The Roles, Functions, and Motivations of Volunteers in Helping to Ameliorate Reception Conditions for Asylum Seekers and Refugees

A case study of voluntary engagement at temporary asylum accommodation centres in Germany

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Abstract

In Germany, governments have traditionally entrusted parts of the provision of social care, including the reception and accommodation of asylum seekers, to a small number of welfare associations. In the wake of drastically increasing numbers of asylum seekers since 2014, however, new forms of voluntary engagement for asylum seekers, which stand apart from engagement within the traditional welfare associations, have grown in number and importance.

Within the scope of this thesis, an exploratory case study of novel forms of engagement for asylum seekers at and within the direct environment of two asylum accommodation centres, which are operated by a local migrant association in Dortmund, Germany, has been conducted. Based on a model by Bussell & Forbes (2001), this study aims at providing a comprehensive understanding of novel forms of voluntary engagement for asylum seekers by focusing on the questions of <u>who</u> volunteers are, <u>what</u> task they perform for asylum seekers, <u>why</u> they have decided to volunteer, and <u>where</u> they volunteer – including the organisational structures that frame their engagement.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

Due to an increase in war, civil war, conflict, and political prosecution, the number of refugees worldwide has reached an all-time high. Globally, more than 60 million people were forcibly displaced in 2015, among which more than 20 million refugees (UNHCR, 2015a/2015b). Naturally, these developments have significant effect on the asylum system of the European Union. Following a decade of continuous decrease in asylum applications, increasing numbers of asylum seekers have entered the European Union since 2008. As in many other EU member states, new asylum applications in Germany have risen drastically over the past 7 years: In 2015, 476.649 persons – about 17 times as many as in 2008 – applied for asylum in Germany (BAMF, 2015), while the actual number of entries of asylum seekers to Germany that have been registered in the EASY-system[1] amounts to more than 1.000.000 (BAMF, 2016a).

The Common European Asylum System (CEAS) has originally built upon the concepts and objectives of solidarity and fairness, equal distribution and responsibility of member states to protect persons in need of protection (Parusel. 2015). Nevertheless and in spite of European standards being determined by a number of regulations and directives, national practices of decision-making and the scope of services and support provided differ substantially across member states. This has led to an uneven distribution of asylum seekers across the member states of the European Union, which has become even more apparent in the light of the drastically increasing numbers of new applications since 2014. Next to Hungary, Austria, and Sweden, Germany is among the member states that receive unproportionally high shares of asylum seekers. In the first semester of 2015 alone, Germany has received three times as many asylum seekers as an equal distribution across EU member states by their total population would have required and twice as many as an equal distribution in relation to economic strength would imply (Brenke, 2015, p. 879).

Although asylum application processes in Germany are centralised, the reception of asylum seekers is regarded as a competence of the 16 states (*Bundesländer*). In most cases, the states assign their obliga-

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[1] IT system for registration and initial distribution of asylum seekers across Germany

tions to smaller administrative units, such as counties or municipalities (Wendel, 2014). Local authorities in Germany do however seem to be increasingly unfit to cope with the situation. Especially the provision of housing has proven to be a problem. In order to deal with the increasing number of asylum seekers being assigned to their territories, municipalities in Germany have therefore resorted to the opening of huge numbers of so called 'temporary' asylum accommodation centres. Former schools, containers in parking lots, but also gyms, which would usually host schools' physical education classes and practice sessions of local sport associations, have been refurnished to this purpose – with no definition of what 'temporary' means except than 'until no longer needed'.

The social relevance of civil society engagement for asylum seekers

According to Newman (2010), European societies have become increasingly aware of issues of social exclusion and vulnerability over the past years, which, in turn, causes a shift of agendas towards social inclusion and equality. These processes can also be witnessed with regard to the reception of asylum seekers: Best-practices of welcoming asylum seekers and the establishment of social contacts between local host societies and asylum seekers are deemed increasingly important to facilitate integration of the latter[2].

Several scientific studies underline the relevance of timely and adequate support and the establishment of social contacts with host communities for the eventual integration of refugees (see for example Karakayali & Kleist, 2015; Wren, 2007). Nevertheless, procedures in many European countries fall short of providing such positive effects on integration: Smets & ten Kate (2008), for example, have found that in the Dutch case, refugee policies fail to "adequately link the reception of asylum seekers to the process of integration that follows for those refugees who are actually admitted", and that instead of being enabled to experience social contacts, asylum seekers usually suffer from a restriction of opportunities and isolation from host societies.

On policy levels within the European Union, the voluntary engagement of civil society is increasingly regarded as a solution to a great variety of social problems (Popislova, 2007), including, among other, challenges of social integration (Lundberg et al., 2011). Recently, this has become applicable to the

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[2] *"Willkommenskultur"*
http://www.frsh.de/aktuell/presseerklaerungen/presseerklaerung/article/willkommenskultur-auch-fuer-fluechtlinge/

reception and integration of asylum seekers in a twofold sense: All over the European Union, but especially also in Germany, civil society and civil society organisations voluntarily step in to fill gaps where states fail to provide the adequate reception of asylum seekers (Archer, 2015). This implies that in addition to facilitating integration and trust between asylum seekers and their local host societies (e.g. through the provision of social and cultural activities, language courses, and other), volunteers do also provide fundamental services such as finding accommodation, health care, information, administrative assistance, or legal aid. Hence, it can be argued that the realisation of fundamental rights of asylum seekers has partially been handed over to civil society (Lundberg et al., 2011).

1.2 Current state of research

Volunteering

A lot of research has been conducted on different forms of volunteering and the motivations that drive volunteers in various settings. A great proportion of the existing literature does, however, draw upon findings from the United States that might not be compatible with our case. Volunteering and motivations to volunteer in a European context are heavily under-researched. Additionally, existing studies are oftentimes pre-occupied with volunteering in formal organisation settings and builds upon the assumption that volunteers are a resource that has to be activated by already existing organisational structures that show increasing tendencies towards professionalization (Hustinx, 2005; Skocpol, 2003). Indeed, 90% of civic engagement in Germany take place within established organisational structures of associations, unions, non-profit-, non-governmental-, or third sector organisations (Zimmer & Vilain, 2005). Yet, trends in volunteering include increasingly individualised forms of participation that are detached from traditional organisational structures (Hustinx, 2005, p. 624)

Putnam (2000) advocates an approach to volunteering that does not only focus on how traditional organisations behave in order to activate volunteers from a top-down perspective, but investigates how norms and ideals inherited by individuals leads to their participation in a bottom-up process. Such an approach is particularly relevant with regard to researching civil society engagement for asylum seekers: voluntary engagement for asylum seekers: Recent studies by Karakayali and Kleist (2014) and Mutz et al. (2015) have shown that voluntary engagement for asylum seekers in Germany is character-

ised by low degrees of organisation and that instead of resorting to pre-established structures, about every second volunteer is active individually or in non-traditional forms of organisation that include grass-roots initiatives and projects or self-organised groups.

Volunteering for asylum seekers

While the international research community has produced manifold and valuable insight into volunteerism and civic engagement in general, the field of volunteering for asylum seekers has been widely neglected up to this point. The explosion of the number of asylum applications and a growing public discourse on reception conditions of asylum seekers and the significance of volunteering have recently led to an increase of scientific interest in the field. Results are, however, still limited.

In Germany, publications on the topic of volunteering for asylum seekers are currently confined to a preliminary research report by Karakayali and Kleist (2015), who collect their data throughout Germany by means of an internet-based survey, and an explorative, qualitative study with a geographical focus on the City of Munich, which has been published by students of the Munich University of Applied Sciences under guidance of their professor (Mutz et al., 2015).

Civil society engagement for asylum seekers is thus under-researched both in Germany and worldwide. The few results that are already available will help to deepen the focus of this project by contributing to the theoretical underpinnings that are presented in Chapter 2.

