neighbors (e.g. Armenia), 3.31% of those who see themselves primarily as Europeans or global citizens are active in development cooperation. In contrast to only 1.14% of those who identify locally.

[43] http://bit.ly/zzp-fact (source: www.defacto.expert 6.5.2018)

[44] http://bit.ly/zzp-gfs (source gfs.ch 6.5.2018)

Identity: Switzerland as a country is replacing the residential municipality
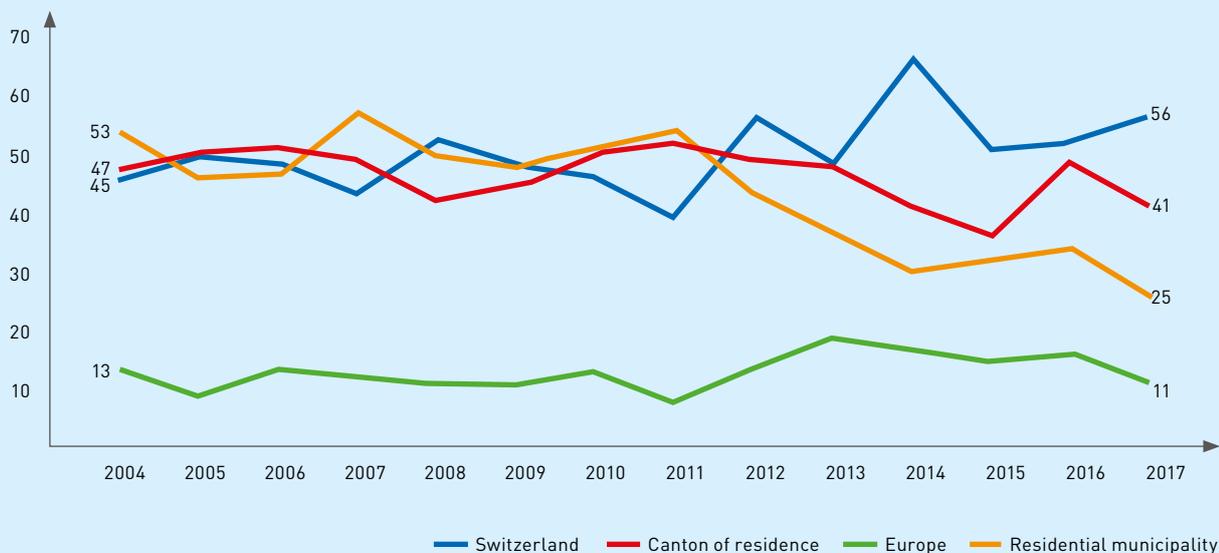
FIGURE 4
Source: GFS Bern Sorgenbarometer 2017

"In Switzerland the relationship to the term homeland is very dichotomous. On the one hand homeland is to be found in the personal, familial and friendship sphere. On the other hand, Switzerland as a nation is important. Due to globalization and individualization, much that came between has eroded. Nations have remained the containers which still have a strong meaning and viewed relatively have even gained in significance."
MICHAEL HERMANN, SOCIAL GEOGRAPHER AT SOTOMO

However, most engagement begins small and then develops beyond one's social proximity to more abstract fictions.

"Most people begin with very specific, local engagement. The longer people are active, the more they have had the experience that they can achieve something, the more likely it is that the degree of abstraction will increase. Then you begin to be active on a regional, national or even international level."
STEFAN TITTMANN,
VEREIN OSTSINN – RAUM FÜR MEHR

The Freiwilligenmonitor [Volunteer Work Bulletin] 2016 confirmed that most people both formally and informally volunteer primarily on a regional level (see figure 5).

The local is eroding. That is a problem for civil society since entry into engagement often happens locally - but people don't feel they belong to the local anymore. That's why it is becoming increasingly hard to win people for political engagement on a community level (see sub-item: Civic political engagement - towards "new militia operatives"?, p. 78) whereas there is no lack of candidates on a national level.

But the location of engagement does not necessarily need to correspond to the identification level. A local engagement can also pursue a global idea.

"Most people become involved in small, local groups. But the compartmentalization of the organization form does not imply compartmentalization of thinking and acting. The aims can be entirely comprehensive such as global social justice for example, but the action takes place in proximity. This is expressed in the old slogan, "Think global, act global". There's also a streak of resignation in that; that one won't be able to effect anything on a grand scale anyway"
ADALBERT EVERS, INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL
SCIENCE, GIESSEN UNIVERSITY

Even when volunteers do something for people at the other end of the world from humanism,

Engagement by location according to Freiwilligenmonitor 2016

Most people volunteer on a local level whereby informal engagement is very strongly connected
to place of abode whereas formal engagement often also takes place on a regional level.
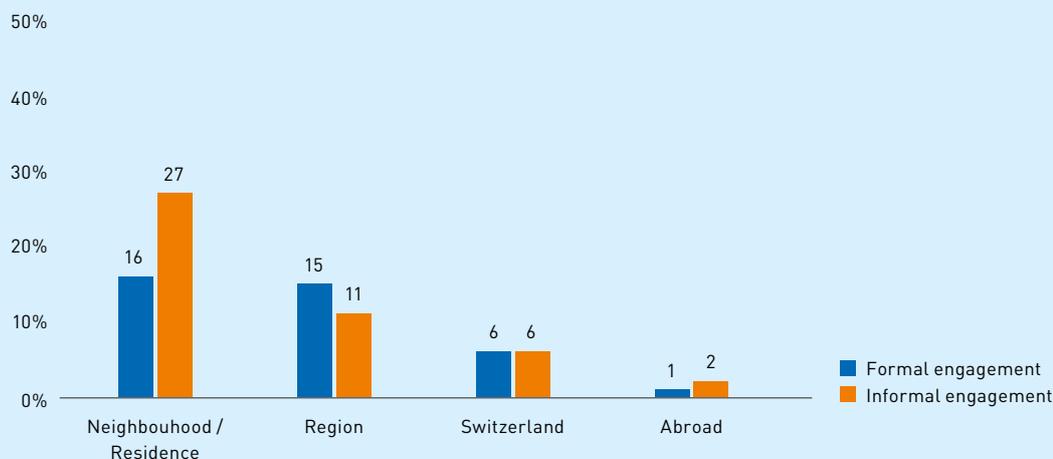
FIGURE 5
Source: Freiwilligenmonitor 2016

the feeling of local social attachment remains important. A feeling of local attachment serves to validate individual meaning construction locally, from which this global humanism can be derived. Hence even global movements should have local branches. Knowing that they are not alone motivates the helpers.

"People who write letters for Amnesty are part of a community even if they have never set eyes on the letter addressees. That is expressed in the way they say 'It's certainly important to me that I'm not alone here. It's not that they have illusions of omnipotence - that their contribution is going to change the world. The 'we' is what matters. They don't say 'Amnesty and I', they say 'We in Amnesty'."
THEO WEHNER, INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGIST, ETH ZURICH

FOUR TYPES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS – "RELATIONAL MODELS THEORY"

What is important for the sense of attachment is not only whether it is local or global and whether the shared fiction is a nation state or a God. The type of relationship is also decisive for the feeling of attachment.

The "Relational Models Theory"[45] distinguishes four modes of human cooperation: communal

sharing, equality matching, authority ranking and market pricing.

In communal sharing, every member is of equal value, shares his/her resources without expecting a direct payment and shows solidarity with the others. Motto: "One for all; all for one" and "what's mine is yours". The individual is of secondary importance, communication is based on commonalities such as relatedness, national identity, a history of suffering etc. In equality matching, the equality of the members is also important but this happens on the basis of reciprocity and a balanced distribution of resources. In authority ranking, those above enjoy prestige and privileges but also, in certain circumstances, bear a responsibility for those lower in status. In market pricing, relationships are oriented according to services and prices.

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45 Fiske, Alan P. 1991a. Structures of Social Life: The Four Elementary Forms of Human Relations. New York: Free Press.

4 modes of human relationship

	Communal sharing	Equality matching	Authority ranking	Market pricing
Description	Members are equal No distinction is made in relationship to contribution to the community.	Members are equal and attach importance to balanced distribution of resources.	Members are positioned in an asymmetric hierarchy. Subordinates respect and obey those of higher rank who have precedence and exercise control.	Relationships are determined by clear prices and compensation for services.
Examples	- Usage of the commons - Intense love - Nationalism	- One vote per person - Alternating invitation to dinner - Partnership / Friendship	- Military hierarchies - Ancestor worship - Police - Managers in companies - Religions	- Commerce - Paid work - Taxes
Decision making	Consensus within the group	Democratic vote	Decision of authority	Cost benefit analysis
Task fulfilment	Each one does his/her best but without individual responsibility.	Each one contributes equally or one takes turns.	The authority delegates via a chain of command.	Participants are compensated in relation to their service.
Moral judgement	The needs and suffering of all are treated as one's own.	Each is treated equally.	The oldest, the gods (or their earthly representatives), the founding fathers etc. are setting the standards.	Everyone gets exactly what he/she has deserved.

TABLE 2
Source: Fiske, Alan P. 1991a. Structures of Social Life: The Four Elementary Forms of Human Relations

What is interesting in the four relationship modes is that many ways of behaving are obvious in one mode but completely inappropriate in another mode. Uninvited picking at food from one's partner's plate (communal sharing) is seen as normal in many cases but it is taboo with the boss (authority ranking). Demanding a kiss from one's partner (authority ranking) or offering money for it (market pricing) will not go down well as a rule, just as inviting the baker to dinner (equality matching) instead of paying for the bread (market pricing).

Someone who is happy to do something voluntarily, for example assisting friends when they move house or helping an old person cross the road, will usually be annoyed if money is offered for it afterwards. It can even happen that one will not do it again in the future, especially if one has accepted the money for it. In psychology it is known that payment can diminish intrinsic motivation. This can be due to the fact that the relationship mode has changed to market pricing because of the payment. If one wants to con-

struct an incentive scheme for volunteers, one must take care not to push the relationship mode in the direction of market pricing.

Volunteer activity is by definition not organized in the market pricing mode. Though integration in an authority ranking can come about voluntarily, for example if one takes on the role of teacher or subordinates oneself to a sport trainer's instructions. But moments of coercion happen, even in freely selected hierarchical roles. Accordingly, volunteer activity takes place primarily in the modes of communal sharing and equality matching.

"In response to the question of why people engage in voluntary activity, I often hear: 'You know, I have it so good and I just want to give something back.'"
PRISKA MUGGLI, MANAGING DIRECTOR ZEIT-VORSORGE [TIME PROVISION] ST. GALLEN

MEANING FROM PARTICIPATION IN "SOMETHING LARGER"

Meaning creation depends on the status of individuality. Precisely because meaning creation is a collective process, it can be assumed that a fiction which enables the individual to merge into something larger is particularly capable of creating meaning. The collective relationship mode communal sharing must hence be more capable of creating meaning than the individualistic mode market pricing. The less room there is for individuality, the less is meaning seen as a random combination of idiosyncratic, more-or-less plausible or opportune ideas but seems to come from something "larger" in which the individual is transcended.

In contrast to this, most people find little meaning in the very individualistic relationship form of market pricing. Unless one donates the mon-

ey earned which in turn generates meaning since donating corresponds to the communal sharing or equality matching relationship forms. Consequently it makes one happier than if one spends the money on oneself.[46]

Ritual and traditions are ways that individuality can merge in something larger. Through these, we experience a sense of belonging and see our activity as meaningful. Rituals create homeland[47] and attachment.

"In Geneva there's the so-called Escalade, a city festival where all the schoolchildren have to take part in a children's parade. Accordingly all the parents are also there, even if they have only arrived in Geneva a few days earlier from Sweden, Indonesia or elsewhere. Their children are there and the parents are there with the other parents. And all of a sudden you're Genevese."
SANDRO CATTACIN, DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH, GENEVA UNIVERSITY

46   Dunn, E. W., Gilbert, D. T., & Wilson, T. D. (2011). If money doesn't make you happy, then you probably aren't spending it right. Journal of Consumer Psychology, 21(2), 115–125.

47   http://bit.ly/zzp-heimat (source: 1001heimat.ch 6.5.2018)

INCREASING INDIVIDUALISM -
CURSE OR BLESSING?

The world - with a few exceptions such as China - is becoming more individualistic.[48] That is not necessarily negative. Since, as we have seen, individualism is accompanied by trust in strangers. But, at the same time, a feeling of belonging is important for participation and engagement. Relationships that are very individualistic generate the least sense of attachment and thus little meaning. That can lead to lack of orientation is society.

"It is interesting that today we increasingly hear from therapists in therapeutic settings that one can suffer not only from repression as a result of social standards but also from the lack of such standards. Jacques Lacan spoke of symbolic orientation. And when I see young men of Arabic descent who have grown up in the second generation in Germany or in Belgium and who go off to Jihad at short notice then one can only explain that as coming from a wish for, in the case of a, yes, pathological symbolic quest for orientation."

**THEO WEHNER, WORK PSYCHOLOGIST,
ETH ZURICH**

A feeling of community is not just important for individuals but also for society. If everything is ruled by the market, the sense of solidarity dies. A customer does not bear responsibility for anyone other than him/herself. Once the bill is paid, he/she has settled his/her debt. Everything that is not regulated by contract is irrelevant.

Regularly, every summer, there are reports about the enormous piles of trash at open-air festivals. That goes hand-in-hand with complaints about youth being depraved by affluence and lacking public spirit. However, only the large festivals are looked at where the tickets cost hundreds of franks. As a media consumer, one hardly notices the festivals that do not leave trash piles behind them. These do not have to be small festivals where everyone knows each other. At a large festival like Burning Man with between 50,000 and 100,000 participants, there is hardly any refuse to be found. There, the participants are not viewed as consumers. Across the entire site there is neither something to buy nor trash cans. Nobody has any money with them. Everything is given as a gift, everything is disposed by the user. The participants are not just individuals but also part of a community.

"Come for the party, stay for the tribe."
LARRY HARVEY, FOUNDER OF BURNING MAN

Hence, if you turn citizens into customers, you change into the mode of market pricing which is accompanied by restricted attachment and limited responsibility. If people are addressed as consumers, they have less trust for others and are more egoistic than if they are treated as citizens.[49] As consumers, the inhabitants of a community bear just as much responsibility for the community as hotel guests do for their hotel.

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48 Santos, H. C., Varnum, M. E., & Grossmann, I. (2017). Global increases in individualism. Psychological science, 28(9), 1228–1239.

49 Bauer, M. A., Wilkie, J. E., Kim, J. K., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2012). Cuing consumerism: Situational materialism undermines personal and social well-being. Psychological science, 23(5), 517–523.

"The so-called New Public Management which treats citizens as customers undermines engagement. Since someone who feels they are a customer tells themselves that every obligation is taken care of by paying taxes. But that is not enough for a civil society, for a functioning militia system."

RETO LINDEGGER, DIRECTOR OF THE SCHWEIZERISCHE GEMEINDEVERBAND [SWISS ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES]

RETURN TO THE "GOOD OLD DAYS"

In view of an apparently excessive individualism and lack of meaningfulness, many wish for the return to the "good old days" - a community where all care for each other instead of running after egoistic motifs which make people unhappy in the end. The idea behind this is the so-called "noble savage", a person who is good from nature but is corrupted by society which tears him away from his natural habitat.

"Human beings will be happier – not when they cure cancer or get to Mars or eliminate racial prejudice or flush Lake Erie – but when they find ways to inhabit primitive communities again. That's my utopia. That's what I want for me."

KURT VONNEGUT[50]

This image is based more on romantic ideas than anthropological findings. Not just because our "savage" ancestors had already eradicated many animal species. Such primitive structures are often associated with a great deal of social control, rigid hierarchies and repression of minorities. Such forms of control were routine here until recent times. Someone who did not go to church on Sunday would be ostracized before long. Women in many village communities provided volunteer work and took care of children and grandparents. Not doing this would have been social suicide. The Chinese Social Credit

System (see Digitalization promote trust, p. 22) which is supposed to extend social control over the whole nation probably corresponds most completely to implementing this social ideal in a modern 21st century society. In the West, national-populistic trends are the only to some extent successful departures from individualism at present.

A return to primeval structures would be hard to reconcile with our Western ideas of freedom and individualism. On the one hand it is difficult to give up personal freedom. On the other, there is no great vision/ fiction for the future, for which one could give up part of one's individuality.

"Very broadly speaking, in the 19th and 20th centuries, there were three great promises of salvation: The conservative, which said that it was enough if one just adhere to certain values; the socialist idea with its visions of a cohesive classless society and the liberal idea which in principle was the motor of the bourgeois revolution. This says that all freedom and power should be with the individual who wants to assert him/herself and achieve something. And actually, one can say that all three promises of salvation have failed. The conservatives could not hold their values. The socialist ideal perished in 1989 with relatively little fanfare. Afterwards it seemed as if the liberal system had won and would now bring happiness all over the world. But, since 2008 at the latest, many people, even if they are actually very successful, view the economic promise of the free market more as a threat than as a promise. The challenge now is: What is the next vision? And I

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[50]   Vonnegut, K. (1988). Conversations with Kurt Vonnegut. Univ. Press of Mississippi.

believe that nobody at the moment has a vision to offer that goes forward. All that remain are reactionary, backwards-looking visions."
WALTER LEIMGRUBER, DIRECTOR OF THE SEMINAR FOR CULTURAL STUDIES AND EUROPEAN ETHNOLOGY, BASLE UNIVERSITY

INDIVIDUALITY AND ATTACHMENT – SQUARING THE CIRCLE

So, what is left? Are we doomed to a meaningless individualism because there is no convincing vision of the future which generates communality? Or do we let ourselves be forced into a collective corset for the sake of a promised return to the good old days? Or because of a threat from the outside? Will we even revert to a totalitarian system?

We will probably choose a middle way which allows reconciliation of the apparently contradictory needs for autonomy and attachment; for individualism and communality.

"I think the main characteristic of the present time is that predefined communities such as family or village communities are losing significance and communities which are constituted out of people's curiosity, interest and desire are gaining in significance. That is connected with increasing individualism in society. These new communities are less stable since the individual situatively attaches him/herself to a community which is important to him/her just then. That naturally makes it difficult to structure communities so that they can take on a crucial role, since they do not exist permanently."
WALTER LEIMGRUBER, DIRECTOR OF THE SEMINAR FOR CULTURAL STUDIES AND EUROPEAN ETHNOLOGY, BASLE UNIVERSITY

What could communities look like that combine individuality and attachment?

Self-selected, limited-duration groups

We select for ourselves which group we feel we belong to and do not let that be decided by external circumstances such as by place of residence. The groups to which we feel we belong are less binding.

"The key to connecting the needs for attachment and individuality is in project-based and fixed-duration gatherings of people."
MARKUS FREITAG, CHAIR OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY, INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE, BERN.

To maintain this non-binding nature, crowdfunding with time would be conceivable. Instead of donating money for a project, people donate a specific number of hours which will be used for it. If enough hours are collected the project will start.

Trends such as micro, online and tourist volunteering satisfy this time limitation. Micro volunteering is where people volunteer for just a short period and carry out small jobs which are part of a larger project, for example translating a letter during their lunch break or during a train journey. This only works if procedure sequences can be broken up into small enough tasks which can be quickly worked through. Tourist volunteering is designed for short-term engagement of tourists. Digital procurement helps in the search for such short-term deployments. Short-term action is even easier with online volunteering. For example, thousands of amateurs categorize galaxies for NASA at their own pace.[51] Zooniverse.org gives an overview of a variety of such Citizen Science Projects.

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[51] https://www.galaxyzoo.org (6.5.2018)

Matrix of individuality and attachment

Attachment ⊕

Clan / Tribe

Community

Hierarchy

Social control

Repression
of minorities

Individual community

Self-selected,
limited-duration groups

Groups characterized by
individualism and divisions of roles

Joint definition of the rules

Individuality ⊖

Individuality ⊕

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Market

Lack of meaning
Externalities

Attachment ⊖
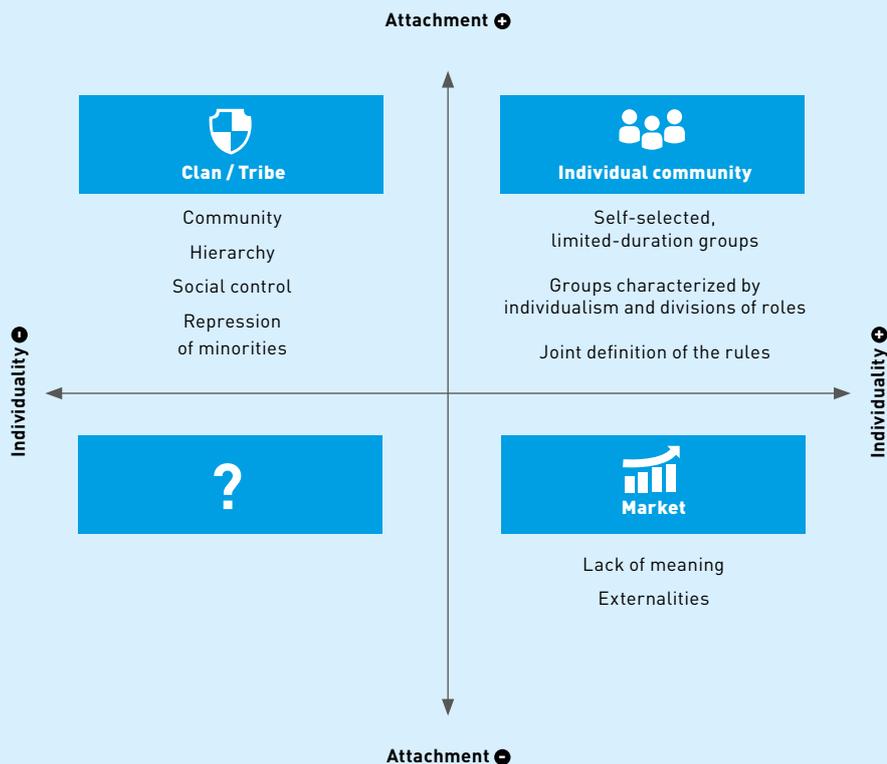
FIGURE 6
Source: GDI

If we only chose groups for ourselves without commitement, it can have the consequence that we leave those groups quickly as soon as there are difficulties there or a conflict arises. In this way one does not learn how to deal with difficulties and conflicts inside such organizations. In 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville referred to associations in this context as the school of democracy.[52]

"It is very possible that I would come across people in formal organizations, such as football associations, whom I don't find that congenial. But if I want to stay in the association, I have to learn to be tolerant. Since I met them regularly I must get along with them, understand them and try to take on their viewpoint."
MARKUS FREITAG, CHAIR OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY, INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE, BERN.

Community characterized by individualism
Some groups, for example the group of artists, are defined by individualism. At Burning Man an important motto is "radical self-expressiveness". This does not seem to conflict with communality.

"In many communities, the individualism of self-expression often occurs at the expense of communal ideals. At Burning Man, self-expression is recast through artistic discourses as a gift to the community."
ROBERT KOZNIETS, KELLOGG SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY[53]

52 de Tocqueville, Alexis (1985 [1835/49]): Über die Demokratie in Amerika. [Democracy in America]. Stuttgart: Reclam Verlag.

53 Kozinets, R. V. (2002). Can consumers escape the market? Emancipatory illuminations from burning man. Journal of Consumer research, 29(1), 20–38.

Due to its federal structure, Switzerland as a country can also be perceived as a group which is defined by individuality. There are several languages, no unified religion and no head of government. Foreign guests are told with pride how different the dialects are between St. Gallen and the Valais or that different languages are spoken in parliament.

For existing volunteer organizations, this means that they must cater to the individual characteristics, skills and wants of the interested parties. For such a division of roles to be possible, participants must be able to have a say and should not just receive a predetermined task. They must also be able to shape the tasks in accordance with their skills.

Joint definition of the rules

Communality is important. But the individual must be able to help shape the communality. Participants must be integrated who actively have a say in aims and ways of proceeding. Participation takes the place of volunteer work. Without the possibility of having a say, the feeling of belonging does not set in. Direct democracy is an important reason why populists in Switzerland have been less successful in fomenting distrust towards elites than elsewhere, where electing a protest party is often seen as the only option for changing the rules of play.

According to Freiwilligenmonitor 2016, for many of those formally engaged it is important not just to perform but also to integrate themselves into the organization. Every second person of those formally engaged viewed a greater say and codetermination in the organization as a measure for increasing formal volunteer engagement.

Codetermination is also important in community-building rituals. In this way the ritual which enables the individual to merge with something "larger" is compatible with individualism.

"We analysed different rituals, among others, a baptism in a catholic church. In fact, in this specific case, the baptism was completely nullified according to catholic rules. Not only because only one of the couple was catholic. The whole group was more multi-cultural and multi-faith. It was a global family which had organized this baptism and at which neither the meal, nor the proceedings, nor the clergyman nor the participants had anything to do with the old rituals. Even worse, they had negotiated with the clergyman about how it should happen. The less such rituals are defined the more inclusive they are. And the more inclusive they are, the more the feeling of belonging is created."

SANDRO CATTACIN, DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH, GENEVA UNIVERSITY

Thus, individuality and attachment can be reconciled. So, civil society must be understood as a collection of many small, self-organized subgroups which sometimes form for a short time only for individual projects, break up shortly thereafter and form again in other constellations. Digitalization simplifies such spontaneous structure formation above and beyond what sluggish associations are capable of.

Even if the great superstructure is lacking - it is important in such a landscape of fragmented ad hoc civic groups that the groups overlap and that group boundaries do not always run along the same lines. So that, for example that the wealthy do not stay together in different constellations and the less-wealthy keep their own company. The political scientist Michael Hermann sees one of Switzerland's winning formulas in this: The country's borders run along very different lines. Thus, the Röstigraben [border between French and German-speaking Switzerland] runs differently than the border between catholic and protestant cantons. Rural central Swiss cantons such as Schwyz and Nidwalden have internationally-oriented cities such as Basle or French-speaking Geneva on the donor side in financial equalization. In this way, predetermined societal breaking points are avoided.

KEY MESSAGES
"Social relatedness - meaning creation happens in a social context"

> Meaning creation is a collective process which is strongly influenced by group memberships.
> Engagement often begins in the local and then becomes larger scale. At present local attachment is eroding. Because of this, the local entry point to engagement is getting lost. National/global engagement requires local anchoring: local engagement should include national/global aspects to be seen as relevant.
> Meaning is more readily found in more collective relationship forms which transcend individuality. Rituals are good tools for this.
> There is a worldwide trend to individualization. On the one hand, individualization is accompanied by more trust towards strangers. That is an important precondition for civic participation. On the other hand, individualization carries the danger that citizens will see themselves as customers and no longer take on any responsibility.
> Individualism and attachment can be reconciled where people select limited-duration group affiliations, the rules are jointly determined within the group and the individual person can co-determine their role in accordance with their skills and desires. People must be able to have a say and may not be just assigned tasks.

Efficacy - being able to make a difference

Meaningfulness does not just arise from autonomy and the internalization of a set of values, ideologies or fictions because of belonging to a group. Experienced efficacy is also important, that is the feeling that one can make a difference as an individual or as a community.

"For some people, engagement is not even based on the Giving Back motive. But rather, I get involved because I can. One feels an efficacy, a capacity to make a difference and mobilizes it."
HEINZ ALTORFER, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SCHWEIZERISCHEN GEMEINNÜTZIGEN GESELL-SCHAFT [SWISS CHARITABLE COMPANY]

For Stefan Tittmann from the OstSinn association, it is clear that experiences of efficacy are made in very small steps at first. If these are successful, the feeling of being able to achieve something grows and one undertakes larger, more abstract goals. The field of effect is expanded. School is a suitable place for the first experiences of civic efficacy. Service-Learning is a teaching and learning method which combines civic engagement for the common good (> Service) with school-based and academic learning (> Learning). The Swiss Centre for Service Learning (servicelearning.ch) also offers tools, materials and support in Switzerland as well.

MEANING IS FOUND IN THE "WHY" NOT THE "HOW"

The "Action Identification Theory"[54] states that, with increasing practice, we represent actions more abstractly (from cutting onions to making soup to gaining friends). We make this abstraction because we can attach more meaning to abstract values (gaining friends) than in specific values (making soup). A greater abstraction leads us to deal with the "why", a low level of abstraction stays put at "how".

Hence volunteers should not just be able to have a say in the performance, the "how", but also help shape the "why". If we have problems with the performance perhaps because a knife is too dull to cut onions, then we fall back on the specific description of the action. That can be the case if, in volunteer engagement, one has to spend more time doing administrative work than directly engaging for the cause. One experiences less self-efficacy. Conceivably, volunteers could be relieved of administration so that they could occupy themselves more with a more abstract level, with questions such as: What do we want to achieve? That is, questions regarding meaning.

"If you have had the experience in an association that you can really do something and change something there and you don't have to worry about administrative stuff, that is much more motivational for further engagement."
STEFAN TITTMANN, VEREIN OSTSINN

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54 Vallacher, R. R., & Wegner, D. M. (1987). What do people think they're doing? Action identification and human behavior. Psychological review, 94(1), 3.

Difficulty and skills

Emotional reactions to different constellations of perceived difficulty of tasks and perceived capability to tackle the task. The further it is outside the average level (on the outer ring) the more intense the experience is.
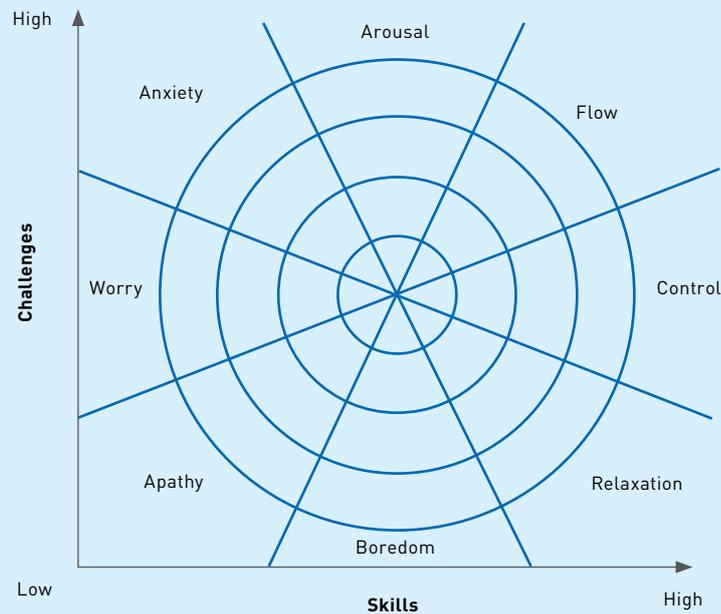

FIGURE 7
Source: Nakamura, J., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2009). Flow theory and research

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For Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi,[55] it is not the abstract representation of the action per se which motivates. Motivation comes about, first and foremost, if it is possible to overcome difficulties and so, bit-by-bit, to approach the abstract representation of the action despite initial adversities. A person experiences the greatest degree of efficacy in a task if he/she can master a relatively difficult challenge with the aid of his/her skills. The authors call this experiencing flow. It leads to a higher self-esteem, a concept which is strongly associated with self-efficacy.[56]

Hence, meaningfulness also exists for volunteers if they themselves can take part in decision-making and if they are tackling tasks which are challenging for them and allow them to grow. Routine undermines the feeling of meaningfulness.

The feeling of being able to achieve something is especially important for older people when they no longer feel needed by society.

"For many of the people I deal with, the question of what they have actually achieved in life becomes more important as they grow older. In opposition to this need, in our society efficacy is rather denied to older people."

ANETTE STADE, PROJECT MANAGER GROSSMÜTTER-REVOLUTION [GRANDMOTHER REVOLUTION]

Demographic change is an enormous opportunity for civil society. Many older people who have time and energy volunteer for the common good. They take responsibility and are challenged. That promotes health. This means that engagement could even be prescribed by the

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55 Nakamura, J., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2009). Flow theory and research. In S. J. Lopez & C. R. Snyder (Eds.), Oxford handbook of positive psychology (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

56 Judge, T. A., Erez, A., Bono, J. E., & Thoresen, C. J. (2002). Are measures of self-esteem, neuroticism, locus of control, and generalized self-efficacy indicators of a common core construct? Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 83(3), 693–1427.
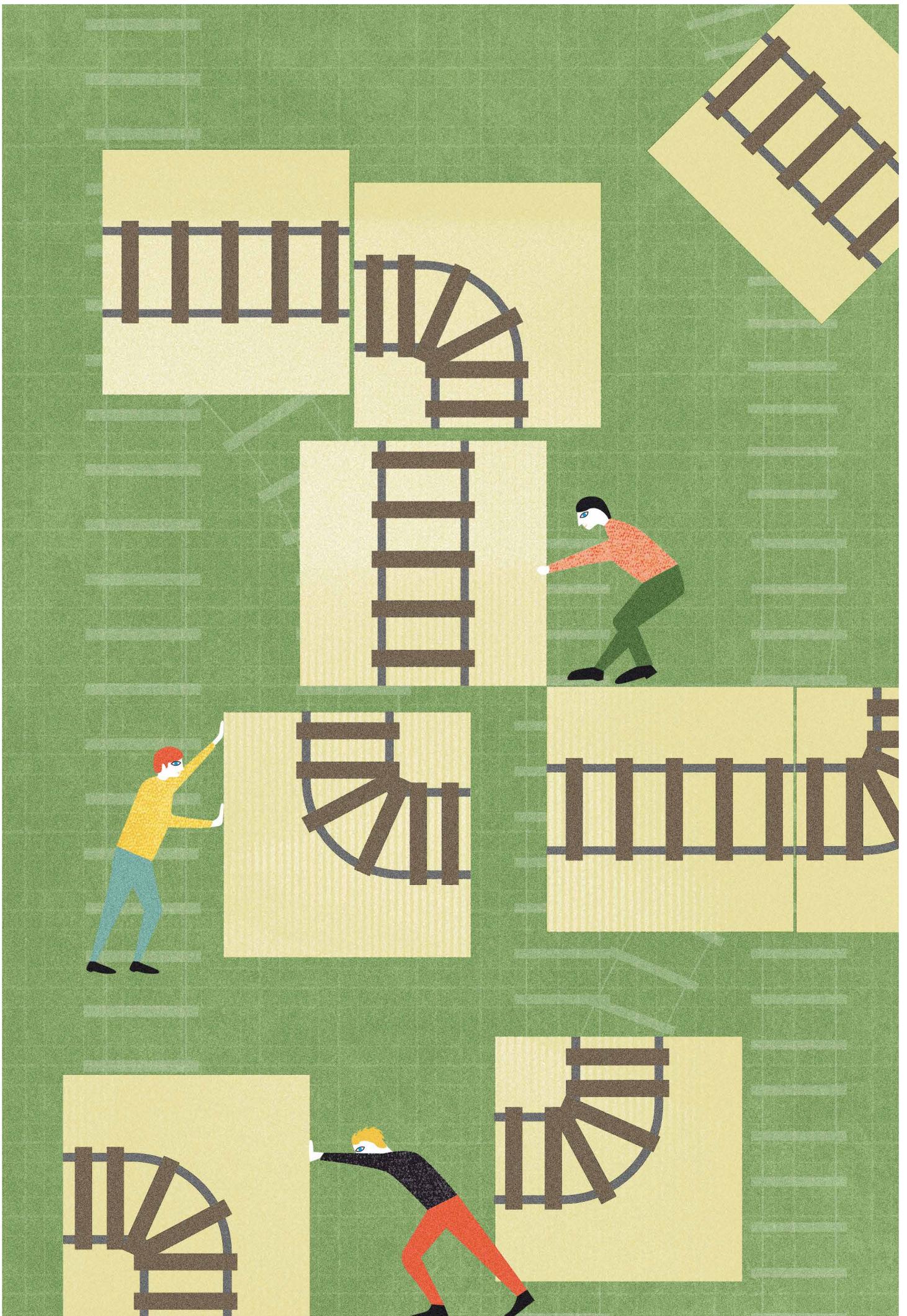
physician. What is important here is that they take on challenging tasks. Not all people of retirement age experience efficacy in looking after their grandchildren or even older people. The skills of pensioners are very diverse. These should be catered for.