1.3 Objectives and research questions

In order to reach the goal of medium- and long-term integration of asylum seekers, a close cooperation of governmental actors on all levels (Bund, Land, and municipalities) and civil society is crucial (Brücker, 2015; Geis & Orth, 2015). This, in turn, requires a better understanding of who volunteers are, by which motivations they are driven, and how they are organised.

As will be discussed in more detail later (Chapter 2.4), partnerships between the state and welfare associations in the provision of social care, including the reception of asylum seekers, have a long-standing tradition (e.g. Brandsen et al., 2015; Evers et al., 2011). These welfare associations depend on volunteers in carrying out their tasks. In the wake of rising numbers of asylum seekers, the state has,

however, increasingly resorted to entrust other partners, such as private firms or civil society organisations other than the traditional welfare associations, with the reception and accommodation of asylum seekers. In contrast to the traditional welfare association, especially the latter civil society organisations have less historical knowledge and expertise and lack a history of close ties to governments. Simultaneously, the number of volunteers for asylum seekers has rapidly increased and, as already mentioned above, volunteering for asylum seekers does increasingly take place on an individual basis or within non-traditional organisational structures (Karakayali & Kleist, 2014; Mutz et al. 2015). We are thus currently facing the emergence of novel structures of volunteering for asylum seekers, which require new research efforts to create an understanding of why and how people volunteer and how the relationship between governments and civil society – especially with regard to volunteering within settings that are controlled by traditional welfare associations – are evolving.

Therefore, the objective of this study is to explore the roles and motivations of individuals that volunteer for asylum seekers in the selected context of two temporary asylum accommodation centres that are located close to each other and are operated by the same local migrant association in Dortmund, North-Rhine-Westphalia, Germany.

For this purpose, I have focused on the following research question:

> **"What are the roles, functions, and motivations of volunteers who engage for asylum seekers and refugees?"**

For a comprehensive approach to the research problem, this question has been divided into the following sub-questions:

- What are the legal provisions that define reception conditions for asylum seekers on the local level?
- Who volunteers for asylum seekers?
- What tasks do volunteers perform for asylum seekers?
- What are the motivations of volunteers to engage for asylum seekers?
- How are volunteers organised and to what extent do local public authorities facilitate their engagement for asylum seekers?

The study contributes to the current state of knowledge by providing exploratory insights into the structure and organisation of volunteer work in the a-typical and novel setting of accommodation centres that are being operated by a local migrant association. Furthermore, it helps to reveal to what extent existing theories are able to explain civic engagement for asylum seekers and refugees and can help to render alternative explanations for voluntary engagement for asylum seekers. Moreover, the findings of the case study can contribute to the identification of policy implications or best practices of civic engagement for asylum seekers and refugees.

This thesis is divided into two parts, which are structured as follows: In Part I, the theoretical considerations that build the conceptual basis for the study will be presented (Chapter 2), the legal provisions defining reception conditions for asylum seekers in Germany are presented and critically reflected upon (Chapter 3), and the methodological aspects of the study are discussed (Chapter 4). In Part II of the thesis the case study will be presented, starting with an introduction to the case study (Chapter 5), which is followed by the presentation and discussion of findings (Chapter 6). Afterwards, a conclusion to the research question will be provided and the limitations and implications of the study will be discussed (Chapter 7).

PART I:

Theoretical considerations, legal background, and methodology

2. Theoretical considerations

This chapter focuses on relevant theoretical considerations that facilitate an approach to the topic of civic engagement for asylum seekers. Chapter 2.1 provides a definition of volunteering and introduces Bussel & Forbes' (2001) model for a holistic approach to the concept of volunteering. Chapter 2.2 focuses on the relationship of social capital and volunteering and on underlying theories of why people volunteer. In Chapter 2.3, I present a number of prominent alternative explanations of why people volunteer. Chapter 2.4 discusses the role of local framework conditions, most importantly of local governance, on volunteering. Finally, Chapter 2.5 concludes by linking all theoretical considerations presented throughout this chapter to the previously presented model by Bussel & Forbes' (2001).

2.1 Towards a concept of volunteering

Although volunteerism has been subject to a great number of studies, no integrated theory of volunteering has emerged yet (Hustinx et al., 2010). According to Wilson (2000, p. 233), the lack of an integrated theory of volunteering can be explained with the fact that "the generic term 'volunteering' embraces a vast array of quite disparate activities", ranging e.g. from voluntary engagement at sports associations or schools, or helping the disabled or elderly, to the subject of this study – namely providing support for asylum seekers –, which makes it impossible to "try to explain all these activities with the same theory" or to "treat all activities as if they were the same with respect to consequences". Moreover, different disciplines disagree with regard to the meaning and function of volunteering: While in economic terms, volunteering is understood as unpaid labour as an investment that, in return, enhances individuals' human capital (cf: Day & Devlin, 1998; Gratton & Ghoshal, 2003), sociology and the political sciences embrace volunteering as the "expression of core societal principles such as solidarity, social cohesion, and democracy" (Putnam, 2000; Wuthnow, 1998; as rephrased by Hustinx et al., 2010).

In the social and political sciences, volunteering is regarded as an exceptional social phenomenon that is distinct from formal social ties and networks as usually described by family, the workplace or the welfare state as "enforced systems of solidarity" (Hustinx et al., 2010). Instead, volunteering is con-

sidered to be a measure of social order, solidarity, trust, inclusion and social cohesion and thus of the strength of civil society.

Defining the term 'volunteering'

A recent definition provided by the European Council (2011) describes volunteering as follows:

> "The term *'voluntary activities'* refers to all types of voluntary activity, whether formal, non-formal or informal which are undertaken of a person's *own free will, choice and motivation, and is without concern for financial gain.* They benefit the individual volunteer, communities and society as a whole."

Accordingly, for the purpose of this study, I will define '*volunteering for asylum seekers and refugees*' as all activities *that are performed voluntarily by individuals without concern for financial gain and for the benefit for asylum seekers and refugees*. This includes all activities that aim at ameliorating the reception conditions of asylum seekers in material, medical and psychological or social regards, even if these activities do not imply direct contact between asylum seekers and volunteers.

In existing literature as well as in the course of this thesis, 'volunteering' is often used interchangeably with 'voluntary engagement', 'voluntary activity' and other terms. Especially in the German language, a variety of terms ranging from *Freiwilliges Engagement* (civic engagement), and *Freiwilligenarbeit* (volunteer work) to *Ehrenamt* (honorary position) are used interchangeably to describe voluntary activities (Angermann & Sittermann, 2011). Additionally, new and distinct terms, namely *Flüchtlings-hilfe* and *Geflüchtetenhilfe* (support for refugees) have emerged to frame voluntary engagement for asylum seekers.

Understanding the volunteer market

Voluntary activities can take place in different contexts, under the most diverse circumstances and for various reasons and are performed by a great variety of actors. Volunteering does thus constitute a highly complex social phenomenon. A prominent theoretical approach to volunteering is provided by Bussell & Forbes (2001), who claim that a holistic approach to volunteering requires an investigation of at least four aspects of volunteering, namely "Who", "What", "Why", and "Where" (see Figure 1).
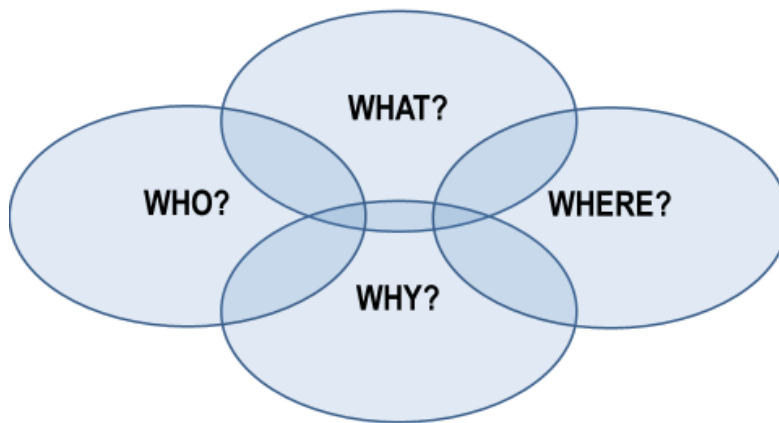
Figure 1: The four W's of volunteering (Bussell & Forbes, 2001, p. 245).

Hereby, the **"Who"** of volunteering refers to the personal background and characteristics of individual volunteers. This entails inquiries about gender, age, employment status, lifestyle, nationality, membership or involvement in political, religious, or other groups and organisations, and other features inhabited by volunteers.

The **"What"** of volunteering is looking for a general definition of the performed voluntary activity. This includes inquiries about the framing and organisation of the activity as well as questions about the roles that volunteers take and the kind of tasks that they perform.

The **"Where"** of volunteering includes all aspects related to the context in which volunteering takes place. This may include organisational features and other framework conditions, such as local governance, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.4.

The **"Why"** of volunteering refers to all factors that influence the decisions volunteers to become and remain active. In the following parts of this chapter, I will discuss various reasons of why people volunteer.

2.2 Social capital and volunteering

The concept of social capital originally derives from the economic idea that interactions and connections of individuals in social networks can be economically valuable. It has since been incorporated into social and political theories that stress the role of social capital for social cohesion and trust.

The most renowned definitions of social capital are provided by Bourdieu (1986) (social capital is the product of relationships and interactions between individuals, it results in knowing and acknowledging the other and is a crucial element of group identity), Coleman (1988) (social capital is the product of social interaction of various individual actors and enables the "achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible"), and Fukuyama (2001) and Putnam (1995, 2000) (social capital is constituted by social connectedness in networks, social trust and tolerance and facilitates collaborative action and social cohesion). Especially the latter underline the importance of civic engagement – also in the form of volunteering – for the social welfare of individuals and societies. Hereby, it is important to understand that social connectedness, trust, and tolerance are both cause and consequence of social capital. Without trust, societies face the problem of a social trap.

Putnam (1995, 2000) differentiates between two types of social capital: Bonding capital and bridging capital. Bonding capital is bound to emerge within networks that are characterised by shared values and identities and high degrees of support and solidarity, as for example typical for grass-roots associations. Bridging capital, on the other hand, accrues from relationships between different groups. It establishes 'weak ties' between citizens that initially belong to different social spheres and therefore helps to overcome differences and mistrust. According to Hustinx et al. (2010), volunteering creates bridging social capital and is therefore particularly relevant for effective community building.

Several authors have predicted increasing individualisation to result in a decrease of social capital, social trust and civil engagement (see for example Putnam, 1995, 2000; Wolf & Zimmer, 2012). Nonetheless, voluntary engagement for asylum seekers has rapidly increased within the course of the past year. In the following, I am therefore going to explore a number of theories connected to the concept of social capital that might render possible explanations of why people volunteer for asylum seekers.

The role of social networks and social capital for volunteering

Social capital and social network theories believe that the social structures and networks around an individual, group, or organization affect their beliefs and behaviours. According to Putnam (2000, p. 121), not only does volunteering create social capital, but vice versa, social connectedness influences the likelihood of volunteering. Social interaction is thus a decisive factor in explaining volunteering (Musick & Wilson, 2007)

"Somebody asked me!"

The participation in social networks is of high relevance for volunteering as being encouraged or asked to volunteer by other people in their surroundings plays an important role in determining individuals' decisions to volunteer (Musick & Wilson, 2007, p. 273). Putnam (2000) claims that "Somebody asked me" is the most common answer to the question of why people volunteer. His hypothesis has been confirmed in the context of a study of senior citizens in the US as referred to by Adler & Goggin (2005) (see figure 1), which shows that indeed, a clear majority of people who have been asked to volunteer decided to follow the advice and engage in voluntary activities (84%), while a vast majority of those who were not asked to volunteer eventually did not do so (83%). Lately, there has also been increasing scholarly awareness towards the role of social connectedness via online social networks for volunteering (see for example: Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012). This study does therefore have to take into account that 'being asked to' can constitute an important element of motivations to volunteer and that online networks via social media platforms such as for example Facebook can play a crucial role in this regard. This leads me to the following assumption:

> **Assumption I:** *People who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to have been encouraged or asked to do so by people in their environment, including their online social environment.*
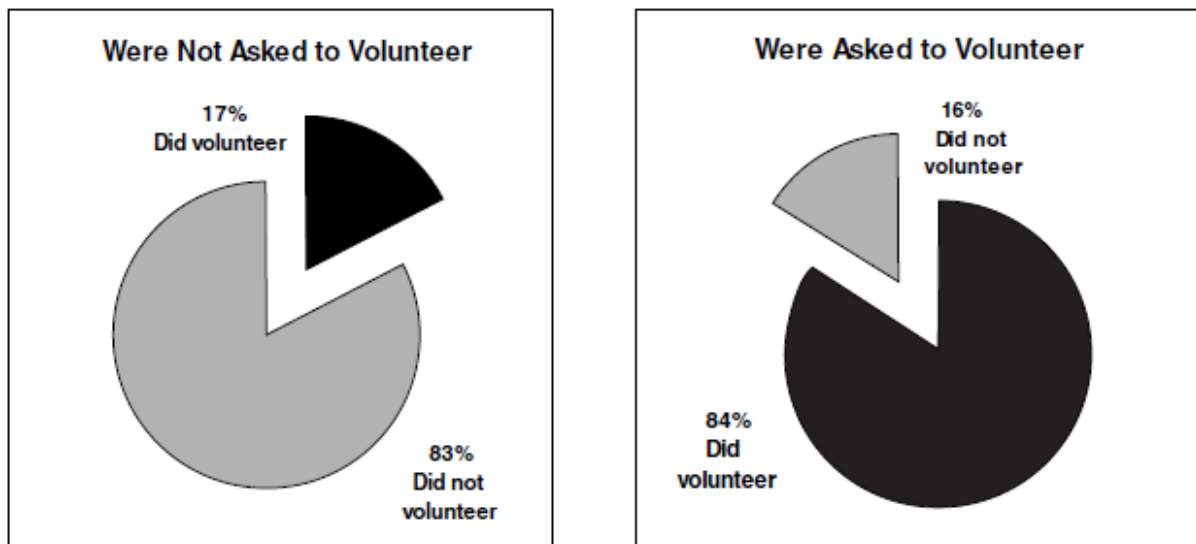
Figure 1: The Impact of Being Asked on Volunteering of Senior Citizens in the U.S. (Age 55+). *Source*: Adler & Goggin (2005)

A virtuous circle civic engagement?

Volunteering and other forms of civic engagement seem to be closely intertwined: Persons that are generally more active in the civil sphere and can thus be thought to possess high degrees of social interconnectedness and social capital are very likely to volunteer (Musick & Wilson, 2007). Putnam (2000, p. 199) has found that in the U.S., 73% of members of secular civil society organisations and 55% of members of religious groups volunteer, as compared to only 19% of other citizens. There are first indications that other forms of civic engagement and high degrees of social capital can also be used to describe volunteers for asylum seekers in the European context: In a study of voluntary engagement for asylum seekers in Munich, they have found that in addition to their engagement for asylum seekers, volunteers are also likely to be active in fields related to politics, culture, and sports (Mutz et al., 2015).

Furthermore, it is thought that volunteering foster more volunteering. Putnam (2000, pp. 121-122) claims that volunteering is "mutually reinforcing and habit-forming". He points out that many volunteers are either "distinguished by their civic involvement as youth" or "have received help are themselves more likely to help others" (idem.). Yin Yap et al. (2012) have found that voluntary engagement is indeed a common phenomenon among asylum seekers and refugees, who want to give something back to the community that has once received them, and according to Karakayali and Kleist

(2015) persons with a migratory or refugee background are over-proportionally involved in voluntary activities for asylum seekers in Germany at the moment.