EXPERIENCES OF EFFICACY THANKS TO DIGITAL NETWORKING.

Due to digital networking, it has become easier to receive feedback about one's own actions. We can more easily be aware of our own impact. Someone who gives a group of Senegalese a credit for a goat over kiva.org, can view these on the website. Someone who helps to build a hiking path can view photos online to see what the finished hiking path looks like even if he/she was not there to the end. So, it is possible to be the proverbial small cog in the machine and nonetheless to realize why one got involved.

Digitalization allows not only better feedback. It also makes it easy to find a task which perfectly matches one's own needs and skills. Volunteer procurement platforms can indicate the degree of difficulty and required skills for a job. In this, one should not just look at what the volunteers need to be able to do but also at what they can learn.

Digitalization makes tasks easier. It empowers lay people. With lectures, tutorials, instruction videos and Wikipedia articles, everyone is able to educate themselves further about every imaginable topic. Undoubtedly, the internet also contributed to the fact that the number of breweries in Switzerland rose from 32 in 1990 to 833 in 2017. In online forums, like-minded people can communicate, find out about equipment easily and buy it.

Today the smartphone can do things for which several devices were needed a short while ago. Participants in civil society can become active much more easily. Using just a laptop and a smartphone you can make and cut a film without expensive equipment and a professional film team. In just a few clicks you can create your own radio station on radio.co. Using a 3D printer, things can be produced which earlier needed a factory.

Digitalization lowers the entry barrier to civic activity in many areas.

KEY MESSAGES
"Efficacy - being able to make a difference"

> In order to experience meaning, volunteers must deal with the "why" of their actions and not just the performance, the "how".
> That happens when the volunteers can have a say in establishing the aims. Rather than being fobbed off with administrative tasks, they should be able to take on challenging but not too difficult tasks and receive feedback about what they have achieved.
> Many tasks are easier to handle thanks to digitalization. Volunteers can achieve more in different fields.

Accessibility – good intentions alone are not much use

Meaning is important; equally important is easy access to volunteer engagement. In the Freiwilligen-Monitor 2016, it was asked which measures could be used to promote volunteer activity by the general public or the state. The measure which received the most support was: "Better information and advice about opportunities for formal volunteer activity." The same survey showed: The main reason for engagement is a very simple one: The person was asked.[57] It is known from behavioural science that people have no strong opinion about many things they do. Hence their behaviour is strongly influenced by how easy the action is to perform.

So it is plausible that many more people would be ready to participate formally or informally. They just were never asked. They do not know where and how they can lend a hand. This perception is confirmed by the market gazette of the Zeitbörse [Time Exchange] St. Gallen. In this gazette, offers (people who offer skills) and requests (people who are looking for help) are listed separated according to volunteer activity. In the 2017 issue, 30 pages are filled with offers and the requests take up only three pages. Thus, there is no lack of volunteers, but rather of opportunities to participate.[58]

If there is in fact a great deal of readiness to participate, then it is not necessary to use awareness-raising campaigns to emphasize the importance of engagement or to stress the valuable experiences which one can gain with it. It is more important to create channels via which potential volunteers can easily find out about it. What possibilities are there? Where is help needed?

One way is to bring together requests and offers of work performance the way that the Time Ex-change's market gazette and their platform zeit-boerse.ch do. The Job Exchange of the Volunteer Procurement Organization benevol (benev-ol-jobs.ch) proceeds in a similar way. The principle is simple: Someone has a problem, someone else offers a skill with which this problem can be solved and the platform brings offers and requests together.

Offers and requests for items can be coordinated in the same way. At Pumpipumpe.ch, one can order stickers on which different items are depicted, perhaps a bicycle pump or a drill. By attaching the stickers to one's own mailbox, I am showing my neighbours which items are available to borrow from me. This spares the environment, saves money and incites making contact with neighbours.

Offers and requests can be brought together by digital or analogue means in many other areas. This procurement can include skills, knowledge, seats in a car, friendship, homes, time, food, money, opinions and much more. Although this is also the business model of many Silicon Valley start-ups such as Uber or Airbnb, the mechanism can be used equally well for civil society.

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[57]   Freitag, M., Manatschal, A., & Ackermann, K. (2016). Freiwilligen-Monitor Schweiz 2016. M. Ackermann (Ed.). Zürich: Seismo. P. 100–103.

[58]   Naturally, it could be that this is an exchange platform phenomenon because one also actually receives something for the engagement and this asymmetry does not arise in engagement without pay.

Urs Flütsch

S. Moser
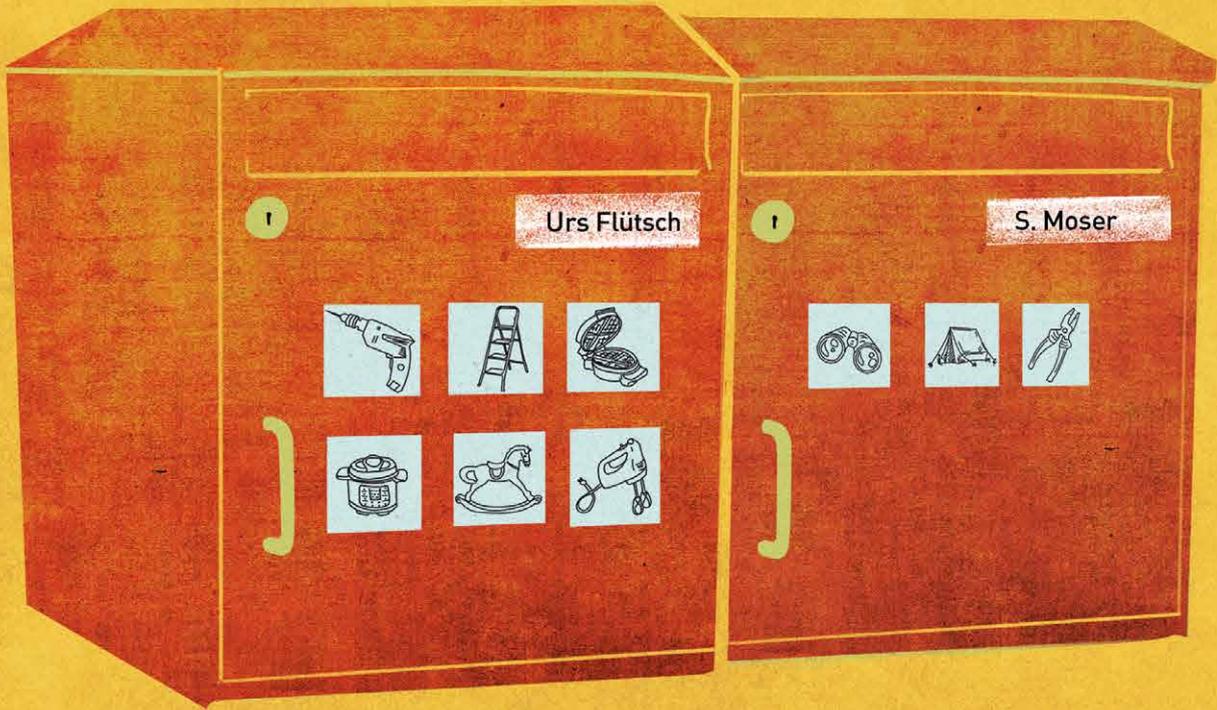
More supply than demand

Asymmetry between many offers and few requests in the market gazette 2017 of the Benevol Time Exchange (translated into English).

FIGURE 8
Source: Marktzeitung 2017 Zeitbörse benevol

Even if Twitter is profit-oriented it can be used for civic engagement. During the Iranian revolution of 2009 people all over the world made proxy servers available to Iranians using Twitter. These are intermediary stations for data transfer which enables the Iranians to access websites like Facebook despite government blockade. Twitter enables access to a rebellion.

In the digital world, the classical distinction between providers, producers and senders on the one hand and requesters, consumers and recipients on the other hand becomes blurred. Everyone is both provider and requester, producer and consumer. This facilitates new forms of coordination for civic engagement. Not just the coordination of resources for a task defined by the client takes place online, the debate about the task itself proceeds online as well. In the ideal case, there is no more distinction between providers and requesters. In place of volunteer work, comes participation.

"In the Time Exchange we had a case where two people played chess together and afterwards charged each other for the hours. Both had the feeling that they had done the other a favour."
PETER KÜNZLE, MANAGING DIRECTOR BENEVOL, ST. GALLEN

Thus it makes sense to not just offer the two roles of provider and requester on a platform. Rather, it should be possible for ideas to be proposed by one person that would perhaps be discussed by others and then implemented by yet other people. If people exchange views with each other enough, there will be no lack of ideas about what is to be done.

Platforms - a golden age of civic participation

In this study we are defining civic participation as a behaviour that, firstly, is not motivated by legal obligation or mere self-interest in the form of direct compensation and, secondly, has its effect in the extended environs. Thanks to the internet, we find ourselves in a golden age of civic participation.

Without a scale of civic participation which was unimaginable 20 years ago, the internet as we know it would be inconceivable. Every minute, 300 hours of video material is uploaded onto YouTube: tutorials, lectures, recipes, opinion and cats. Most people earn nothing from it. A great deal of what we know as Web 2.0 is nothing other than the civic web which runs on digital platforms. Every Tweet, every YouTube video, every restaurant write-up on TripAdvisor, every Wikipedia entry can then be understood as civic participation, provided it is not paid for. But, particularly if long-term engagement is planned, it is sensible to connect digital and participation with analogue. Because attention online is very fleeting.

"Purely digital projects can certainly generate a feeling of community. An example is Twitter campaigns such as #metoo which powerfully promoted solidarity and identification. But if something only takes place online it is often not particularly lasting."

**ADRIENNE FICHTER,
AUTHOR: SMARTPHONE DEMOCRACY**

EXAMPLES OF DIGITAL COOPERATION PLATFORMS

The number of digital platforms which facilitate participation is immense. In order to give an overview of this jungle will divide the platforms into four groups. They differ in the degree of networking. For every group we will give a few examples.

"1:1"

Digital platforms of type "1:1" link requestors with providers. An example is the classical platform for procurement of volunteer work. One person requests a service; another person offers a service. With these platforms, people come into personal contact with each other or with institutions even if this only happens online.

Volunteer Platforms: These are platforms where volunteers are sought for specific tasks and skills or time can be offered. For example: "benevol-jobs.ch", "volunteer-planner.org", "swissvolunteers.ch" or "help-o-mat.de".

Dating Apps: Even the dating App "Tinder" can have a civic function. It brings people from different social circles together who would otherwise never meet. Thus, the increase in "mixed-race couples" in the USA is associated with the introduction of dating platforms.[59]

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[59] Ortega, J., & Hergovich, P. (2017). The strength of absent ties: Social integration via online dating. arXiv preprint arXiv:1709.10478.

Notification portals: Notification portals are platforms on which the residents of a city can report damage and problems (such as graffiti, potholes, outages) so that the city can repair the damages. In Zurich, there is "zueriwieneu.ch" and a UK variant is "fixmystreet.com".

Time exchanges: On time exchanges, services are credited with time credits with which in turn engagement can be "bought". The time currency means: Every service has the same value. An hour is equal to an hour. Hence the system is not to be interpreted as a market pricing relationship type (see Four types of human relationships - "Relational Models Theory", p. 29) but rather as equality matching. Examples of time exchanges are "zeitboerse.ch", "giveandget.ch", "kiss-zeit.ch", "skillharbour.ch".

Exchange platforms: On exchange platforms, skills or items can be offered or exchanged. Some are relatively open and function in the relationship type communal sharing like "pumpipumpe.ch" where users can indicate which items they are offering for borrowing. Others work in the market pricing relationship type. On "simbi.ch", services can be exchanged for an alternative currency, the simbi, or for other services.

"Deutschland spricht" [Germany Speaks]: The German weekly newspaper "Die ZEIT" carried out a project in summer 2017 where people with different political opinions were brought together to discuss.

"Be my eyes": The App "be my eyes" enables visually-impaired people to get a better idea of their surroundings. A blind person sends photos or videos via smartphone to a randomly assigned sighted person who then verbally describes the visual media to him/her.

<mark>**"1:n"**</mark>

In platforms of the type "1:n", no coordination between the providers and requestors is needed. Providers make material available online. Who will make use of it and with what purpose is open. This particularly plays a role in digital services since one can copy these any number of times. Thus users can place their own music on the music platform Soundcloud and offer it for downloading. A song can be heard or downloaded a million times or be completely ignored. If it is provided with a Creative Commons[60] certification, others can use the song for their own purposes, for example, for a video or, depending on the certification, even make a remix of the song. With CopyLeft certification,[61] one's own product, whether it is a song or a software, can be protected so that it cannot be used for commercial purposes. So, if someone uses this for a larger software, the whole software must be made freely accessible for all and so on. The idea is to have a snowball system happen for software so that more and more software keeps out of the market and provides free access.

Media platforms: All platforms on which data are uploaded such as "soundcloud.com", "bandcamp.com", "youtube.com" or "vimeo.com".

Wikis: Wikipedia is just one of many Wikis, a system for joint collating of information. Apart from the administrators, this happens in a relatively uncoordinated way. On "wikiloc.com", people can enter hiking routes. Others can rate these or introduce additional information such as images or water fountain information.

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[60] https://creativecommons.org (6.5.2018)

[61] http://bit.ly/zzp-copy (source: wikipedia.org 6.5.2018)

Open Data: Open Data platforms collect data and make them available for better decision-making "openspending.org", "opencollective.org" or "politik-bei-uns.de [politics here]" are collections of governmental information. They are publicly available and can be analysed and visualized so that citizens can make better political decisions. "metacollect.org" promises to collect and publish data about social projects as well as to network engaged participants. On "patientslikeme.com", patients can share their medical data with others in order to be able to make better predictions about the effectiveness of therapies from the collective data.

Ratings: We give our opinion about every imaginable consumer item by dispensing stars, writing reviews or sharing photos of the location. This happens in restaurants and hotels via "tripadvisor.com", "booking.com" or "google maps". We benefit from other's knowledge about films, music and computer games on "metacritic.com" and learn about every possible product on retail pages like "amazon.com".

"n:1"

Platforms of the type "n:1" are platforms on which many people together support a goal which is previously defined by a person or a group. Examples of this are crowdfunding platforms or platforms which collect signatures.

Crowdfunding: Crowdfunding platforms collect financial resources for a goal. These can be donations but they can also be commercial products which are first financed and then produced. Well-known platforms are "start-next.com", "igive2.help", "kickstarter.com" and "fundrazr.com".

Crowdlending: The credit sector can be also taken on by civil society. On the "kiva.org" platform, people (mostly) from developing countries place applications for credit, for example, to buy a goat. These credits are paid back within a specified period of time usually without interest. "neighborly.com" is a platform on which US administrative departments publish which investments they require money for (for instance, renovating school building X, library Y, district A etc.) Citizens can invest in the project of their choice and receive a return.

Crowd-acting: Many people want to make the world a bit better with small, everyday things and search for fellow campaigners. On "koom.org" one can introduce one's ideas to which others can commit, for instance to cook vegan once a week. "i-boycott.org" is a digital platform over which boycotts can be organized.

Campaigning: Campaign platforms facilitate the collection of signatures for an idea, petition or initiative. Using "wecollect.ch", citizens can collect signatures for Swiss initiatives. All that is needed is to fill out the form on the website, print and send off. On "change.org" or "avaaz.org", signatures can be collected for initiatives and then passed on to policy-makers. The same applies to "compact.de". There, not only are signatures collected, demonstrations can also be called up.

"n:n"

On platforms of the type "n:n", both the goals and the content and services are worked out and coordinated in a collective dialog. Forums like Reddit or cooperation platforms like Slack allow for a lively discussion among the participants. Often, a specific goal is not prescribed, generally just a rough line of approach.

Neighbourhood networks: Neighbourhood networks serve for streamlined communication between neighbours. The "fuerenand.ch" platform is a communication and coordination platform. On it, one can publish events, plan joint activities or trade or gift items on the marketplace. "nebenan.de" or "nextdoor.com" function in a similar way. "2324.ch" describes itself as an online village square. The community informs its residents that they can play a part in the community or communicate with each other.

"citylity.com" One of the most diverse of the civic participation platforms is the French city platform CityLity. CityLity is a mixture of interactive map, networking and communication platform Businesses, associations, public toilets and services are retrievable; accidents, or construction sites, parking places, bus-stops are marked. Using CityLity, citizens can report damage or desires to the city or their renters or they can get in contact with neighbours. Whether it is because you want to inform them that you will be making noise, because you are looking for a badminton partner, because you want to take a vote about the planned cycle racks or because you need help putting together an Ikea closet. CityLity needs to be introduced by a city or at least a building management. The advantage: Right from the beginning, many participants are gained for the platform which is an essential prerequisite for it to work.

"make.org": "make.org" is a French debate platform for social issues. Everyone can introduce ideas about which everyone else can debate and vote on and which they can implement jointly.

Coding Platforms: Coding platforms such as "github.com" or "sourceforge.net" are platforms for software development on which software code can be shared with others and joint projects like the open source operating system Linux can be coordinated. The code is the central thing, for which everyone can propose improvements. Depending on the project, the decision on proposal acceptance proceeds more or less democratically. If someone does not agree with the rejection of his/her idea, he/she can "fork" the software. That means one creates a parallel version. Such platforms often follow a "1:n" logic when someone simply places a piece of code online which others use for their purposes. Since this code is jointly improved, adjusted and discussed, there is the possibility of an "n:n" logic.

"reddit.com": Reddit is an internet forum which is divided into different thematic sub-forums, known as subreddits. Since everyone can create their own subreddit, there is hardly a topic in this world which does not have its own subreddit. Participants can publish either links to other websites or their own ideas on these subreddits. All users can either upvote or downvote these links or ideas. In addition, every link and every idea can be repeatedly commented on. Every comment can in turn be commented on and again be upvoted and downvoted. Thus, those links and ideas which the subreddit community finds the most interesting are upped.