In order to create an understanding of who volunteers are, why they have decided to volunteer in the first place, and which role social capital plays in these regards, this study will therefore have to investigate whether volunteers in the selected context have previously participated in other forms of civic engagement, such as for example membership in political or religious organisations or volunteering in other contexts, and whether they have benefited from voluntary engagement in the past themselves. This leads me to the following assumptions:

> **Assumption II:** *People who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to be simultaneously involved within one or more secular or religious organisations.*

> **Assumption III:** *People who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to have a history of volunteering.*

> **Assumption IV:** *People who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to have benefited from the voluntary engagement of others in the past.*

Measuring social capital in the context of volunteering

It is apparent that social capital is relevant for describing both who people that volunteer for asylum seekers are and what motivates their engagement. Social capital is, however, difficult to measure as it is not directly observable (Brown & Ferris, 2007) and as its relationship to volunteering is complex in the sense that it constitutes both a cause and a consequence of volunteering and other forms of civic engagement. Although the relevance of social capital as a consequence of volunteering must not be neglected, this study focuses primarily on social capital in its function as a cause of volunteering.

In most cases, quantitative – or network-based –, and qualitative – or norm-based – characteristics are used as proxies of social capital (see for example: Brown & Ferris, 2007; Degli Antoni, 2009; Wang, 2007). The quantitative or network-based characteristics are indicated by an individual's degree of embeddedness in the community and his or her degree of civic engagement, including e.g. the number of organisational memberships or voluntary activities. The qualitative or norm-based characteristics, in

turn, include the levels of trust that individuals have both in people within their social networks as well as in people that belong to different social spheres (intra- and inter-group trust – or in other terms: bonding and bridging functions of social capital (Putnam, 1995/2000)). Social capital can thus be measured by investigating whether volunteers have previously been civically engaged (e.g. though membership or voluntary activities) and whether they have previously had strong social networks that have encouraged them to engage civically, and on the other hand by inquiring in how far they trust other people both within and outside of their personal social networks.

2.3 Alternative explanations for volunteering

Putnam (2000, p. 117) has underlined that "social capital refers to networks of social connection – doing *with*. Doing good *for* other people, however laudable, is not part of the definition of social capital" (Putnam, 2000, p. 117). As such, social capital constitutes a valuable part of an explanation for volunteering, but is presumably not able to capture all of its elements. In the following, I will therefore focus on theories that render alternative explanations for volunteering.

Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations to volunteer

Both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations play an essential role in understanding volunteerism. Although they are difficult to distinguish at times, the main difference between intrinsically and extrinsically motivated behaviour is that first is an act of self-expression and pursues engagement for satisfaction, while the latter is instrumental and aims at a specific outcome (see for example: Degli Antoni, 2009).

Examples for extrinsic motivations to volunteer are ideal motivations that are constituted by humanitarian, religious or political norms and values (Clary et al., 1998), including compassion, sympathy, concern, care, a feeling of responsibility and an attachment towards helping others and fulfilling their needs (Musick & Wilson, 2007, p. 85). Mutz et al. (2015) confirm the role of such values for volunteering for asylum seekers: Most respondents of their study would not describe themselves as religious, but nevertheless, many reported a religiously influenced family background. Others, in turn, reported that they derive their motivations to volunteer from humanitarian principles. This leads me to the following assumption:

Assumption V: *People who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to be driven by humanitarian, religious, or political norms and values.*

On the intrinsic side, motivations to volunteer include career- or self-enhancement-oriented goals, personal well-being, and social aspects. Volunteering is seen as an option to stay relevant for people that face a transition between work and retirement. Oftentimes, it is also regarded as a preparing element for future careers (Clary et al., 1998). Additionally, people are said to volunteer because it enhances their personal well-being and serves their desires for social recognition. Volunteering might also help people to increase the number of their acquaintances or friends, which is, again, closely related to the topic of social capital (Clary et al., 1998; Clary & Snyder, 1999; Degli Antoni, 2009). Mutz et al. (2015) confirm that intrinsic motivations do also play a role for people's decisions to volunteer for asylum seekers in Germany: Many of their respondents have reported that their voluntary engagement is personally satisfactory and enriches their social lives. This leads me to the following assumption:

Assumption VI: *People who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to do so because of intrinsic motivations, such as for example their personal well-being, self-enhancement or career-related goals, or the desire to increase the number of their acquaintances or friends.*

Volunteering as a response to deficiencies in areas of state-responsibility

Hustinx et al. (2010, p. 420) identify two political perspectives on the role of volunteers – on the one hand, a liberal perspective, regarding volunteering as a means to complement government action and subsequently making government "stronger and more encompassing", and on the other hand a conservative perspective, arguing that volunteerism as a substitute for government programs intends to "reduce the scope and power of government". Lundberg et al. (2011) show that civil society organisations are especially active in areas where governments fail to deliver services to a satisfying extent. From a critical perspective, it could thus be argued that the voluntary engagement of civil society can be mis-

used as an "escape route for governments" (Hustinx et al., 2010, p. 431) that results in the realisation of fundamental rights being handed over to civil society organisations (Lundberg et al., 2011)[3].

Several studies have shown that this does especially apply to volunteering for asylum seekers: Wren (2007, p. 402), for example, states that in a setting in Glasgow, "participants recalled an absence of a range of necessary support services at policy's inception, which had generated a perception among some local voluntary agencies that their sense of responsibility had been exploited". Additionally, both inquiries by Mutz et al. (2015) and by Karakayali & Kleist (2015) reveal that people who volunteer for asylum seekers in Germany do oftentimes provide fundamental services, such as language courses, translations, support in contacting public authorities, medical or psychological attendance, or help with finding a place to live, which could and should be performed more professionally by governmental actors in their minds. Some volunteers do even frame their engagement as a response to 'state failure' with regard to the reception of asylum seekers (Mutz et al,., 2015, p. 32). This leads me to the following assumption:

> **Assumption VII:** *People that volunteer for asylum seekers tend to perform roles that, according to their perceptions, should be performed by local authorities.*

Volunteering as an act of social and political protest

Some scholars believe that volunteering should be regarded as a concept that is distinct from activism (Wilson, 2000). They argue that activism is oriented towards social change, while volunteering is focused more towards helping in individual cases (Markham & Bonjean, 1995, as referred to by Wilson, 2000) and claim that volunteers "care about people, not about politics" (Eliasoph, 1998, p. 12, cited in Wilson, 2000, p. 217). Yet, there are reasons to believe that the exact opposite applies to volunteering for asylum seekers: According to (Misik, 2015), voluntary engagement for asylum seekers is by no means only of a charitable nature. Volunteers do not only engage in order to help, but implicitly do also engage in a protest against the way in which asylum seekers are being treated by the government on the one hand and by parts of the host societies on the other hand. It could thus be expected that

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[3] For further reading on the theory of government failure and the behaviour of non-profit organisations see Weisbrod (1977).

many people who volunteer for asylum seekers do so because of their political persuasions. This leads me to the following assumption:

Assumption VIII: *People that volunteer for asylum seekers do so in order to convey a political stance.*

2.4 The 'Where' of volunteering

As Bussell & Forbes (2001) have pointed out, volunteering does not stand on its own, but is highly dependent on the context in which it takes place. This implies an analysis of the organisational setting in which volunteering takes place. Questions such as the accessibility of organisations for volunteers, the resources that organisations invest in structuring and organising their volunteers' engagement, as well as cooperation with other organisations, businesses, or local government play an important role in this regard (cf.: Haski-Leventhal, Meijs, & Hustinx, 2010). Additionally, framework conditions that are created by public authorities on (supra-)national, regional, and, most importantly, municipal levels (cf: Vogelwiesche & Sporket, 2008), can influence the roles, functions, and motivations of volunteers.

Local governance and its impact on volunteering

The role of civil society in the public sphere and the nature of government-civil society relationships differ strongly across countries (Salamon et al., Smith and Grønbjerg, 2006, as referred to by Brandsen et al., 2015). In some countries, for example in Eastern Europe and Scandinavia, public services are widely delivered by the government. In contrast, governments in other countries, as for example Germany, the Netherlands or Belgium, have traditionally entrusted the delivery of such services to civil society (Dekker, 2004; Zimmer, 1999, as referred to by Brandsen et al., 2015).

In Germany, there has been a long-standing tradition of cooperation between the state and civil society in the provision of social care, especially on local levels. Based on the principle of subsidiarity and following a rationale of activating civil society to help itself, government and civil society have ever since engaged in a public-private partnership that entailed public support for charity organisations in turn for the provision of social services of the latter (cf: Brandsen, 2015; Evers et al., 2011; Wolf & Zimmer, 2012). The nature of cooperation between government and civil society in the provision of social care in Germany has undergone several reforms over the course of the past decades. Reforms

according to principles of New Public Management since the early 1980s facilitated the retreat of governments from the effective provision of social care to the facilitation and coordination of social care. Government-civil society relationships were increasingly shaped by the cooperation between the government in its role as the 'principal', and voluntary organisations and, increasingly, also commercial providers that performed formerly governmental tasks in their role as 'agents' (Principal-Agent-Theory) (cf: Schubert, 2013).

According to Brandsen et al. (2015) and Nullmeier (2011), the latest stage in the development of the relationship between governments and civil society has been shaped by a 'governance' or 'new public governance' approach. Especially in the form of 'local governance', this paradigm implies a breakdown of hierarchical and bureaucratic policy making structures, and an increase of collaboration of governments in pluralistic networks across all fields of local policy in which they constantly interact and cooperate with many other actors from the private and civil society sphere (Brandsen et al., 2015; Nullmeier, 2011; Schubert, 2013).

Correspondingly, there has also been a growing interdependence between governments and the civil sphere with regard to the provision of social care: On the one hand, governments depend on the provision of social services by civil society, which enables them to withdraw from their direct welfare responsibilities. They are motivated to enhance volunteering as a mean to improve the quality of social services and make them more affordable as well as a way to develop and maintain social capital and social cohesion (cf.: chapter 2.2). On the other hand, volunteering and other forms of civic engagement depend increasingly on local governance and the quality of support structures provided by third actors, including local government. The way in which local government cooperates with volunteers and volunteer organisations stimulates, supports, and coordinates their activities play a crucial role for processes of volunteering and for volunteers' decisions to become and remain active (Haski-Leventhal, Meijs, & Hustinx, 2010).

Especially on local policy levels, a diverse variety of support structures for civic engagement has evolved in Germany since the 1990s. These support structures, referred to as "*Engagementförderung*" in German, fulfil different functions, including for example the consultation and placement service for people who are interested in volunteering, the provision of qualification offers for volunteers, financial

support, the support of volunteer organisations with coordinating their voluntary activities, the estab-lishment of networks and facilitation of better communication between relevant actors (volunteers, voluntary organisations, policy actors, etc.), and many more.

While traditionally, a rather small number of highly organised and vertically structured welfare asso-ciations (*Wohlfahrtsverbände*) has been predominantly active in the provision of social care in Ger-many, an increasing integration of voluntary organisations that are not affiliated with these associa-tions as well as of commercial providers can be witnessed and has led to significant change within the sector since the 1980s (cf.: Zimmer, 1999). In contrast to the traditional welfare associations, these voluntary organisations have less historical knowledge and expertise and lack a history of close ties to governments. Therefore, new research efforts are needed to create an understanding of how the rela-tionships between (local) governments and civil society, especially the emerging voluntary organisa-tions in the social sector, are currently evolving (Brandsen et al., 2015).

In order to reach the goal of medium- and long-term integration of asylum seekers, a close cooperation of governmental actors on all levels (Bund, Land, and municipalities) and civil society is crucial (Brücker, 2015; Geis & Orth, 2015). So far, however, there is no evidence which role local governance plays for volunteering for asylum seekers and especially for volunteering for asylum seekers outside of the context of the traditional welfare associations. Therefore, part of this study will focus on the way in which local authorities attempt to facilitate voluntary engagement for asylum seekers and refugees on the local level, on the way in which these attempts are perceived by volunteers in the selected asy-lum accommodation centres and on possible effects that these attempts have on the motivations of volunteers to become and remain active.

2.5 Implications for the study

All in all, it has to be concluded that volunteering is a highly complex social phenomenon: Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations as well as social functions have to be explored in order to understand why people decide to volunteer. In addition, volunteering for asylum seekers is linked to political decision-making processes and the conduct of governments. In the previous parts of this chapter, I have pre-sented several reasons that can lead us to believe that less people would decide to volunteer for asylum

seekers if governments would take up the task of providing better reception conditions. Moreover, volunteering and the functionality of voluntary organisations are believed to be influenced by local governance and the provision of support structures by local authorities. Therefore, it is important to not only focus on motivations, tasks, and roles alone, but also on the framework conditions of volunteering for asylum seekers in the very context it is located in.

Using the knowledge that has been accumulated throughout this chapter, it is time to revisit Bussel & Forbes' (2001) approach to volunteering: Figure 2 shows the original four W's of volunteering ("Who", "What", "Why", and "Where") as well as a number of elements contained within them, which I have added on the basis of my theoretical considerations and which will be relevant for the further design of this study.
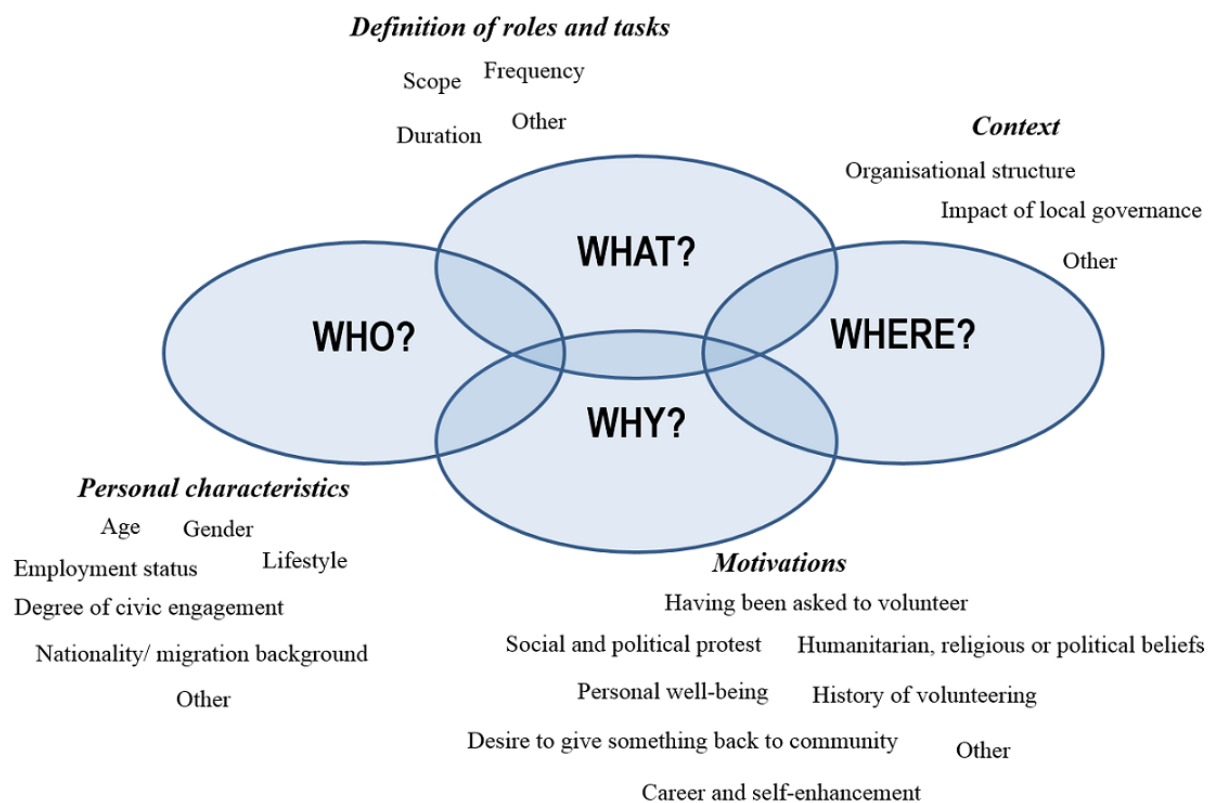
Figure 2: Possible elements within the four W's of volunteering for asylum seekers (based on a model by Bussell & Forbes, 2001)