"Digital democracy": Particularly in countries with a representative democracy or a lack of democracy, digital tools are used so that more people can take part in a digital discussion.[62] "dcentproject.eu" is a project promoted by the EU from which many such participative tools arose. For example, a digital platform for local

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[62]   Fichter, A. (2017). Smartphone Democracy NZZ Libro.

political participation in Barcelona or a "participatory budgeting" tool with the help of which citizens can take part in decision-making about the budget of Reykjavik. Similar direct democracy projects are "civocracy.org", "democracyos.org", "democratieouverte.org" or "flui.city". "ciwik.com" or "engage.ch" allow the introduction of political ideas and direct contact with politicians.

"meetup.com": Meetup is a platform which was inspired by the book Bowling Alone by Robert Putnam. The founders wanted to make a digital tool with which people could organize personal meetings in groups. By now it is used by completely different groupings, from fan groups, by way of hobby electronics enthusiasts, all the way to political movements. Due to of Meetup, the Italian "Cinque Stelle" movement grew big and was able to mobilize many people for politics.[63]

Project management and decision-making tools: On platforms such as "slack.com" or "loomio.org", groups can discuss ideas together, share data and take a vote.

KEY MESSAGES
"Accessibility - good intentions alone are not much use"

> Aside from motivation, simplicity and accessibility are the decisive factors in decisions about engagement and participation. Many people are willing to get involved but know only little about where and how they can do so.
> The digital world opens new opportunities for participation. Getting involved has become so easy that it is no longer considered to be participation let alone volunteer work but rather as fun.
> In the digital world, the distinction between providers and requestors vanishes; participation happens.

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[63]   http://bit.ly/zzp-5stern (source: republik.ch 6.5.2018)

Overview of different digital participation platforms

1:1	**Volunteer platforms** - volunteer-planner.org - Swissvolunteers.ch - help-o-mat.de - benevol-jobs.ch - ...	**Time exchanges** - zeitboerse.ch - giveandget.ch - kiss-zeit.ch - skillharbour.ch	**E xchange platforms** - pumpipumpe.ch - simbi.com - obugoo.com	**Dating apps** - Tinder - ...
				Notification portals - zueriwieneu.ch - fixmystreet.com - ...
	«bemyeyes» «Deutschland spricht»			
1:n	**Media platforms** - youtube.com - soundcloud.com - bandcamp.com - vimeo.com	**Wikis** - wikipedia.org - wikiloc.com - ...	**Open Data** - openspending.org - opencollective.com - politik-bei-uns.de - metacollect.de - patientslikeme.com - ...	**Ratings** - tripadvisor.com - booking.com - google maps - amazon.com - metacritic.com
n:1	**Crowdfunding** - startnext.com - igive2.help - kickstarter.com - fundrazr.com - ...	**Crowd lending** - kiva.org - neighborly.com - ...	**Crowd Acting** - koom.org - i-boycott.org - ...	**Campaigning** - wecollect.ch - change.org - avaaz.org - campact.de - ...
n:n	**Digital Democracy** - dcentproject.eu - civocracy.org - democratieouverte.org - flui.city - ciwik.com - engage.ch - ...	**Neighbourhood networks** - fuerenand.ch - nextddor.com - 2324.ch - ... «meetup.com»	**Coding Plattform** - github.com - sourceforge.net - ... **Project management and Decision-making tools** - slack.com - loomio.org - ...	
	«make.org» «reddit.com» «citylity.com»			

FIGURE 10
Source: GDI

Handing on of tasks to the state and market

In order to understand the distribution of tasks between state, market and civil society it is necessary not only to examine whether they suit civil society, it is equally important to query: When do tasks suit the state and the market and are passed on by civil society?

The state: Preserver of social cohesion

Historically, many tasks have gone over from civil society to the state. In Switzerland, for instance, the church played an important role in education for a long time. The state increasingly took over this task. Since the 1874 revision of the Federal Constitution, it offers all children mandatory, non-denominational school-based education. The state pension has only existed since 1948. The Swiss Confederation of Trade Unions and the committee of SP and FDP representatives won through in this, whereas catholic circles as well as employer's associations stood "offside".[64]

"At the beginning, numerous companies introduced their own pension plans; these were the forerunners of today's pension funds. Although the system worked, not all employers offered this insurance. With the AHV, a state pension plan was introduced which benefitted all employees and was able to largely conquer the poverty among seniors which existed then. Today the true strength of the system lies in the fact that the private sector and the state participate equally in it and perform different roles: Securing of means of subsistence by one side and safeguarding standard of living by the other."
KATJA GENTINETTA, POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER

The state is a solidarity-based system and to establish fairness and equal opportunities and to prevent a drifting apart of society, the state takes on certain tasks. State intervention is often demanded out of a fear of an impending "two-tier society".

Thus the state takes over services which we consider to be minimum standards or necessities. What belongs to the minimum standard and how much inequality can be tolerated or is even necessary for progress remains the subject of continuous political discussion. Since progress usually begins with an elite, this inevitably leads to a drifting apart of society. If one wants to prevent that the minimum standards must be adjusted. An increasing number of services become necessities and thus should be taken over by the state. School education for everyone, for instance, was not seen as a necessity for a long time. Today, even televisions and telephones belong in to minimum subsistence level. It is currently being disputed whether gender reassignments should be paid by health insurance. Stable internet connection and unlimited data volume will be a necessity in the foreseeable future. Hence, if the standard of living of a privileged group rises, the minimum standard also rises and with it the demands on the state. Otherwise this discrepancy between the opportunities of the richest and the poorest citizens will threaten to tear apart social cohesion.

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[64] Hist. Lexikon der Schweiz [Lexicon of Swiss History]: Alters- und Hinterlassenenversicherung (AHV) [Old-age and surviving dependents insurance] http://bit.ly/zzp-ahv

So, along with economic growth, the *number of services* which the state must cover for those who do not benefit from the economic growth rises. If the gap between poor and rich grows, the *number of recipients* of these services also increases. This gap is growing in European countries.[65] In Switzerland, the affluence gap is only growing if one considers the appreciation in capital for the top 5% separately.[66]

An expansion in the state's ranges of services due to increasing minimum standard is not compulsory. The state can also just finance the service and source the service itself from the market. The financing can occur via (possibly income-dependent) vouchers, such as childcare vouchers for nurseries in Bern.[67] The nurseries are provided by the private sector but receive money from the state. However, to take part in the voucher system the nurseries must be government-approved, that is they must comply with its standards.

Basic income goes one step further. With this, the state provides just a certain amount of money and the individuals decide for themselves what to do with it. The state could entrust all future necessities to the market. What would then happen to those who could not afford certain necessities whether from their own fault or not.

Market - can you not buy that?

Private companies generally only take over tasks when they can profit from them. In order to earn money with something not only must there be a demand for this service but also a willingness to pay for it.

WILLINGNESS TO PAY-WHAT WE ARE WILLING TO PAY MONEY FOR

As explained in the "Relational Model Theory" (see Four types of human relationships - "Relational Models Theory", p. 29), the nature of the social relation changes with payment. So, paying for a need for a certain relationship mode, for belonging or intimacy is paradoxical. Thus, many lonely people have a need for more friendship, sexual contact or a steady partnership. Nonetheless, the majority are not willing to give a partner or a friend money for them to take on this role. This role is devalued by the financial compensation.

But naturally there is also prostitution. Maybe in future conceptions will change regarding the kind of relationship mode in which intimacy should be experienced. Already there are services in Japan with which you can rent friends and partners.[68] In Switzerland people feel increasingly lonely (30% in 2007, 36% in 2012).[69] It is conceivable that this increase will make payment for social contact more socially acceptable. Online dating was also taboo once and today it is normal. Also, one gives money to professionals so that one can talk about one's own problems - a task which previously would have been taken on by family and friends. Instead of renting out spouses like in Japan, in this country it is more likely that the work field of therapists, coaches or carers will expand. Some of them could become paid friends. When robots and

65 http://bit.ly/zzp-rich (source: economist.com 6.5.2018)
66 http://bit.ly/zzp-boris (source: boris.unibe.ch 6.5.2018)
67 http://bit.ly/zzp-krippe (source: gef.be.ch 6.5.2018)
68 http://bit.ly/zzp-fake (source: theatlantic.com 6.5.2018)
69 http://bit.ly/zzp-einsam (source: bfs.admin.ch 6.5.2018)

speech assistants take over this role, the payment (purchase or rental of the robots) is less problematic. As a rule, an equitable relationship is not expected from a robot yet.

"There are studies which show that the robot which helps someone to turn over in bed when there are position problems is called to the sickbed more often. Simply, there is no social obligation with robots."
THEO WEHNER, WORK PSYCHOLOGIST, ETH ZURICH

CHARGEABILITY - WHERE CAN YOU PUT A PRICE-TAG?

When it comes to the readiness to pay for social services, not only is willingness critical but also chargeability. Payment for a service requires the negotiation of a price. For small services, such as holding a door open, or lending a drill, the costs of the negotiation would exceed the price itself. So, it is not worth it. Also, a price is often not easy to determine. If I want to lend my neighbour my drill for money, I will have great difficulty determining how much wear he had given it. There is no efficient method for price determination.

In his book "Postcapitalism", Paul Mason describes the commercialization of ordinary life.[70] In the so-called sharing economy, bedrooms, private cars, roller skates, our free time are turned into tradeable goods. It thus becomes easier to pay for things for which previously we either gave nothing or bartered in a non-market economy relationship mode. The market thus penetrates ever deeper into out private life.

Hence an important prerequisite for the commercialization of everyday life is chargeability. This has become easier thanks to digitalization.

A taximeter is no longer necessary to charge precisely for a car journey. The smartphone can determine the journey almost to the meter and calculate a price from it which is automatically transferred. With increasing quantification, the world is increasingly well mapped digitally. Actions are chargeable. And quantification is increasing at breakneck speed. We measure our steps, our tasks and our health. With the internet of things, we can determine the exact position and status of every object at any time. We can lend the drill and calculate the loan period to the second or the number of revolutions of the drill-head. At the same time, financial transactions are becoming increasingly simple. On a trip with Uber or an overnight stay with Airbnb one hardly notices anymore that money has moved. It changes its owner automatically.

In a digitally measured world it is possible to financially compensate every behaviour automatically.

"Separate billing: good friendship" - sometimes, it is actually more pleasant to pay for something than receive it as a gift. Since a present often means an obligation. Either gratitude or a quid-pro-quo is expected.

"If one speaks with service recipients about volunteer engagement, one notices how hard it can be to accept a gift too. I do know what it's like for you, but for me it is often easier to give than to receive and to be indebted to someone."
PRISKA MUGGLI, MANAGING DIRECTOR ZEITVORSORGE [TIME PROVISION] ST. GALLEN

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[70] Paul Mason (2015). Post capitalism: A Guide to our Future. London: Allen Lane.

In the "Relational Models Theory", the market pricing relationship form is the one with the least liability. That is why the couch surfing platform, on which people offered sleeping spaces for free, lost popularity when Airbnb emerged (there were other reasons also). On Airbnb, one pays for the overnight stay, the relationship form is settled. Nobody expects that you get along with them or even spend time with them as happens with couch-surfing. The more binding relationship form of couch surfing is more strenuous and uncertain than the relationship which is based on market pricing. Many people prefer to choose the more comfortable version.

It is conceivable that in future our everyday life will be accompanied by micro-transactions, running in the background below our threshold of perception, for example, where a digital assistant transfers a small amount of money if someone explains something to me. Thus, although on a social level we would still live the equality matching relationship form or even that of communal sharing, yet in the background, as the operating system of our society so to speak, micro-actions would be paid for with micro transactions. We will pay out money and earn it without noticing it.

KEY MESSAGES
*"Handing on of tasks
to the state and market"*

> Tasks are passed over to the state when they are seen as necessities. The state ensures that a minimum standard is maintained for all citizens.
> This minimum standard increases along with progress and the new possibilities which it brings. What matters is not just securing survival, but also social cohesion.
> The market takes over tasks if there is willingness to pay for the service. That changes with time.
> The market takes over tasks if they are chargeable. With the increasing quantification of the world that could apply to more actions in future. Even the smallest provision of aid could be chargeable and thus removed from civil society.

Push and pull factors – how the state, market and civil society divide up tasks

Which tasks will be taken over by the state, the market or civil society? To assign the tasks to the players statically is not sensible. One the one hand, because the distribution is constantly changing and, on the other hand, because most tasks are found between the poles and are not exclusively performed by one player.

Therefore we will give a dynamic image of this distribution. For this we distinguish reasons for tasks being taken over (pull factors) or handed over (push factors) by the individual players.

STATE - PULL FACTORS

Threats to security If there is a threat to life and limb, then there must be swift action. The state therefore takes over these tasks Example: governmental coordination of aid in the case of natural catastrophes.

Political opportunism What the state takes care of depends on the politicians who usually want to be re-elected. The things that concern the voters do not necessarily have too much to do with the actual problems. Fear of terrorism, for example, is much more pronounced than fear of traffic accidents although traffic claims more victims. For this reason, the war on terrorism has a high priority in many states and reducing the number of traffic victims is further down on the list.

Social balance The state ensures that all citizens enjoy at least a minimal standard of living. That is why school education and medical care are regulated by the state.

STATE - PUSH FACTORS

Costs If a task is too expensive for the state it is often passed on. Example: Privatization of local public transport.

Newness If something is new, the state finds it hard to regulate. This can be seen in the handling of cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin which is giving headaches to tax authorities and legal practitioners around the world.

MARKET - PULL FACTORS

Scarceness Only things which are scarce can be traded in. For a long time, the care of dependent retirees was a family matter. Scarcity occurred only after they no longer took over this care as a matter of course. The care was taken over by the market among others.

Commercializability Only things which are chargeable can be traded in. Using the GPS tracker in their cell phone, anyone can function as a taxi. The route is precisely chargeable even without a taximeter.

CIVIL SOCIETY - PULL FACTORS

Efficacy Civil society players take over tasks when they can really achieve something with it. An entry in Wikipedia has millions of potential readers. You can reach the world with it.

Accessibility The easier an action is to perform, the more likely that it will be carried out by civil society. Online volunteering allows engagement that previously was not possible and is enthusiastically availed of, for example in Citizen Science.

Flexibility Civil society is more likely to take over tasks which allow flexibility. Helping out at a festival for two days does not restrict one's personal flexibility very much. In contrast, caring for children or the elderly necessitates regularity.

**Reasons for distribution of tasks between state,
market and civil society.**
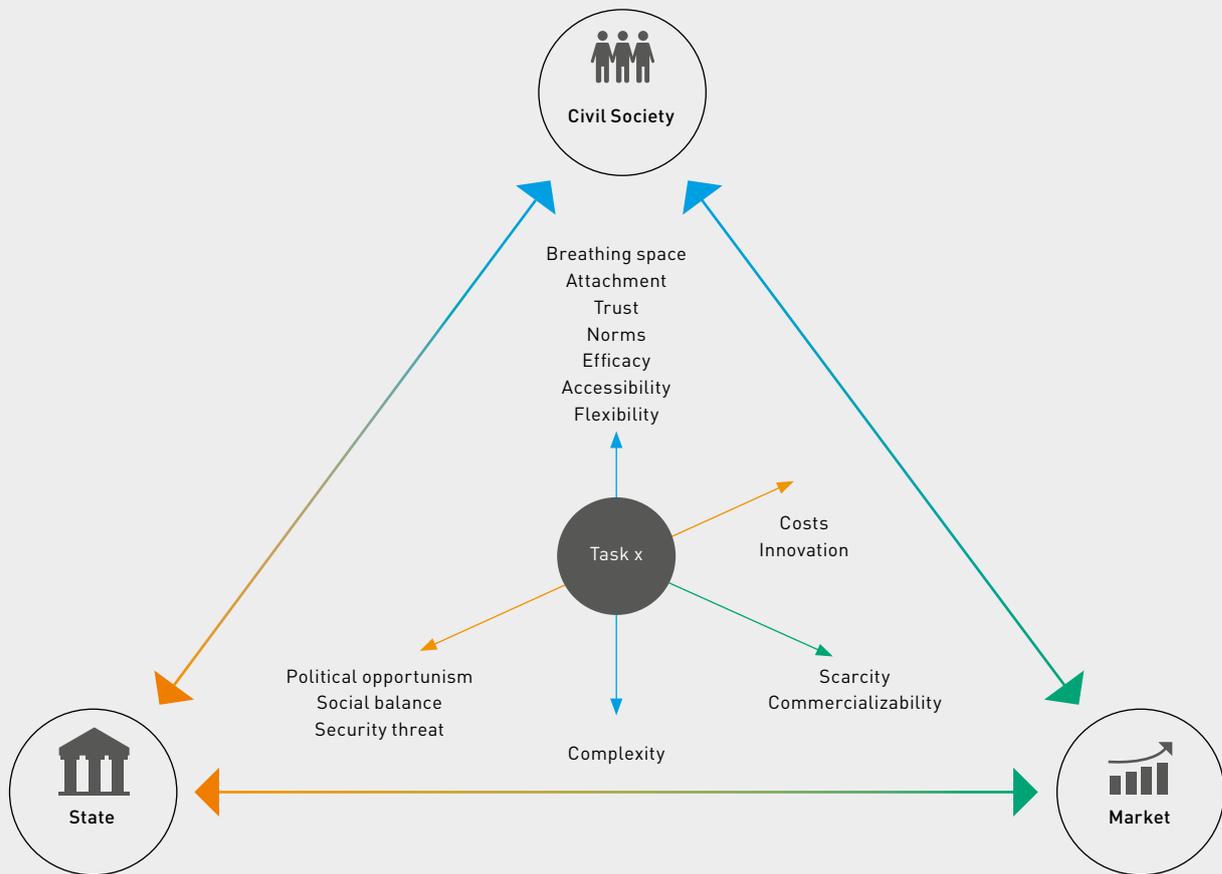
Figure 11

Breathing space Breathing space is required in order to engage voluntarily. In Berlin, a great deal of breathing space could be used as a result of reunification in which community gardens and urban culture could develop.

Trust Trust towards one's environs is a prerequisite for people to make an effort for each other. Where trust is lacking more interpersonal transactions must be contractually regulated.

Norms Volunteering is more strongly anchored in the USA as a cultural norm. Hence even school classes provide volunteer work.

CIVIL SOCIETY - PUSH FACTORS

Complexity Tasks must be simple enough that they can be carried out by civil society. For example, the increasing complexity of modern medicine results in the fact that medical tasks must be increasingly given over to the state and the market.
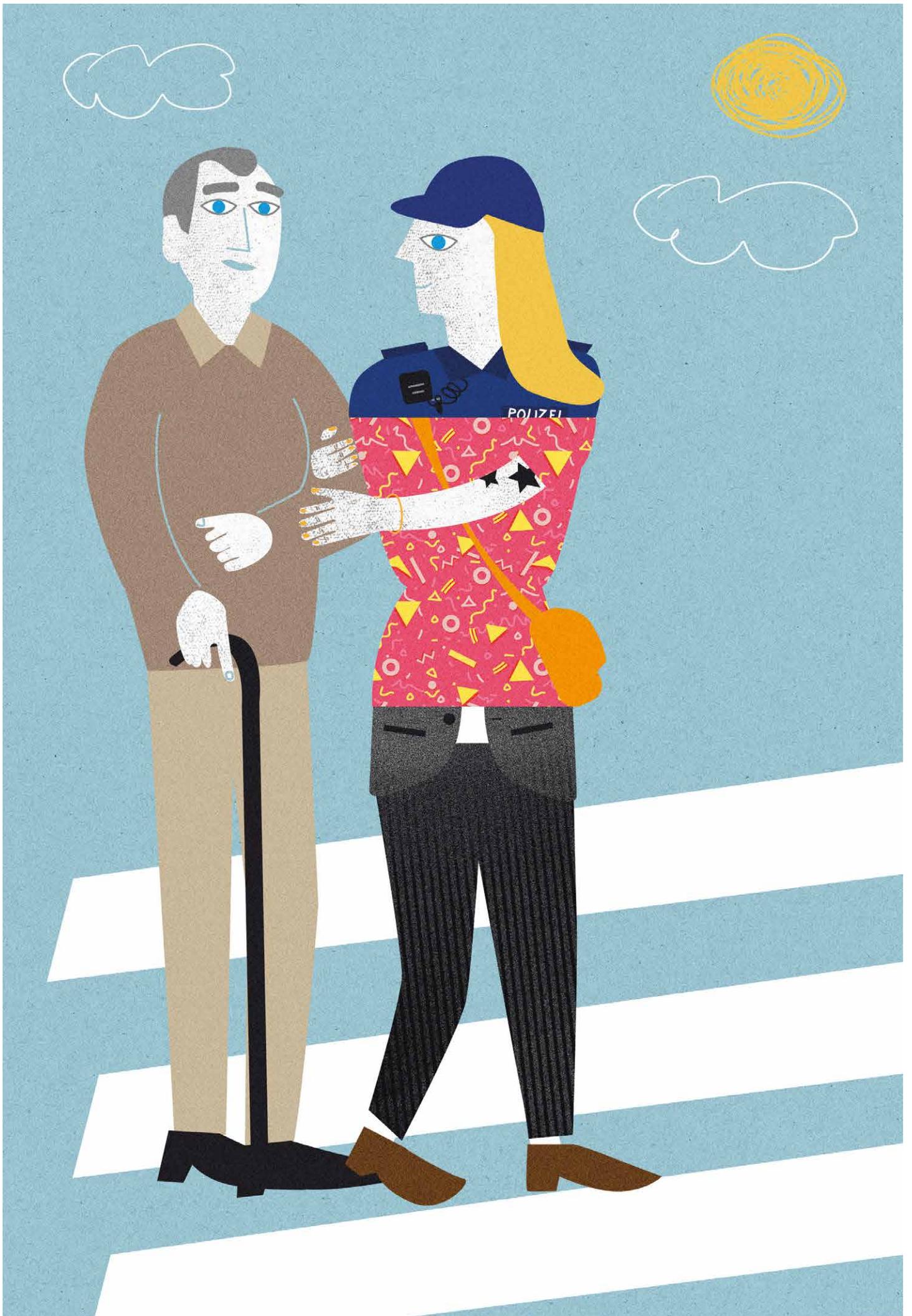
State, market and civil society –
a zero sum game?

In the previous chapter we discussed why civil society has handed over tasks to the state or the market. Important: The differences between the players are ideal typical and rarely in reality so unambiguous. In Switzerland, state and civil society are particularly intertwined due to the citizen-politics militia system. But even in other instances only a very few tasks are exclusively executed by one of these three players. Most tasks are hybrid forms.

At first glance, handing over tasks seems like a zero-sum game. If civil society hands over something to the state or the market it has less to do than before. But is that really true?

We distinguish between two different conceptions. The competition hypothesis states that the state, market and civil society compete for tasks. This competitive situation manifests between state and market for example in the discussion about privatization. The symbiosis hypothesis states that the three players promote each others activities.

Competition hypothesis

According to the competition hypothesis, the state, market and civil society are antagonists. The deployment of one player undermines that of the other two (at least in a specific area). Civil society as the most flexible player is often the first to take over tasks. The state takes on the task if the service is seen as a necessity and is not rendered by civil society over a wide area. The market takes over a task if it can be commercialized. That means when citizens are willing to pay for it and the service is chargeable.

In 1989, the American sociologist Alan Wolfe warned against the institutionalization of infor-

mal social obligations by the welfare state. He felt this would weaken interpersonal connections and thus threaten social cohesion.[71] According to this view, incapacitation of the individual occurs through too much governmental involvement. Knowing about municipal cleaning services could undermine responsibility for the environment. Knowing that people are cared for by the state, for example by social welfare, could reduce our feeling of responsibility towards people in need of help. We can buy our way out of responsibility and social obligation on the market.

Conversely, the competition hypothesis states that civil society becomes active if the state or market either does not perform a task or does it inadequately. A task is meaningful for civil society if it is not already taken over by the state or market. Neighbourhood watches emerge if the state's security is seen as inadequate. Parents organize themselves into groups if they cannot find a place at a nursery. Many people travelled to Greece in 2016 to support refugees because the EU did not behave the way they felt was needed. The election of Trump as US president mobilized many people to political engagement who had previously been under-represented in politics, in particular, women and non-white minorities.[72]

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[71] Wolfe, A. (1989). Whose Keeper? Social Science and Moral Obligation. Berkeley: University of California Press.

[72] http://bit.ly/zzp-wahl (source: npr.org 6.5.2018)

Boycotts against companies emerge from civil society. All protest movements, from G20 demonstrations to the Arab Spring, can be interpreted as civic correctives against a perceived failure of the state. That fits in with the competition hypothesis.

Symbiosis hypothesis

The interaction of state, market and civil society can also be viewed as cross-fertilization. The symbiosis hypothesis states that the distribution of task between the state, market and civil society is not a zero-sum game. The three poles provide each other a fertile breeding ground. All three can therefore prosper better.

The state takes care of infrastructure, individual rights and the implementation of contracts. The market provides prosperity. Civil society is a laboratory for innovation (see Autonomy - Civil society needs breathing spaces, p. 14) and cares for social structures which strengthen networking and trust within the society. Both the market and the state benefit from this. The three players can provide a fertile breeding ground to each other or directly cooperate with each other for example in Public Private Partnerships.

Empirical examination of the hypotheses

How can one examine the competition and symbiosis hypotheses empirically? The simplest option is to compare affluence, welfare state and participation in several countries. According to the competition hypothesis, countries with less affluence and/or a less-developed welfare state would show more civic participation. According to the symbiosis hypothesis, the converse should be true. In countries with a high level of afflu-

ence and/or a developed welfare state, there should be more civic participation.

Importantly: No causalities can be derived from these associations (cause-effect relationships). It cannot be proven that affluence or welfare state have an influence on civic participation or vice versa. But it does allow hypotheses to be rejected. If the competition hypothesis predicts a negative association between welfare state and civic engagement but the association is positive then one can reject the competition hypothesis or at least must differentiate it significantly. Hence, demands for less welfare state in favour of a healthy civil society contradict the data.

Two large European surveys provide comprehensive data about civic participation: the "European Quality of Life Survey" and the European Values Survey". Between 1,000 and 2,000 people per country were surveyed for these studies and the results are freely available. All EU member states and some neighbouring states are included. This data shows how many people are politically engaged, are members of associations and organizations and dedicate themselves to unpaid work in each country. This corresponds to the structural definition of civil society which is easiest to measure. However we do not go on the assumption that informal participation differs fundamentally in relation to the competition and symbiosis hypotheses.

In order to examine the competition and symbiosis hypotheses we resorted to the findings of other studies and on our own statistical analysis. We will forgo statistical key figure for the sake of greater readability and just sketch out the associations. The calculations on which this is based can be looked up online under www.gdi.ch/zg-methode.

AFFLUENCE AND ENGAGEMENT
GO HAND IN HAND

Well-developed formal civic structures and economic well-being go hand in hand. There is a wide range of statistical evidence for this. Thus in bernese communities, the number of associations - an expression of a healthy civil society - is related to economic affluence. There are more associations in wealthier communities.[73]

On a European level, we find a very clear relationship between per capita gross domestic product and civic participation. In wealthier countries more people are involved in voluntary work and are members of an association or organization than in other countries. This applies to more or less all areas of engagement. It is certainly not the case that people in wealthy countries just get involved in theatre groups while people in poorer countries are engaged in social aid.

Similar results are found with political engagement. In wealthier countries, more people say that they would go to the polls if there was a general election tomorrow. In wealthier countries, more people sign petitions and take part in boycotts and demonstrations.

It is not just wealthier countries where participation is more marked. In all the European countries, wealthier people are more likely to be active. However, engagement does not rise constantly with increasing wealth. In Switzerland, all those surveyed by the Freiwilligen-Monitor with a monthly income greater than 5,000 francs were active to roughly the same extent. However people who earn little, are less active.

It can be concluded: Affluence is associated with civic participation. This applies just as much in comparisons between countries as well as com-

parisons between citizens within individual countries. How exactly affluence and engagement are associated cannot be answered with correlations.

It is conceivable that affluence leads to more individual and social breathing space (see Autonomy - Civil society needs breathing spaces, p. 14) and that wealthier people have had more experience of efficacy (see Efficacy - being able to make a difference, p. 39). Poorer people in poorer countries are more likely to lapse into a learned helplessness[74] and a concomitant fatalism - "it's no use anyway". Conversely, it is often argued that prosperity only flourishes when there is a strong civic network. Because then people are more likely to trust each other (see Regulation as an expression of mistrust, p. 19). Quite different factors such as for example a protestant work ethic could also play a role. According to the symbiosis hypothesis there should not be a simple causality, but rather the factors should be mutually beneficial.

It is interesting to consider what exactly these causalities would look like, yet even without this explanation an important point can be concluded: The association between affluence and civic participation contradicts a strictly interpreted competition hypothesis. Affluence in European countries does not necessarily lead to people bothering about each other less and buying their way out of social obligations and responsibilities. The opposite appears to be the case.

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[73] Franzen, A., & Botzen, K. (2014). "Mir hei e Verein [We've got a club]": Eine Studie über Vereine, Sozialkapital und Wohlstand im Kanton Bern. [A study of associations, social capital and prosperity in the Bernese canton.] Swiss Journal of Sociology, 40(1).

[74] http://bit.ly/zzp-help (source: wikipedia.org 6.5.2018)

STATE SERVICES AND PARTICIPATION

What influence does the state have on civic engagement? Three assertions could be derived from the competition hypothesis which contradict the symbiosis hypothesis:

> A strong state which takes over many tasks undermines the personal initiative of civil society because it disenfranchises the individual and removes responsibility for hisself/herself and his/her environment.
> Lower trust in the state should lead to people being more likely to organize themselves because they cannot rely on the state to control things for them.
> In general, grievances should result in more engagement in this area (irrespective of whether the citizens expect the state to eliminate this grievance).

Is there evidence in European countries that a strong state undermines the citizens' personal initiative and hence civic participation?

In order to answer this question statistically a parameter for a "strong state" must first be determined. One possibility is the proportion of social expenditure to gross domestic product. Eurostat collects this data.[75] However they relate to the financial extent of state redistribution only and not to the efficiency of the administration or the restriction of personal or entrepreneurial freedoms.

The data shows: in countries with developed social welfare, more people volunteer or are members of an association or a charitable organization. That does not mean that more social welfare results in more engagement. But it is apparent that social welfare does not necessarily undermine engagement.

Other studies come to similar conclusions. They show that high social welfare is associated with more interpersonal trust,[76] a smaller divide between poor and rich in participation[77] and more trust in institutions and other people. However, tax and social welfare fraud are less harshly judged in such societies.[78] Financial support for non-profit organizations is accompanied by more volunteer engagement.[79]

The symbiosis hypothesis predicts exactly this association between affluence, state services and civic participation. It cannot be proven, however, because such correlative associations do not reveal anything about causality. But it is clear that these positive correlations contradict a strict interpretation of the competition hypothesis which had predicted negative correlations. Strong social services do not automatically undermine the engagement of civil society. That also fits in with studies which show that financial support of people affected by poverty does no lead to them working less.[80]

75 http://bit.ly/zzp-euro (source: ec.europa.eu 6.5.2018)

76 Brewer, K. B., Oh, H., & Sharma, S. (2014). "Crowding in" or "crowding out"? An examination of the impact of the welfare state on generalized social trust. International Journal of Social Welfare, 23(1), 61–68.

77 Van Ingen, E., & van der Meer, T. (2011). Welfare state expenditure and inequalities in voluntary association participation. Journal of European Social Policy, 21(4), 302–322.

78 Van Oorschot, W., & Arts, W. (2005). The social capital of European welfare states: The crowding out hypothesis revisited. Journal of European Social Policy, 15(1), 5–26.

79 Salamon, L. M., & Sokolowski, W. (2001). Volunteering in cross-national perspective: Evidence from 24 countries.

80 Banerjee, A. V., Hanna, R., Kreindler, G. E., & Olken, B. A. (2017). Debunking the stereotype of the lazy welfare recipient: Evidence from cash transfer programs. The World Bank Research Observer, 32(2), 155–184.

A CLOSER LOOK

So far the focus of this study has been on relatively abstract categories. Public spending has been correlated with membership of associations and gross domestic product. Below we intend to become a degree more specific. Does dissatisfaction with a situation or a specific state service lead to people being more likely to engage in this area? According to the competition hypothesis, in countries with worse social systems, more people should engage socially and in places with environmental problems, more people should be active in environmental associations. The opposite appears to be the case. In the following areas a clear association is seen between the quality of services and the engagement in this area.

Illustrative example for the following pages: engagement in social auxiliary services is positively associated with trust in the welfare system. The association is represented as a correlation coefficient and is r = 37. A correlation coefficient can take a range between 0 (no relation) and 1/-1 (perfect relation). The correlation coefficient in brackets is controlled for the third factor (if the third factor is statistically separated out). Engagement in social auxiliary services and trust in social systems correlated to r = 0.22 if one controls for the GDP.

Engagement in social auxiliary services

Trust in the social welfare system (recorded in the European Values Study 2008) correlated positively on a national level with engagement in social auxiliary services for the elderly, handicapped and socially disadvantaged (in brackets after control for the relevant third factor).

Engagement in social auxiliary services

r= .37
(r= .22)

r= .51
(r= .44)

Trust in the welfare system

Gross Domestic Product

r= .38
(r= .24)
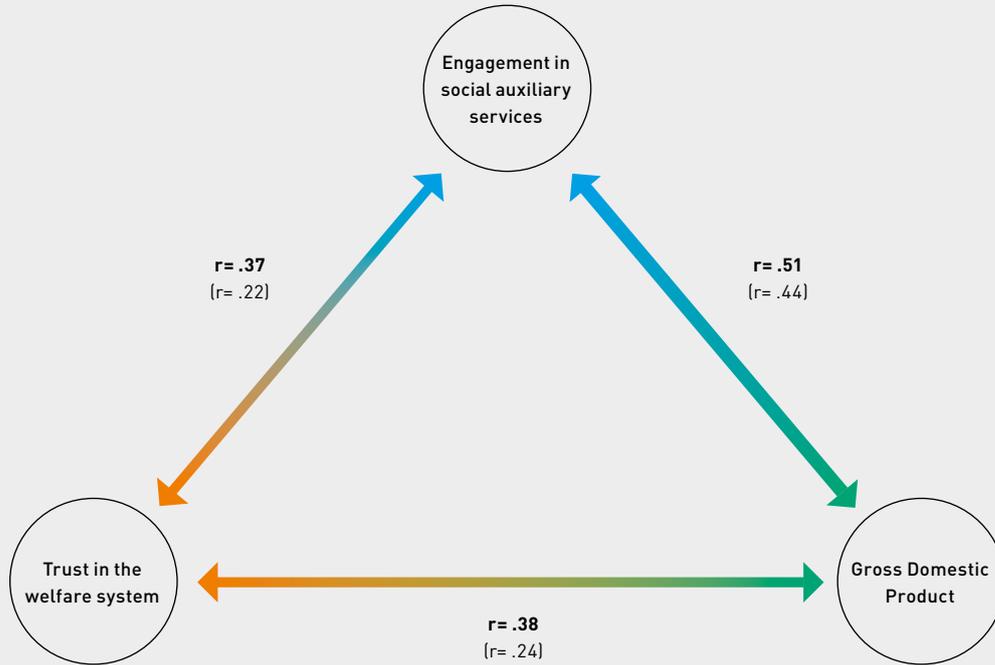
Figure 12

Engagement in local initiatives

Trust in the social welfare system (recorded in the European Values Study 2008) correlated only very slightly on a national level with engagement in local initiatives to tackle problems like poverty or poor living conditions (in brackets after control for the relevant third factor).

Engagement in local initiatives

r= .15
(r= .08)

r= .23
(r= .19)

Trust in the social system

Gross Domestic Product

r= .38
(r= .36)

Figure 13

Engagement in environmental organizations

The condition of the environment in 2008 (taken from the Legatum Prosperity Index) correlated positively on a national level with engagement in environmental organizations (in brackets after control for the relevant third factor).