3. Legal provisions defining the reception conditions for asylum seekers in Germany

On the international level, the right to asylum is regulated by the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, which is oftentimes also referred to as *Geneva Convention*. This Convention provides a definition of the term refugee and stipulates the rights of individuals that apply for asylum as well as the responsibilities of states that grant asylum, including among other the principle of non-refoulement, which prohibits states from returning individuals to a country if there is a well-grounded fear that they will suffer from prosecution and dangers to their lives. Additionally the Convention states that refugees must not be penalised for illegal entry or stay, and should be granted access to the social security system and the labour market of their receiving country.

In the following, the legal provisions that are relevant for examining local practices of the reception of asylum seekers in Germany will be presented and assessed from a critical perspective.

3.1 Legal provisions on the European level

On the European level, the right to asylum as well as minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers are stipulated in a number of binding documents. The most relevant documents in this regard are the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, which states that the right to asylum shall be guaranteed with respect for the rules of the above mentioned Geneva Convention (1951), the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), which stated the objective of developing a Common European Policy on Asylum, as well as several documents leading to the establishment of said policy.

With regard to the definition of reception conditions for asylum seekers, relevant documents include the Directive laying down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers (Council Directive 2003/9/EC) as well as its follow-up, the Directive laying down standards for the reception of applicants for international protection (Directive 2013/33/EU of the European Parliament and the Council), which entered into force in 2015. These directives state that asylum seekers have to be provided with a minimal standard of material reception conditions that "guarantees their subsistence and protects their physical and mental health". This includes adequate housing, either in accommodation centres, private

houses or flats, or other premises, taking into account age- and gender-specific concerns. Staff at accommodation centres has to be adequately trained, and asylum seekers must be granted the possibility to communicate with family members, legal counsellors, and other relevant actors, e.g. including representatives of NGOs. These standards do, however, only apply in standard situations. "Where housing capacities normally available are temporarily exhausted", different minimum standards can be applied, as long as they still cover the basic needs of asylum seekers. Asylum seekers are to receive necessary health care, which should at least include "emergency care" and the "essential treatment of illnesses and serious mental disorders". Minors shall receive schooling and education at least until they come off age. Additionally, asylum seekers should be granted access to the labour markets of EU member states no later than nine months after they initially applied for asylum. Member states are, however, allowed to prioritize EU citizens, nationals from the European economic area, and legally resident third-country nationals in selection procedures.

3.2 Legal provisions in Germany

Despite a European harmonisation in the area of asylum policies, there is a series of national and federal state law in Germany that supplement the European protection system (Parusel, 2010). In addition to signature of the Geneva Convention, the right to apply for asylum is guaranteed by a section in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany. Application procedures as well as reception conditions for asylum seekers are defined by national law (Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz (AsylbLG) and Asylverfahrensgesetz (AsylVfG)), whereas responsibility for the actual implementation of these provisions is transferred to the federal Länder (AsylVfG). After an initial registration, asylum seekers are allocated to the individual Länder according to the Königssteiner Schlüssel, a means of calculation that takes into account the number of inhabitants as well as the fiscal revenue of each Land. According to these calculations, the biggest share of asylum seekers (21.23%) in 2016 will be allocated to North Rhine-Westphalia (BAMF, 2016b).

There are four different types of reception facilities for asylum seekers: Initial reception facilities (*Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen*) in which asylum seekers are supposed to reside for a minimum of 6 and a maximum of 12 weeks, as well as three types of subsequent facilities, namely shared accommodation

facilities (accommodation centres/ *Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte*), decentralised accommodation facilities (e.g. in individual flats or houses), and reception facilities for vulnerable groups (e.g. unaccompanied minors). With the exception of the Länder Saarland and Bavaria, all *Länder* transfer responsibility for any kind of reception following on the initial reception to local municipalities (BAMF, 2013). In spite of processes of increasing Europeanisation and the existence of uniform federal laws, this practice leads to huge differences between municipalities in the definition and implementation of reception conditions for asylum seekers (Schammann, 2015), as well as in the formal organisation of reception facilities (BAMF, 2013).

The AsylbLG (*Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz*) regulates the scope of services and benefits that shall be provided to asylum seekers in order to fulfil their basic needs. These include food, accommodation, heating, clothing, personal- and health care, and other consumables. Municipalities can decide whether to provide these benefits and services in kind, in the forms of vouchers, or cash, whereas the provision in kind enjoys priority (§ 3(1) AsylbLG). In addition, an allowance in cash will be granted for covering personal needs and ensuring socio-cultural participation (143€ for single adults travelling alone in 2015; BMAS, 2015). Furthermore, asylum seekers have access to medical care, which is, however, – in line with the European minimum standards – restricted to acute diseases, illnesses and states of pain. If not further defined by state or local laws, providers of reception facilities enjoy considerable freedoms in setting further and/or more detailed standards, which reinforces the differences in actual reception conditions across state- and local levels (BAMF, 2013).

With regard to the access of asylum seekers to work and education, European standards apply in Germany. Education is a competence of the federal states (*Länder*), which oblige all minors to attend school. Access to the labour market is granted a bit earlier than stipulated by EU law, namely as soon as four months after asylum application. Nevertheless, access to the labour market is restricted and EU citizens are prioritised up until 14 months after asylum application.

Involvement of non-governmental actors

In line with the situation in other sectors of social care, the *Länder* and municipalities do not perform the reception of asylum seekers on their own. Traditionally, responsibility for the management of ac-

commodation centres has been transferred to the above mentioned traditional welfare associations (*Wohlfahrtsverbände*, cf.: chapter 2.4). In the course of dramatic increases of the number of asylum seekers – previously in the 1990s and now under the current circumstances -, an increasing number of reception facilities is managed by alternative providers, among which commercial providers and voluntary organisations that are not associated with the traditional associations.

Support of non-governmental actors for asylum seekers is, however, not confined to taking place within reception facilities. On the contrary, many welfare associations and voluntary organisations provide social counselling, legal advice, as well as support- and care mechanisms of other kind to both asylum seekers and refugees. In some cases, local governments do even regard the provision of services through welfare associations and voluntary organisation as a substitute for particular governmental responsibilities (BAMF, 2013, p. 20).

3.3 Criticisms of reception conditions for asylum seekers

The European directives defining minimum reception conditions for asylum seekers and persons seeking international protection are often regarded as a mean to put an end to a race to the bottom of reception conditions, which are regarded as pull factors for asylum seekers by some governments. Yet, due to rising numbers of asylum seekers, many member states fuel debates on a further reduction of standards, and more and more cases of non-compliance with EU standards can be witnessed (European Commission, 2015). In any case, the directives do only set minimum standards, providing for a minimum level of harmonisation and a leaving great scope for interpretation, which results in great differences in the local implementation of standards.