Engagement in environmental organizations

r= .31
(r= -.06)

r= .43
(r= .31)

Legatum environmental rating 08

Gross Domestic Product

r= .8
(r= .78)

Figure 14

Engagement in healthcare sector

The status of health care in 2008 (taken from the Legatum Prosperity Index) correlated positively on a national level with engagement in healthcare charities (in brackets after control for the relevant third factor).

Engagement in healthcare sector

r= .59
(r= .42)

r= .46
(r= -.08)

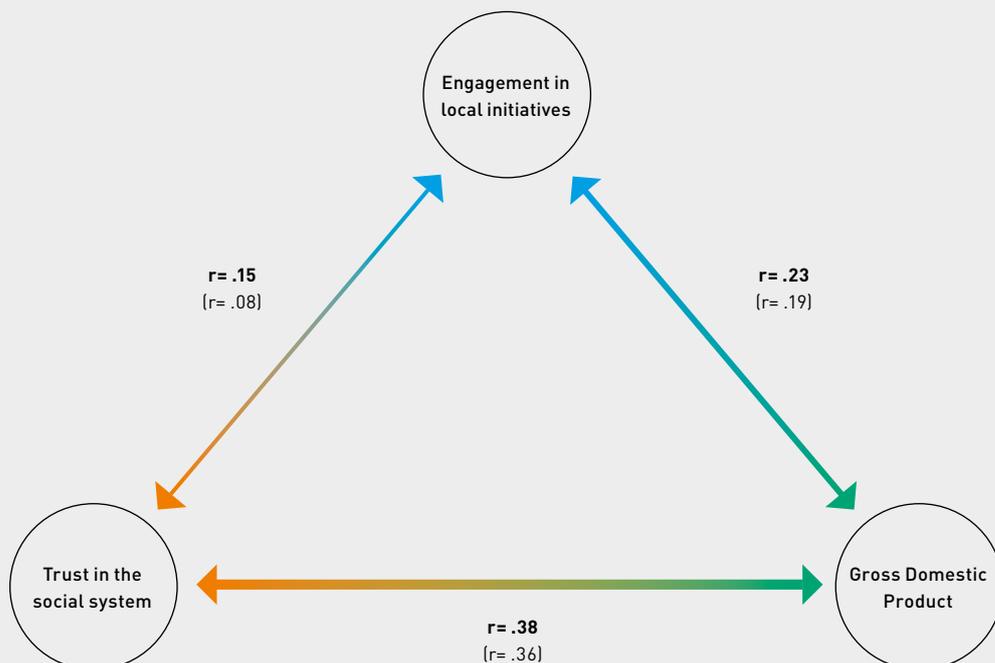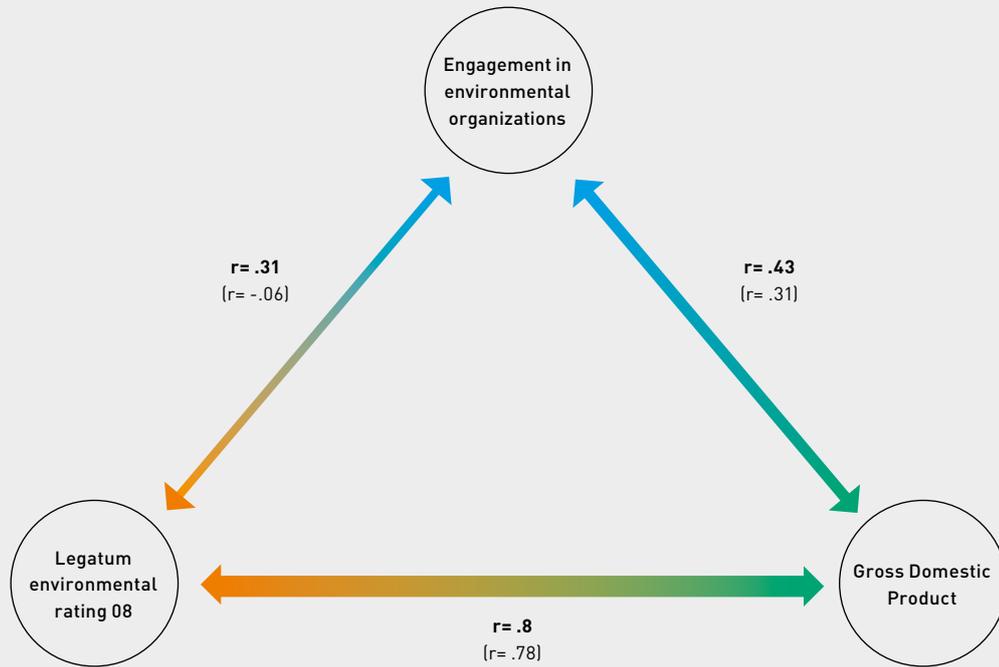Legatum health system rating 08

Gross Domestic Product

r= .84
(r= .79)

Figure 15

Engagement in healthcare sector

Trust in health care system (likewise taken from the European Values Study 2008) correlated positively on a national level with engagement in healthcare charities (in brackets after control for the relevant third factor).
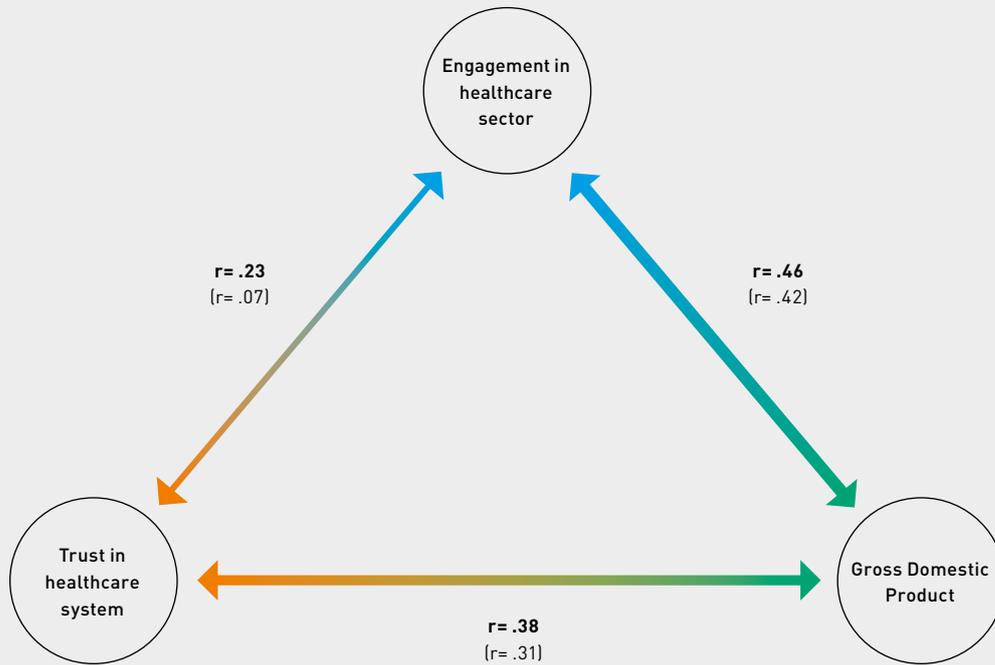
Figure 16

Engagement in women's organizations

The more gender equality in 2008 (measured as the proportion of population who indicated that men should not be given preferential treatment in hiring in the European Values Study), the more people in that country were active in women's organizations (in brackets after control for the relevant third factor).
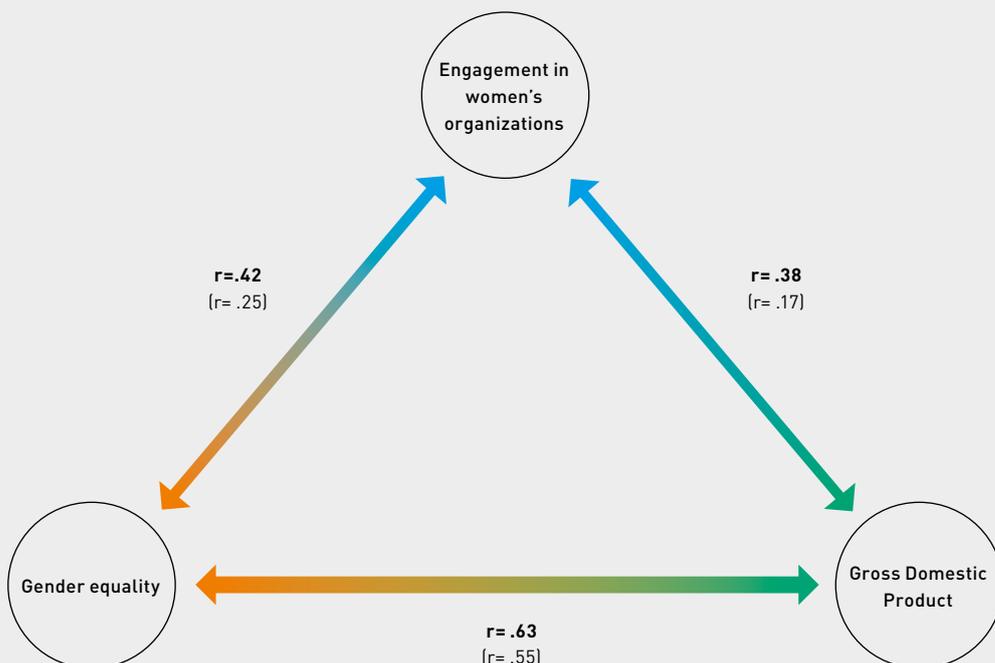
Figure 17

Engagement in education sector

The status of the educational system in 2008 (taken from the Legatum Prosperity Index) correlated positively on a national level with engagement in the areas of education and sport (in brackets after control for the relevant third factor).
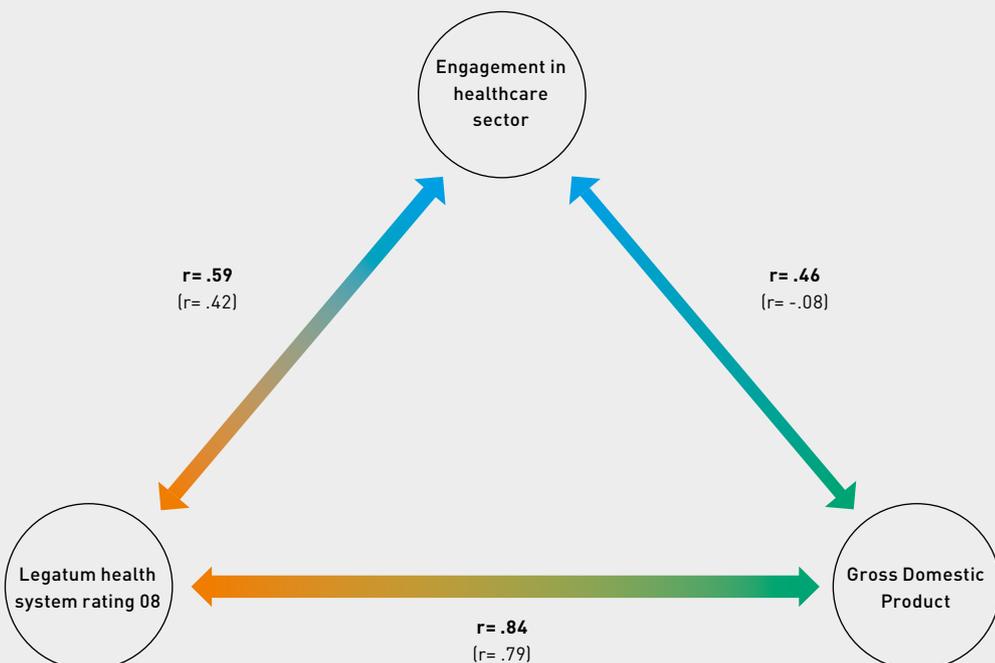
Engagement in education sector

r= .53
(r= .27)

r= .52
(r= .24)

Legatum education rating 08

Gross Domestic Product

r= .71
(r= .6)
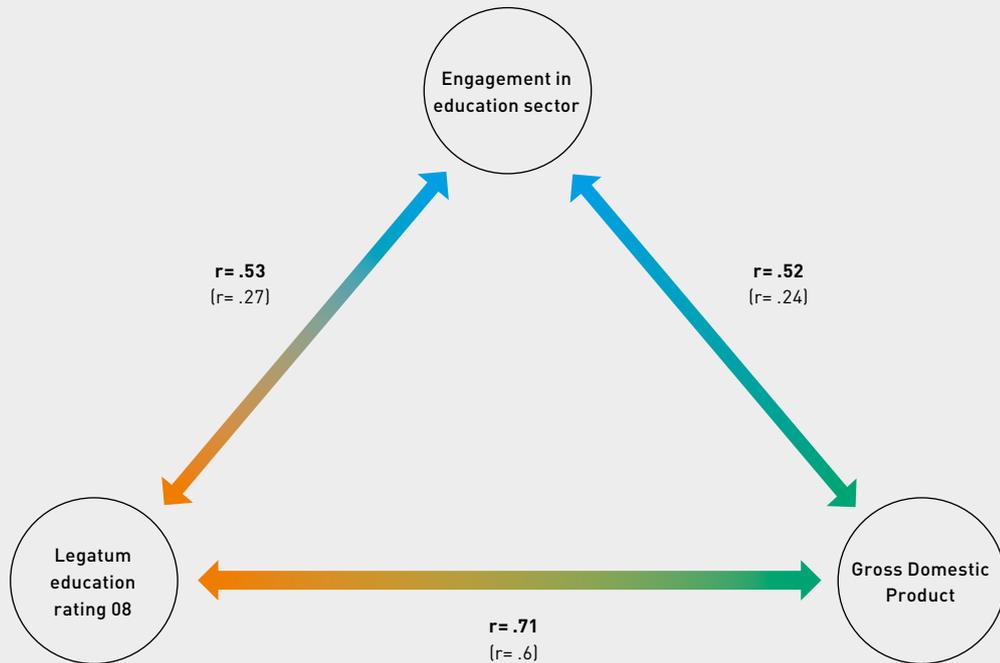
Figure 18

Engagement in education, sport and culture

Satisfaction with the educational system (collected in 34 European Quality of Life Survey EQLS 2016) correlated on a national level with the proportion of the population who volunteer in the areas of education and sport (also collected in EQLS 2016) (in brackets the correlation after control for the relevant third factor).

Engagement in education, sport and culture

r= .51
(r= .35)

r= .4
(r= .08)

Satisfaction with the educational system

Gross Domestic Product

r= .69
(r= .61)

Figure 19

Hence civil society seems to be more in symbiosis with the state and market than in competition. But naturally, what was being considered here are only snapshots. That is not enough to understand such a complex dynamic conclusively.

Even if there really is a cause-effect association between social state and civil society, that is, if more social state expenditure were to really strengthen civil society, that still does not mean that more and more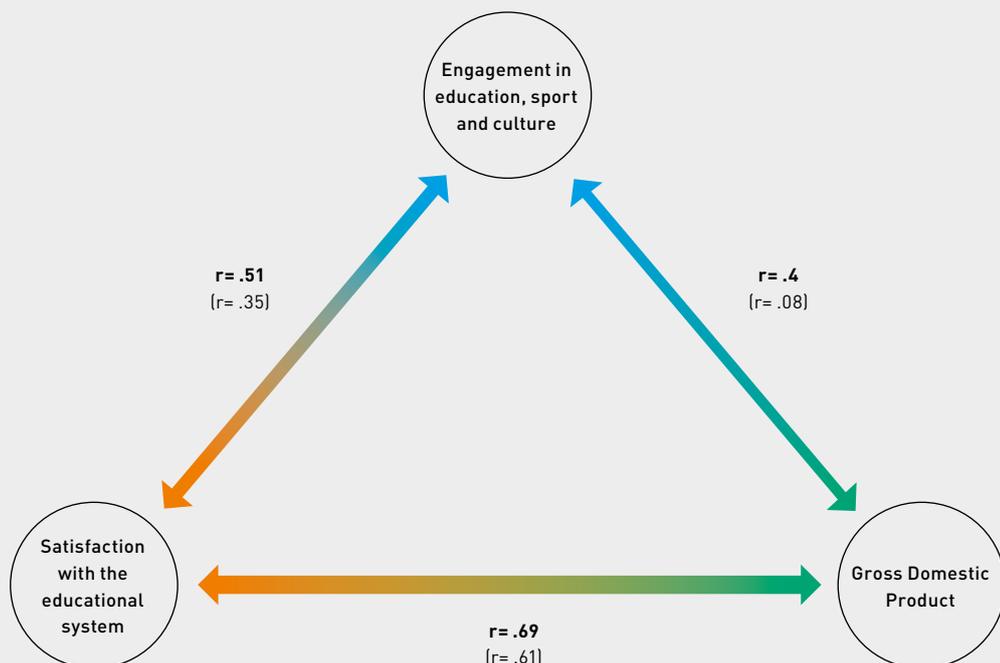 social state leads to more and more civil society. It is thoroughly conceivable that there is such a thing as too much social state which in turn would hinder an active civil society. This 'too much social state' however did not appear in this European sample.

Not only the extent but also the way in which the state takes care of its citizens must be considered in the analysis. In the chapter "Regulation as an expression of mistrust" (p. 19), we saw that regulations adversely affect civic engagement but that a flat-rate support without testing the individual's need - for instance with good educational opportunities or family allowance - strengthens trust.

Even if the competition hypothesis is in contradiction to the data on a general level, it is still plausible that some specific services are in competition with each other. A bus connection to a remote village would probably make a parental carpool to school superfluous. Our data however suggests, that this does not necessarily result in these parents ceasing to organize together. They will want to continue to take responsibility by, for example, advocating for a change in the lesson schedule so that this complies with the bus schedule, for instance.

"It is in no way true that civic engagement represents a state shortcoming. Imagination goes far beyond the political scope."
THEO WEHNER, WORK PSYCHOLOGIST, ETH ZURICH

KEY MESSAGES
"State, market and civil society - a zero sum game?"

> Two hypotheses are in contradiction to each other. The competition hypothesis states that affluence and social state undermine civic participation. The symbiosis hypothesis states that state, market and civil society mutually cross-fertilize each other.
> In European countries, more affluence is accompanied by more membership of associations and volunteer engagement.
> In a European comparison, a strong social state is associated with more membership of associations and more volunteer engagement.
> The data are in contradiction to the competition hypothesis.

Sub-item:
New breathing spaces

Breathing space is critical for civil society. Sometimes it is discovered by civil society only to be taken over later by the market (e.g. internet) or state (exigencies). At first glance this dynamic would seem to correspond to the competition hypothesis. But if the task distribution is not a zero-sum game - and our analysis comes to this conclusion - more and more new tasks must come along. On the level of specific tasks there can be competition. However on a higher level there is a plus for all players - a symbiosis.

New breathing spaces emerge due to social and technological changes. They hold new potentials for civil society. But what is the breathing space into which civil society can expand in future?

OPEN SOURCE / OVERCOMING SCARCITY

In order that something can be traded for on the market, the goods or services must be scarce.

In a digital world, information can be copied infinitely often at zero cost. It is no longer scarce. With the help of 3D printers, items can be removed from scarcity and thus from the market. Thingiverse.com is an archive for 3-D printer building plans. One can download earrings, toys and even a car[81] and print them out at home. There are 3D plans for arm prostheses available to download on enablingthefuture.org. And if you do not have a 3D printer at home, you can join forces with someone on the website or search for a FabLab nearby on makery.info.[82]

There are, naturally, other scarcities in the digital world, for instance attention. In general, however, the free accessibility of digital data creates breathing space for civil society. It exists alongside commercial offerings. One can conceive of a world where all the people share their data on "1:n" networks (see Examples of digital cooperation platforms, p. 46). Then fewer and fewer services would need to be obtained via the market. Even our food could be grown by 3D robots on our house facade, we could produce the raw material for the 3D printers by recycling and the electricity for this production would come from a solar panel on our roof.

VILLAGES

One hears repeatedly about villages where the light is slowly going out. First the post office closes, then the pub and eventually the village school. Like the brownfield sites in large cities, villages are also breathing space which could be used by civil society. In France there are more districts which are emptying than in confined Switzerland. The project Terre de Liens[83] buys up deserted farms. Then, farmers and communes can practice organic farming there. In Italy there are villages which have been revitalized by refugees.[84] The deserted Belgian village Doel has become a Mecca for street art.[85]

Due to digital networking, such villages can become more attractive for younger people again. The local can now be easily connected with the world. A trend to the home office is hesitantly developing.[86] But people often only work one day a week from home - many miss direct interaction with their colleagues. Using digital means - through to meetings in virtual reality

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[81] http://bit.ly/zzp-auto (source: thingiverse.com 6.5.2018)

[82] http://bit.ly/zzp-map (source: makery.info 6.5.2018)

[83] https://terredeliens.org (5.6.2018)

[84] http://bit.ly/zzp-borgo (source: aljazeera.com 6.5.2018)

[85] http://bit.ly/zzp-doel (source: theguardian.com 6.5.2018)

[86] http://bit.ly/zzp-home (source: de.statista.com 6.5.2018)

environments - in future we could work much more independently. Then, one day, maybe the 8 hours spent in the office will really be a thing of the past. If the separation between workplace and residence is abolished, then more life could come back to the outlying areas again (www.villageoffice.ch).

MORE TIME

Swiss employers' required hours of work declined in the 20th century.[87] If the trend of the last century continues, for example due to increased automation, people will have even more free time. This breathing space could also be used for civic participation.

The growing number of pensioners plays a central role for the development of civil society. For many of them remain fit and adventurous for a long time. In order to win pensioners over to civic participation they must be addressed and integrated correctly. They should not be viewed as an army of volunteers to which one need only give orders.

If self-driving cars catch on, then people can use the time in their cars for doing other things, such as to take care of a small volunteer task (micro-volunteering).

CHANGING CITIES

If trade shifts further in the direction of the online sector, retail premises will become free in inner cities. These breathing spaces can be used for civic purposes, from pop-up bars to squats.

Private car ownership could decline due to the spread of self-driving cars since one uses cars on demand and no longer owns one. Fewer parking spaces would be needed. The free space could be used by civil society.

TRUST

The spread of platforms such as Airbnb, Couchsurfing or Uber has shown: People are willing to climb into cars with strangers or to spend the night at their home. Increasing digitalization could strengthen this mutual trust. New forms of cooperation would be possible.

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[87] http://bit.ly/zzp-arbeit (source: republik.ch 6.5.2018)

Conclusion

It is entirely plausible that many tasks which today are still performed by civil society will be taken over by the market in future. On the one hand, that is because more things have become chargeable. Due to the digital quantification of the world, we can bill for the smallest service and have it paid for automatically using a micro-transaction (see Market - can you not buy that?, p. 53). That could even go so far that holding a door open could compensated by a micro-transaction.

On the other hand, it is often said that robots are taking work away from people. If this assumption is true, they should also take away tasks from civil society. Autonomous vehicles could carry out transport services, meals could be distributed by drones and nursing robots could help in the care of elderly people.

Would those in need of help be left witch machines? That may sound alarming to many people. But it is becoming increasingly difficult to find volunteers for tasks like that. The connection to family or place of abode is declining, people feel less obligated to help for social reasons (see Return to the "good old days", p. 34).

> *"Self-sacrifice, which was historically the woman's domain, will diminish in the years to come. Instead, the needs for communality, efficacy and finding a role must be spoken to."*
> **ANETTE STADE, PROJECT LEAD GROSSMÜTTER-REVOLUTION [GRANDMOTHER REVOLUTION]**

Often there is still an attitude in communities or emergency response organizations that volunteers are free workforces who have to take over predefined tasks and thus relieve the professionals. But if a robot could just as easily take over these tasks then they are not particularly attractive for people, especially volunteers.

The symbiosis hypothesis assumes that state, market and civil society mutually cross-fertilize each other. It finds empirical support, at least on a national level (see State, market and civil society - a zero sum game?, p. 59). According to this, a robotization of civic tasks would not result in less civic engagement but rather in more. This engagement would simply look different.

More than an emergency response

Civic engagement should not be viewed as a fire engine which only moves out when there is a fire, i.e. having a compensatory function. Competition hypothesis takes that assumption. Although that may often be the case, for example, when a natural catastrophe mobilizes volunteers or when the "Operation Libero" (Swiss political movement) came about as a result of the adoption of the mass immigration initiative. Such engagement, however, is in danger of fizzling out when the most pressing danger is over.

But what does civil engagement look like which is not only mobilized in emergencies and which cannot be automated?

The decisive element is: Civil society should not be viewed as a collection of unpaid workers. We need to re-think. Instead of speaking about volunteer work, we should speak about participation. This is not semantic sophistry. Volunteer work contains an asymmetry between those who give and those who receive help. Someone does something from their own good will for

which one could also pay them. In participation, by contrast, there are no givers and receivers of help. There are only participants who approach problems or explore breathing spaces together.

That require much more discussion about the goals which one want to achieve. This viewpoint corresponds with a more process-oriented definition of civil society (see definition, p. 12). Unlike the performance of predefined tasks, discussion about goals cannot be delegated to machines or a paid workforce. When it comes to exploring breathing spaces, carrying this out cannot be taken on by machines or paid third parties. What one can relinquish are the administrative and coordinative tasks (see Efficacy - being able to make a difference, p. 39).

> *"I am paid to provide a certain structure for Gross-mütterrevolution [Grandmother Revolution]. The participants themselves determine the content and topics with which they deal. It is more of a social movement than an association and because of that you cannot tell them what they need to do or which topics they should work with."*
> ANETTE STADE, PROJECT LEAD GROSSMÜTTER-REVOLUTION [GRANDMOTHER REVOLUTION]

Utilizing breathing space

The exploration of breathing spaces follows a symbiotic logic rather than a competitive logic. It is a matter of exploring potentials and not of righting wrongs. Such a potential orientation is based more on the thought "that's something we could do" than "someone ought to do something about that" which is the case with wrongs. Thus the goal is not so clearly defined and the way to achieve it is accordingly not so clear-cut.

Many social innovations tend to fall into this category but the typical demands made by communities or volunteering organizations on volunteers tend not to. It is the tasks motivated by instrumental and efficacy goals that cannot be so easily passed on to the market or the state. It makes no sense to contract out a barbecue party in the neighbourhood or a youth band to a professional company. Even though a company can easily deliver the portable restrooms or provide the music system, that is, take care of the "how". The "what", the planning of the barbecue party or playing the trombone in the youth band, cannot be delegated to the market. What matters is the experience, learning experiences, community, recognition personal autonomy and efficacy.

The new volunteers are more oriented to participation and potential and want to have a say rather than just carry out. One could argue that such engagement serves personal development rather than the community. In fact, many tasks could be neglected if the focus is on "can" instead of "must". But to dismiss this engagement as simply a luxury is wrong.

Even if the invitation to the district barbecue is only extended for reasons of self-interest or status, this engagement strengthens the social bonds in the neighbourhood. It increases trust within the community and enhances the neighbourhood. The community becomes more resilient and can together lend a hand against grievances. One could for all intents and purposes refer to the invisible hand of civil society which is able to create a network and also a feeling of attachment because of the many engagements, even if the individual engagements may only be self-serving. The "Soul of the Community" study, carried out by the Knight Foundation concluded that social offer-

ings are strongly correlated to a feeling of attachment to a place. This includes a lively nightlife, good places for meeting people, for art and culture as well as community events. These factors play a much larger role in attachment than the amount of classical volunteering or the economic situation.[88] Today it is often such gastronomic and cultural engagements which occur at new breathing spaces. Often these are deliberately not profit-oriented (e.g. Jungle Street Groove in Basle) - that bolsters up the sense of attachment (see Increasing individualism - curse or blessing?, p. 32).

Civic participation is not a new discovery. Our democracy is based on this principle. Joint negotiation of goals and rule instead of assuming them is in line with the approach of German sociologist Jürgen Habermas, that people themselves need to reach an agreement on what shape society should have.[89] The Nobel prize-winner Elinor Ostrom also developed her solution for collective dilemmas on the basis of participation and self-organization.[90] The shared definition of rules, in the chapter with the same name in this study, is an important opportunity for combining communality with individualism. However this conception of volunteer activity as participation has often not become accepted among people and organizations which are looking for volunteers.

With the help of digital tools, participation can be taken to a completely new level. Online, one no longer refers to providers and requestors, but rather to participants. The classical concepts in media theory of sender and recipient are no longer differentiated on WhatsApp, Twitter or Facebook. "n:n" platforms (see Examples of digital cooperation platforms, p. 46) allow self-organized participation. WhatsApp groups of household communities are just the beginning. Ideas and concerns can be discussed much easier using digital means than by pegging up a note in the hallway. There is little inhibition to stop you writing something to a WhatsApp group.

Digital tools facilitate participation

These networks can also be used to discuss grievances and potentials on a larger scale, for instance a community. "zuri-wie-neu [Zurich as good as new]" is an example. People can send photos of abuses to the city so that it can become active. Equally, on a neighbourhood chat or community forum, you can call attention to an unoccupied building and its use can be discussed communally. That would of course also be possible without digital platforms. But platforms lower the threshold of participation greatly. The use of "Meetup" allowed the "Cinque Stelle" political movement to become large and mobilized people who had never before engaged in politics (with all the attendant advantages and disadvantages).

[88] http://bit.ly/zzp-soul (source: soulofthecommunity.org 6.5.2018)

[89] Habermas, J. (1962). Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.

[90] Ostrom, E. (2015). Governing the commons. Cambridge University Press.

"If there were a possibility of collecting signatures for a public initiative digitally on the network, that could mobilize certain civic circles which previously did not have the resources for something like that and can thus bring up different topics too."

ADRIENNE FICHTER,
AUTHOR: SMARTPHONE DEMOCRACY

When we refer to the digital participation of the new volunteers who pursue self-organized, potential-oriented goals, that does not mean that participatory debates are all that exists now and all volunteering organizations and associations which also address wrongs in the world have become superfluous. All tasks can be arranged in a potential-oriented and participative way by approaching volunteers on an equal footing. It should be possible to have a say and be given trust. Setbacks should be accepted.

No matter whether it concerns funding, opportunities for codetermination in organizations or associations or it is about legal regulations, one must relinquish control in order not to impede the development of civil society. Entering into unknown breathing spaces is always associated with risks. Only those who take risks change the world.

"Promoting self-empowerment also means a loss of control for leadership in existing hierarchies."

THEO WEHNER, WORK PSYCHOLOGIST,
ETH ZURICH

Promoting civil society – what it takes

CIVIL SOCIETY AS A PROCESS

> Civil society is a permanent process of negotiation about what is right and important, not about ideological position. It is no tragedy if certain organizations break up or associations fight among themselves. What is important is that different opinions can find expression in civil society.

AUTONOMY, P. 14

> Protecting breathing spaces
> * *The state can protect breathing spaces from commercialization so that civil society can proliferate there. For example brownfield sites in cities or "spaces" in the internet (keyword Net neutrality).*
> * *Many governmental regulations prevent opportunities in favour of safety. Opportunities must be included in decision-making, not just potential dangers.*
> * *The state and charitable organizations must show more trust to potential volunteers. Because trust creates breathing space. Errors, accidents and even misuses must be accepted.*
> Forming trust
> * *Education promotes trust and participation.*
> * *Flat-rate welfare benefits promote trust. A person who receives flat rate allowances from the state, such as children's benefit, trusts his/her fellow human beings more than does a person who receives personalized benefits and is checked for these.*
> * *A digital ID could lead to more trust between strangers.*

SOCIAL RELATEDNESSS, P. 26

> The local and the global must be combined. National/global engagement requires local representation: local engagement should include national/global aspects to be seen as relevant.

> Recognition is important for many volunteers. This should also come from civil society. Governmental recognition can seem patronizing and financial incentives can undermine motivation.
> Overcoming the purely individual has the effect of conferring meaning.
> * *Rituals are suitable vehicles for generating communality.*
> * *Treating residents as customers deprives them of responsibility.*
> It is essential to combine individuality with communality. This can take place in different ways.
> * *Someone who needs support should offer limited-duration, project-based opportunities for participation. For example, crowdfunding with which people can donate time for a project.*
> * *Different roles and tasks should be defined within a project. The participants should be part of a group and at the same time take on an individual role.*
> * *Participants must be able to help shape the goals, procedures and community-building rituals.*

EFFICACY, P. 39

> The focus in participation should be on the "why", on the meaning, and not on the "how", on the technical performance. Administration can be taken away from volunteers.
> Schools should offer participative projects so that children have experiences of efficacy from early on.
> Tasks must be adjusted to suit the volunteers' skills. Too difficult is frustrating and too easy is boring.
> The learning potential in engagements must be taken into consideration

> Engagement should be prescribed by the physician, especially for older people.

ACCESSIBILITY, P. 43

> Whoever is looking for participants must ask people.
> Engagement can be coordinated more easily than ever before using digital aids.
> Digital platforms facilitate an interaction which no longer differentiates between those giving and receiving help but prioritizes participation.
> A local connection is helpful for platforms to establish critical mass.

THE TRIO OF STATE, MARKET AND CIVIL SOCIETY, P. 59

> Civic infrastructures can be financed by the state.
> The state and market should not be seen as opponents of civil society, but rather as partners. Government engagement does not undermine civil society.

CONCLUSION, P. 71

> Volunteers should not be considered to be an unpaid workforce but rather as partners on an equal footing. A job which could also be done by a robot is not right for many volunteers.
> Civil society must be seen as an explorer of breathing spaces and not just as an emergency service.
> All networking should be promoted and not just that which pursues important aims.
> Control must be relinquished.

Sub-item

Civic political engagement – towards "new militia operatives"?

ANDREAS MÜLLER[91]

The nature of militia work

The swiss militia system, the participation of citizens in municipal politics, includes the exercise of public offices and duties which are performed in an extra-official or honorary capacity - as opposed to a career. Militia work should be positioned between volunteer work and gainful employment. This makes the militia system a specific, hugely interesting illustrative example of possible developments.

In comparison to general volunteer engagement (e.g. activity in an association or neighbourhood help) which exists in every country, the term militia system characterizes work performed in an extra-official or honorary capacity on behalf of the State. Thus it represents a link between the state and civil society. Hence, militia work is more strongly organized and institutionalized than plain civil participation. There is less autonomy and leeway within the militia system. Moreover, the specific involvement does not depend on the individual's willingness to participate only (in contrast to civil society), but rather a nomination process and a direct election must be gone through.

Although there are still tens of thousands of volunteers on all state levels who take care of this foundation, it is obvious that the traditional Swiss concept of the state has encountered influential social developments which challenge the militia system in practice. In the chapter, "The sense of local attachment is essential for engagement" (p. 27) we described how the feeling of local attachment is fading whereas identification with the nation state has remained stable. This is reflected in the fact that the population still stands behind the Swiss ideal of the militia system on an abstract level and appreciates its advantages. However, on a local level, the militia system is coming under increasing pressure due to the population's lack of involvement. So, everyone wants to benefit from the militia work provided but only a few citizens are willing to contribute to this collective good.

Moreover politics - and politicians - are increasingly often seen in a negative light. Attempts are made to pit the so-called "political class" against the people. If those active in the militia are seen as opponents of the people, then the motivation to take on such an office is diminished. Those active in the militia feel they are too hastily exposed to the criticism of the protesting "spectator citizens" who basically count office holders among the political elite. Although it is precisely the grass-roots nature of the militia system that was intended to prevent a wedge being driven between those involved and those who merely protest or have a critical attitude.

What should be done? Discussion of possible approaches[92]

How can the militia system adjust to fit in with modern social conditions? Below we will go through the factors described in the study: autonomy, relatedness and efficacy as well as accessibility and based on them, discuss measures for strengthening the militia system.

AUTONOMY: ALLOWING FLEXIBILITY AND CREATIVE LEEWAY

Municipal policy allows for only a clearly demarcated creative leeway. A large proportion of the municipal budget, for example, is laid down by law. In order to be more attractive for personalities who would like to take on leadership re-

> Attempts are made to pit the so-called "political class" against the people. If those active in the militia are seen as opponents of the people, then the motivation to take on such an office is diminished.

sponsibility, the municipal authorities would have to be given more freedom to decide in the area of (financial) management.