In Germany, reception conditions for asylum seekers are among the most polarising and politicised topics (BAMF, 2013, p. 28). Various NGOs call for more humane reception conditions. They are especially critical of housing in of shared accommodation centres, which heavily interferes with the privacy of individuals (BAMF, 2013; Wendel, 2014) and the principle of provision of benefits in kind, and request shorter processing times for asylum applications (BAMF, 2013). Criticism includes that asylum seekers in accommodation centres do usually receive full catering without any possibility to cook themselves, although the possibility to use facilities for cooking together is proposed e.g. in the

quality standards that apply in North Rhine-Westphalia – a situation that is especially difficult for cultural groups in which eating together and the preparation of food have a high societal relevance (interview data; Wendel, 2014).

Another critical point regarding the reception of asylum seekers at local levels is the non-existence of or non-compliance to quality standards. Many *Länder* in Germany lack a definition of standards, and where standards exist, they do oftentimes not apply for temporary or emergency accommodation centres or when regular facilities are overcrowded (cf: MIK NRW, 2014). In Dortmund, for example, asylum seekers and NGOs criticised the reception conditions provided at an emergency accommodation for 300 that has been established in a gym. Reasons for criticism included a lack of privacy, the quality of food provided, insufficient hygiene standard, a lack of leisure activities offered, the absence of translation services, and insufficient support through the City's social department (Bandermann, 2015a/2015b).

According to the principle of connectivity (*Konnexitätsprinzip*), municipalities should receive appropriate financial compensations for tasks delegated to them by the federal states (*Länder*). Nevertheless, the financial compensation that most municipalities across Germany receive in turn for the reception of asylum seekers does not cover the arising cost sufficiently. As a consequence, many municipalities are forced to cut costs, which does oftentimes result in a deterioration of ratios between qualified staff and asylum seekers at accommodation centres (Wendel, 2015). Especially socio-economic support for asylum seekers suffers from this fact. Oftentimes, social education workers have to support so many persons that qualified support for individuals is not possible anymore (AG Soziale Beratung und Betreuung, Landesregierung Brandenburg, as cited by Wendel, 2014, p. 76).

The presented shortcomings and the increasing transferral of state responsibilities to lower levels of governance as well as to the civil society actors connects to theories such as those of Hustinx et al. (2010, p. 431) and Lundberg et al. (2011) (cf.: Chapter 2.3), who claim that government failure constitutes an important impetus for volunteering is governance failure. Indeed, I will discuss in detail at a later point, many providers of asylum accommodation centres are not able to fulfil their socio-educational tasks without the involvement of civil society. In the presented case study, for example,

many tasks that are stipulated through the quality standards of the *Land* North Rhine-Westphalia, such as the provision of a clothing bank, language courses, sports activities, or childcare, are performed by volunteers in parts or to full extent.

4. Methodology

The previous chapters have shown that volunteering is a highly complex concept that no integrated theory has accomplished to fully capture yet. Although there are several theoretical explanations for volunteering that could potentially shed light on the phenomenon of civil society engagement for asylum seekers, too, there is not enough evidence to judge in how far they can explain why people volunteer for asylum seekers, which roles they perform, and to what extent their voluntary engagement is influenced by local governance.

This chapter provides justifications for the design of this study. It discusses the research design and selection of the research population, the methods used for data collection and analysis, and, finally, aspects of feasibility of this study.

4.1 Research Design and Research Population

For this study, a qualitative case study design has been chosen. A case study is an analysis of a person, group, situation, or system by one or more methods. Case study methodology provides tools for researchers to study and understand complex phenomena and dynamics within their contexts (e.g. Baxter & Jack, 2008; Eisenhardt, 1989). According to Yin (2003, as referred to by Baxter & Jack, 2008), case study methodology should be considered when, for example, a) the study focuses mainly on "how" and "why" questions"; b) when the study does not allow for experimental design, meaning that the researcher cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; c) a researcher wants to cover contextual conditions because they believe that they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or d) when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clear. Bussell & Forbes (2001) suggest that in addition to the 'who', 'what', and 'why' of volunteering, inquiries about 'where' and thus in which context and under which framework conditions people volunteer constitute an essential element of understanding the volunteer market; thus, all of the conditions defined by Yin are fulfilled.

Case studies are typically conducted with the help of combined data collection methods, such as document analysis, interviews, questionnaires, or observations. These methods can be qualitative or quantitative, or both (Eisenhardt, 1989). A mixed method design (including, e.g., the quantitative

analysis of survey data) could have contributed to the generalisability of results (Bryman, 2004; Hughes, n.d.; Polit & Beck, 2010), but could not be conducted within the scope and time-frame given for this thesis. Therefore, a qualitative approach has been chosen for this study. Moreover, Yin (2003) distinguishes between single- and multiple-case studies, which can be explanatory, exploratory, or descriptive in nature. Both the recent, rapid increase in the number of people volunteering for asylum seekers as well as a lack of research on volunteering for asylum seekers were an impetus for conducting an in-depth, exploratory single case study. This design is likely to create a valid, contextual, and in-depth understanding of both, the functions and organisational structures of volunteer work as well as the roles and motivations of individuals that volunteer for asylum seekers. Moreover, it will facilitate judgement of how suitable existing theories are for explaining voluntary engagement for asylum seekers and, if necessary, can contribute to the construction of a new theory (Hughes, n.d.; Shah & Corley, 2006).

Case selection

For the purpose of this study, I have decided conduct an exploratory single case study, which focuses on one temporary and one emergency asylum accommodation centres that are operated in close geographical proximity by the same local migrant association in the City of Dortmund, North-Rhine Westphalia, Germany.

Despite Dortmund being known as a centre of the far-right, the voluntary engagement of civil society for asylum seekers in the city are regarded as a positive example across national borders. Headlines of refugees being welcomed by volunteers in Munich and Dortmund have made the news world-wide in the late summer and autumn of 2015. Furthermore, Dortmund is an important stage for the voluntary engagement for asylum seekers, as the city hosts the *Drehscheibe* – the initial reception and immediate redistribution of asylum seekers that arrive in North-Rhine Westphalia from other states or foreign countries. Being referred to as a place of best practice of welcoming asylum seekers – and despite the adverse circumstances –, Dortmund does thus provide an interesting, positive-example framework for a case study on volunteering for asylum seekers.

As mentioned before, German municipalities have long-standing traditions of cooperation with a number of traditional welfare associations in the provision of social care. Over the period in which this

study was conducted, up to 26 asylum accommodation centres were operated, planned, or being under construction in Dortmund. The majority of these accommodation centres was operated by a welfare associations, a nearly equally large number was operated by a private firm, and two centres were operated by a migrant association in collaboration with a not-for-profit company that they had previously founded. The latter have been chosen for this case study for the following reasons: For one, they constitute a positive example, as they involve high degrees of volunteerism and have been acknowledged by from a wide, local public. Moreover, they are not operated by one of the traditional welfare associations (*Wohlfahrtsverbände*), but represent a novel and distinct form of organisation. Volunteer structures have thus evolved without the involvement of previously established networks and organisations, a fact making it even more interesting to study why individuals have chosen to contribute, what tasks they perform, how their work is organised, and to what extent local governance facilitates their engagement. As such, the case is a novel and might be even regarded as an extreme case for the moment. With increasing numbers of civil society organisations stepping in as operators of asylum accommodation centres instead of the traditional welfare associations, this case could, however, soon evolve into a typical case of volunteering for asylum seekers in non-traditional settings.

Last but not least, a number of practical reasons played a role in the selection of the case: The accessibility of volunteers and representatives of the organisation operating the centres for the purposes of this study could be guaranteed and due to personal ties and a close geographical proximity, the development of volunteer structures within the chosen case could be observed over a longer period – from the establishment of the first centre in late 2014 to early 2016.