Along with creative leeway, more leeway in relation to task fulfilment could be introduced for the post. In this regard, the concept of a *requirements profile* has been proposed as a suggestion for reform. Here it is a matter re-consolidating the tasks which the militia as a collegial agency must perform - perhaps with a new organization of departments. As a result, the potential candidate could be offered the prospect of activities which allow for a more flexible commitment customized to the individual time resources (e.g. elimination of mandatory school visits for school board members for those in fulltime employment).

RELATEDNESS: PRODUCING AWARENESS AND RESPONSIBILITY

Identification with the community is decreasing in our highly mobile society, as already mentioned, and with it also the feeling of being responsible for it. When it is a matter of providing engagement which has an effect outside our personal surroundings, then a certain connectedness with other people and responsibility towards them is necessary.

The devaluation of local political militia work and the decreased readiness for long-term en-

gagement can also be explained by the fact that political interest has shifted in the direction of national politics. Media presence is becoming increasingly important whereas executive experience on a local level is becoming less and less. Furthermore, the interest in applying for a political post becomes greater with higher, more important and high-profiles. Media competence and presence have become central preconditions and the latter is achieved via the national media. Local engagement with little charisma is thus pushed into the background. If this development continues there is a risk that loud, superficial and media-oriented politicians will be increasingly often pitted against loud, superficial and media-oriented citizens. Then politics would no longer be deliberative democracy but a

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92 Müller Andreas (2015). Bürgerstaat und Staatsbürger [Civil State and Citizen: Milizpolitik zwischen Mythos und Moderne. [Militia politics between myth and modern] NZZ Libro. The considerations explained in this sub-item are based on the above-mentioned publication, among other things published by the author of this contribution, from which more detailed explanations and literature citations can be taken.

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confrontation between "dogmatists". The perfect conditions for political, cross-party consensus building, which was previously laid in local political authorities, would be broken down.

A broad public debate about the relevance of local political militia work could replenish the general estimation. For exactly this reason, the Schweizerische Gemeindeverband [Swiss Association of Local Authorities] is planning a "Militia Work Year" in 2019 with a variety of activities.

Increasing digitalization makes it possible to bring local politics closer to the people by making local politics more noticeable. Nowadays, producing and distributing film material is practically free. A political broadcast such as Arena could also be undertaken at a regional level at a manageable cost. One could also consider the support of such a project as a mandate for a modern public service, where the SRG [Swiss Radio & TV] would provide material, expertise and online presence to communities and cantons as a contribution to expenses in order to make local discussions accessible to all.

Digitalization also facilitates people having a say. Over the "Meetup" platform, the Italian "Cinque Stelle" movement managed to mobilize millions of people for local demonstrations and brought students, caretakers and the unemployed into parliament. This brought a breath of fresh air into the parliament which had previously been primarily occupied by lawyers and businessmen. Critics could argue that this worked in Italy because of the political circumstances which prevail there but would not do so in a Swiss municipality. It may in part be true that frustration and protest were a strong stimulus but that does not mean that these digital possibilities should be totally ignored for Switzerland.

In the chapter "Examples of digital cooperation platforms" (p. 46) under the point "Digital democracy", a variety of tools were mentioned which facilitate political participation. It is thoroughly possible that decisions which were previously decided by militia politicians alone will in future be able to be digitally discussed and decided together. Joint decision-making leads to identification with the community, as described in the chapter "Joint definition of the rules" (p. 37). The low-threshold participation in political decisions using the internet could increase willingness to be a candidate for a militia post.

EFFICACY: REDUCING COMPLEXITY
It is often criticized that those active in the militia are too often involved in operative jobs and they lose sight of the strategic questions as a result. Accordingly, measured were discussed which would relieve municipal executives from

everyday business and should orient them more toward *strategic management.* As discussed in the chapter "Meaning is found in "why" not "how" (p. 39) the experienced efficacy increases and with it also the meaningfulness of the activity when the focus is on the goals and not on technicalities.

The *Development of Secretariats* and other professional support is often touted as a measure for relieving an authority. In order to increase the readiness to participate in school and church boards, members of these authorities first of all mention the introduction of a secretariat as something which could relieve them, according to studies. But even this holds disadvantages, such as for the communication between authority and secretariat. The consistency of the secretariat's administration leads to an information asymmetry and can make the school secretariat or district into a secret public authority.

An approach in the canton of Lucerne goes in a similar direction. Several authorities there have introduced the so-called *Managing Director Model.* In these villages, there is a strict separation between strategic and operative management. Strategic decisions are made by politicians who are elected by the voters. The operative management is in the hands of a Managing Director who is employed by the authority. The authorities of other cantons have also introduced similar models. The following must however be borne in mind: even if the militia system stays the same on paper it is however undermined because an employed person is taking over significant tasks.

Alternatively, mayors could be better remunerated financially and in terms of time. Thus, in the cantons of Thurgau or St. Gallen, chairman-

ships of the communal executive which demand more presence and workload are intentionally arranged so that *full workload* occurs. This is intended to result in a significant reduction in load on the total body which can then concentrate on overriding future questions. This can however contribute to a great information asymmetry between the mayor and the remaining members.

According to the chapter "Meaning is found in 'why' not 'how'" (p. 39), a feeling of efficacy is produced if the focus is on the goals, that is the "why", instead of on the performance of a task, the "how". However it must not be forgotten that efficacy emerges where there is optimal difficulty. If a task is too easy it will be boring. If it is too complex, it will be frustrating.

With the increasing complexity of the environment, tasks in the militia system are also becoming more multi-faceted. The militia system needs to adjust to its organization environment, such as when bodies closely affiliated to a militia authority become more professional. The militia bodies are increasingly frequently "professionalizing" in order to respond to the complexity of the world.

But every profession can be seen as a "conspiracy against the layman". Professionalism comes up against barriers wherever it threatens the social integration of a society. That is why aspirations to professionalize politicians, soldiers or priests has met with repeated resistance. The risk is not only that "lay people" will be accused of insufficient competence in regard to this activity but also that they could become powerless, subservient and exploited. This must be prevented.

However, some people see exactly this as where the weakness of the militia system lies. They say it is especially poorly equipped for emergencies, that it is hardly responsive and results-oriented and rather self-sustaining, at most. The integration of citizens into political and social services and decision-making mechanisms is often seen as sufficient justification whereas performance capacity and adaptability are blanked out. The widespread distrust towards specialists is thus said to have an adverse effect for Switzerland.

One possibility for accommodating this increasing complexity and in addition to create incentives for engagement in the militia system is to offer *opportunities for continuing education.* In some municipalities such opportunities are offered to those active in the militia. Thus the authority becomes a place of learning. Ideally these offerings should not just be limited to issues appropriate for the authority but should impart knowledge which is advantageous for other activities. Such an offering speaks to self-serving motives but at the same time serves collective needs - the staffing of the authority and the reduction of recruiting shortages. A broad selection of opportunities for continuing education could be used as an advertising point in recruiting. But a militia authority would be made nonsense of if it just turned into a continuing education event. The selection could be further enhanced if the work for the authority and the continued education itself were *certified*, for example by crediting with ECTS (European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System) points for continued education and management training courses such as are awarded by high schools. This, however, leads to a paradox: an authority composed of lay people is turned into a place of qualification and qualifying - concepts which are more rooted in the world of employment.

There are also ideas for reducing the increasingly complex tasks. Thus, there are discussions about a *militia compatibility test* for new provisions (laws, ordinances etc.), similar to the already existing compatibility tests on federal and cantonal level. If the complexity of new regulations increases and the quality of task performance remains constant, that implies a creeping professionalization of the posts. But it must be considered that such a test represents a further administrative loop and would thus itself contribute to complexity.

The question of capacity to participate must also be examined without preconceptions. In the Swiss system, the citizen has, practically by definition, the capacity to make political decisions. But is that enough? Is the demand made on the citizens met? The increase in *political education* is an important requirement. Switzerland has integrated this in the school curriculum inadequately in comparison with other countries. In international comparisons, Swiss youth have below-average political knowledge and a more limited readiness for political involvement - unfavourable conditions for the militia system of the future.

The *tasks and requirements for militia bodies are taking up more and more time*. This has consequences: without relief measure, the militia system is heading full steam in the direction of professionalization. Greater time requirements mean that at some point it will only be possible to exercise a post as a full workload. More complexity means that more qualified citizens are needed in militia posts, so courses and continued education must be offered. Lay knowledge alone is no longer enough which is in contradiction to the original concept of the militia system.

If the complexity of new regulations increases and the quality of task performance remains constant, that implies a creeping professionalization of the posts.

If however the aim is to achieve relief, whether by developing secretariats, strong administration, outsourcing of contracts to third parties or concentration on strategic issues, another vicious circle is started up. If important tasks are assigned to the sphere of the militia post, then less meaningful tasks are left for the militia and there is a danger that the relevant militia post degenerates into folklore if it has no important function.

ACCESSIBILITY: INCREASING OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION

As far as recruitment opportunities are concerned, young people, women, pensioners and permanently resident foreigners are particularly underrepresented in local executives. There could be a call here for: it should be considered whether pensioners could be inspired to be active in authorities. Increased attention to older citizens would correspond to demographic development, could ease the transition from working life to retirement and give more meaning to this segment of life. Added to that, there would be the side effect of additional, temporary income. *Younger groups of people* could also be mobilized. This would also offer the possibility of opening up opportunities for those in the younger generation who are politically interested to participate and not leaving them to stagnate on a waiting list - which unfortunately happens. This is however complicated by the increased mobility and diminished rootedness of young people who change their residence often, depending on their place of work or education.

Opening up communal posts to *permanently resident foreigners* would relieve Swiss citizens and would contribute to their integration. However since many constitutions do not recognize communal voting rights for foreigners, this call would be difficult to implement politically. Considering that almost a quarter share of the population is foreign, there is a broad potential for recruitment here however.

Other institutional reforms would also be possible. A regional expansion of recruitment zones by *lifting the residence requirement* - especially for highly specialized militia functions - could help to bring supply and demand into better agreement. Additionally, it has already been suggested to allow legal persons (service providers) to take part in elections. The same organization could then manage several authorities. This proposal could however also challenge the militia system which lives from citizen engagement and the connection of those governing with those governed.

One thing is certain: in order to strengthen the militia system new potentials for volunteer

In general, the entry threshold
for political activity
must be reduced.

activity must be utilized. In general, the entry threshold for political activity must be reduced. Another option would be schools for politicians who are neither willing nor able to take on the hard slog through the party landscape. Mothers, integrated foreigners, early retirees and spry pensioners would thus be more likely to risk a militia post.

Voluntary local militia structures have to contend with the fact that in this age of the internet and NGOs they must compete with an ever increasing range of low entry-threshold volunteer activities on a supra-local level - like Open Source projects - which moreover do not include any irksome formal obligations nor require solid, long-term engagement "in the service of the community". Admittedly, the same digital technologies also offer new instruments to allow an overview of the qualifications and readiness to participate which are available in the local area and to harness them in flexible ways which are compatible with individual needs. The potential which digitalization offers communal militia politics is far from having been fully exploited yet. There is an urgent need to press ahead with "digitally-oriented municipality politics". Using digital means and tools, tasks in municipalities or quarters could be divided up among more people. The opportunity also presents itself of involving citizens in pro-

jects at an early stage and thus to collect their knowledge and integrate it digitally. Thus the interactivity and knowledge transfer between militia authorities and citizens would be enhanced and the deliberative momentum of the Swiss system would be invigorated.

CONCLUSION

The militia system cannot be reformed quickly. Every pragmatic step in one direction has impacts on militia activity. Often the appropriate measure is exactly the one which, in another place, means a distancing from the ideal of the militia concept. Higher compensation makes militia activity into gainful employment, great time requirements makes it into a full-time job, more demanding tasks reduce the recruitment basis and professionalization devalues lay-people's knowledge

Thus reform initiatives constitute a tight-rope walk:

Reform initiatives	Impacts	
Tasks	**Expansion**	**Restriction**
	- Overload - Greater time requirement	- Marginalization - Reduction to folklore character
Time spent	**Increase**	**Reduction**
	- Approximating a full-time job - Distancing from militia concept	- Insufficient information - Declining quality of services
Compensation	**Increase**	**Limitation**
	- Approximating employment - Distancing from militia concept	- Less incentive to participate - Concentration on the financially independent
Qualification	**Strengthening**	**Weakening**
	- Demotion of lay people - Limited representativeness	- Lack of attractiveness for experts - Asymmetry towards administration
Professionalization	**Strengthening**	**Weakening**
	- Militia authorities become specialized bodies - Discrepancy between compensation and effort	- Amateurism - Insufficient task fulfilment

Table 3: Reform initiatives and impacts on the militia system (author's own display)

Outlook: political engagement in the future

Direct democracy which depends on participation and public discussion cannot exist without large-scale engagement. Finding political will and decision-making in Switzerland cannot and should not be left to the parliament, government and administration. The country of direct democracy needs a sovereign who fulfils two conditions. The sovereign must be able to make decisions in an intellectual and solution-oriented manner. That needs time. Militia participation increases awareness of social problems and thereby realism and ability to compromise.

At the moment we are experiencing a creeping erosion of the militia system. Although it is constantly being adjusted (higher compensation, relief provided by administration etc.) to allow for social developments, the reforms increasingly challenge the (extra-official and honorary) nature of the militia system. Additionally, they do not remove the causes for decreasing readiness to participate. Most reforms result in distancing from the ideals of the militia system. They are increasingly, bit by bit, replacing voluntary work for the community with professional civil servants.

Opposed to this creeping decline, a new kind of political engagement is developing. For many young people it has become more socially acceptable. New organizations such as "Operation Libero" or also youth political parties have had great success using crowdfunding resources and

political activities on (digital) social networks and a great deal of engagement. Membership numbers, media attention and political efficacy are growing.

A differentiation is made in this study between the righting of wrongs and the exploration of breathing spaces in volunteer engagement. The righting of wrongs often includes activities which originate in the thought "someone has to do something about that" or "it is my duty to join in here". In this sense, traditional militia work - which however is characterized by duties and a long-term nature - belongs to this category if the internal feeling of duty predominates and not the joy of political militia work.

The success of "Operation Libero" indicates a new development. To be sure, the first political engagement was triggered by a (subjectively experienced) wrong. The reason for its founding was the adoption of the mass immigration initiative which had shocked the founders of the organization. But the movement has changed. It wants to help shape the Switzerland of the future with enjoyment and fun and digital possibilities. In doing so, it is a matter of exploring breathing spaces, looking for development potential, gaining experience, studying communal living and improving the possibilities of cohabitation.

Political engagement can be initiated by wrongs, but breathing spaces result in people staying politically engaged for longer. Ideally, this also includes traditional militia politics in which the (long-term) shaping of society is typically paramount.

Even if a municipal assembly is nothing other than civil participation, it is perhaps too often focused on wrongs. How can one shape participation on a municipal level so that there is more exploring of breathing spaces and risking experiments and the communality develops? By using the right digital tools, new population groups can be won over to political participation and room given to new ideas.

If the militia system is to survive it must be adapted to the demands of the time. Trends must not be missed which will generally determine the future of volunteer work and civic engagement. The decisive element is: Leave room space for creative leeway, reduce complexity and simplify access so that autonomy, attachment and efficacy will increase.

The traditional militia system will need to change if it wants to survive. Political engagement will however live on. Presumably it will develop exactly like civic engagement. Self-empowered, engaged citizens belong in the militia concept of the future. It includes the search for advantages and individual pleasure combined with social attention.

Experts

With the following experts we were able to carry out interviews or discussed propositions regarding the "future of civic participation" in the context of a workshop at the GDI. We would like to thank them for their valuable contribution, their good ideas and productive collaboration. Some of their statements can be found in the text as quotations. However, the influence of their input on the text far exceeds the individual quotations.

Heinz Altorfer, Vice President of the Schweizerischen Gemeinnützigen Gesellschaft [Swiss Charitable Company] (I)

Sandro Cattacin, Director of the Institute for Sociological Research, Geneva University (I)

Anna Coendet, Project Manager - Swiss Academy for Development (I)

Adalbert Evers, Institute for Political Science, Giessen University (I)

Adrienne Fichter, Author: Smartphone Democracy (I)

Elsbeth Fischer, Benevol (W)

Markus Freitag, Chair of Political Sociology, Institute for Political Science, Berne. (I)

Titus Gebel, Free Private Cities (I)

Katja Gentinetta, political philosopher (I)

Peter Gomez, St. Gallen Univ., GemeinwohlAtlas [Public Welfare Atlas] (W)

David Gugerli, Professor for History of Technology at ETH Zurich (I)

Martin Heller, Cultural Entrepreneur, Heller Enterprises (I)

Michael Hermann, Social Geographer at Sotomo (I)

Heidi Gstöhl, Director Department for Social Issues St. Gallen (W)

Peter Künzle, Managing Director benevol, St. Gallen (I)

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Ulrich Lantermann, Wikimedia (W)

Walter Leimgruber, Director of the Seminar for Cultural Studies and European Ethnology, Basle University (I)

Reto Lindegger, former Director of the Schweizerischen Gemeindeverbandes [Swiss Association of Local Authorities] (I)

Marc Mehli, City of Zurich Department of Social Services (I)

Julia Meier, Operation Libero (W)

Christian Mueller, Political artist, Freistaat unteres Kleinbasel [The Free State of Lower Kleinbasel] (W)

Priska Muggli, Managing Director Zeitvorsorge [Time provision] St. Gallen (I)

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Anette Stade, Project Lead Grossmütterrevolution [Grandmother Revolution] (I)

Lea Stahel, Sociology Zurich (W)

Mario Störkle, Sociology HS Lucerne (W)

Stefan Tittmann, Verein OstSinn – Room for More (I)

Georg von Schnurbein, Director of the Centre for Philanthropy Studies, Basle (I)

Theo Wehner, Industrial psychologist, ETH Zurich (I)

(I) indicates interview

(W) indicates workshop participation