Additional forms of voluntary engagement in the environment of the selected asylum accommodation centres

In the course of data collection, it became apparent that it would be negligent to merely include the voluntary engagement that takes place directly at the selected accommodation centres, only for their inhabitants, and only by volunteers that are not associated with other organisations that provide support for asylum seekers and refugees on a voluntary basis. In fact, there are three voluntary organisations – two associations and a voluntary, non-membership based group – that are worth mentioning because they are operating within the close environment of the selected accommodation centres in the

sense that inhabitants of the selected asylum accommodation centres make use of their offers before coming to, during their stay at, as well as after having left the centres. In some cases, punctual collaboration is taking place between volunteers at the selected accommodation centres and the mentioned voluntary organisations; in other cases, volunteers are active within the organisations as well as directly at the selected accommodation centres; and to a large extent, the voluntary engagement that led to the establishment of these voluntary organisations has developed out of the voluntary engagement at the selected accommodation centres. None of the three voluntary organisations is affiliated with one of the traditional welfare associations. In order to provide a comprehensive insight into civic engagement for asylum seekers in settings that not controlled by the traditional welfare associations, I have therefore decided to include information on these voluntary organisations into the case study.

4.2 Data collection and analysis

For this study, the following two methods of data collection have been employed: 1) An analysis of policy documents and secondary sources to deliver information on the legal background and implementation of asylum reception conditions on the local level and on existing practices of local governance of volunteering; 2) Interviews with people that volunteer at and in the environment of the designated accommodation centres; and 3) observation.

Review of policy documents and secondary sources

Aspects of the reception of asylum seekers on the local level are defined by legal provisions on (supra‑)national as well as regional and local levels. In order to answer the first sub-question, which focuses on the legal framework for asylum reception conditions and their implementation on the local level, different data sources have be used: Policy documents on various levels that define, in any kind, provisions for the reception of asylum seekers, have been reviewed. Here, the European Union directive laying down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers and legal provisions on the federal- as well as state level in Germany have be important sources. Additionally, secondary literature has been used to review criticisms of shortcomings of the legal framework on all levels.

Interviews

A set of exploratory interviews has been conducted with both representatives of the organisation running the asylum accommodation centres as well as individual volunteers that engage at these centres

as well as within the environment of these centres. These interviews served the aim of answering sub-research questions 2-6 by creating knowledge of who volunteers are, what tasks they perform and how they are organised, what their motivations to volunteer are and to what extent their voluntary engagement is influenced by local governance. For this purpose, an interview guideline that reflects upon the four W's of Bussel & Forbes' (2011) approach to volunteering ("Who", "What", "Why", and "Where") and the underlying elements that have been established on basis of the presented theoretical considerations (for comparison see Chapter 2.5) has been developed. In order to ensure that a reliable and holistic image of the roles, functions, and motivations of volunteers was generated, all questions had been phrased as open-ended questions. The full, translated interview guideline can be found in the annex.

In order account for a certain degree of heterogeneity among volunteers, both males and females across all age groups as well as persons with and without migration background have been selected as interview partners. In total, 11 respondents, among which 4 males and 7 females, ranging from 22 to 65 years in age, and including 5 persons with a migratory background, were interviewed. Three of the interviewees were active at the emergency accommodation centre, four interviewees were active at the temporary accommodation centre, and one interviewee was active at both centres and has simultaneously been involved with activities organised by the voluntary organisations. The remaining three interviewees represented one of the three voluntary organisations, each.

Where interviewees consented and the setting allowed for it, interviews have been recorded; in all other cases, data collection was conducted by taking notes and retrospective memory minutes. All interview data has been coded and analysed according to principles of Qualitative Content Analysis (cf.: Maying, 2000). According to this type of analysis, researchers avoid to rely on pre-established categories and allow new insights and new categories to emerge from the data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The coding tree, which has resulted from this method, can be found in the annex.

Observation

In addition to the analysis of literature, documents, and interview data, the case-study units have been observed over a longer time period, starting in November 2014. Observation was conducted through the attendance of events (e.g. information events and social events), regular monitoring of activities

within the Facebook-groups of both accommodation centres, as well as monitoring of information distributed via social media and local online news channels. Observations were mapped in the form of annotations, and were used within the scope of this study to gather background information on the case study units, their establishment, and organisational developments.

Transparency and Anonymity

All interviewees have been informed about the purpose of the study and the way in which information will be used prior to each interview session. In order to protect the identity of respondents, all information that may point to their identity or affiliation has been removed before analysis and no larger sections of the interview transcripts that might point to their identity will be quoted in the following parts of this thesis.

4.3 Feasibility

This study can help to unravel the roles and motivations of volunteers in supporting asylum seekers – a topic which is not only under researched but does currently also gain importance in the light of the rapidly increasing numbers of asylum seekers across the European Union. Nevertheless, I focus on a rather distinct single case scenario only, which is likely to be influenced by various external factors, such as a rather special composition of the neighbourhood[4], a generally high sensitivity towards the topic of asylum because of the presence of right-wing groups and parties in the city, and other factors that might not be accounted for within the scope of this study. This study does thus not claim universal truth, but rather attempts to provide an in-depth perspective of the roles, functions, and motivations of volunteers within the selected case, which might then serve as a basis for further research.

One of the common pitfalls of qualitative analysis through interviewing is the danger of procedural reactivity, which implies that the awareness of being studied leads to a change towards socially accepted behaviour (also referred to as *social desirability bias*). In the case of this study, procedural reactivity might imply over-reporting of the quantity and quality of past and/or present voluntary activities, which might distort conclusion about social capital and the strength of networks, or under-

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[4] Urban setting, very young population with high percentages of migration and high unemployment rates (Stadt Dortmund, 2013)

reporting of the role of personal well-being or self-enhancement, which might distort conclusion about

intrinsic motivations.

PART II:

Case Study

5. Introduction to the case study

This chapter presents the relevant background information of the case study, including relevant key characteristics of the City of Dortmund, and the framework conditions for voluntary engagement for asylum seekers in the selected case, which are defined by local practices of the reception of asylum seekers in Dortmund as well as by the organisational structures at the accommodation centres and within the voluntary organisations that operate in their environment. Hereby, the chapter does also cover sub-research question 1 ('What are the legal provisions that define reception conditions for asylum seekers on the local level?').

The asylum accommodation centres that this study focuses on are both located in the same district of the City of Dortmund, an independent city in North-Rhine Westphalia, Germany. Dortmund has a population of about 570.000, making it the 8th largest city in Germany[5]. The city is part of the Ruhr Area, an urban agglomeration in the western part of Germany with more than 5 million inhabitants. Dortmund has a highly diverse population structure. More than 30% of the population have got a migratory background, and nearly 15% of the population hold a foreign citizenship. Additionally, due to consequences of structural change, the unemployment (12.5%) and underemployment (15.6%) rates add up to nearly 30%[6], and are particularly concentrated in certain districts of the city.

In order to meet the arising social challenges, the City of Dortmund cooperates with civil society actors in pursuing a number of strategies that intent to ensure the integration of migrants and of persons at danger of social inclusion: For one, the City operates a migration and integration office (*Migrations- und Integrationsargentur Dortmund (MIA-DO)*), which focuses in four areas of activity, namely offering educational programmes to migrants and persons with a migratory background, facilitating access to work and employment, creating a social balance across all districts of the city, and establishing a cosmopolitan and open culture in the city. The MIA-DO operates in close cooperation with a variety of local actors, including a variety of migrant associations in the city. Another social initiative of the City are the district management offices (*Quartiersmanagement*), which have been established in several disadvantaged neighbourhoods. These offices try to engage civil society actors within the

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[5] http://www.dortmund.de/de/leben_in_dortmund/stadtportraet/statistik/bevoelkerung/index.html
[6] https://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de/Navigation/Statistik/Statistik-nach-Regionen/BA-Gebietsstruktur/Nordrhein-Westfalen/Dortmund-Nav.html

neighbourhoods to create a basis for intercultural life, good neighbourly relationships, and provide a basis for an improvement of housing situations. Furthermore, the City runs a number of family support offices and cooperates with the welfare associations in the operation of senior citizens' offices across different districts of the city. Additionally, the majors' office includes a division that is responsible for citizens' interests and civil society matters and the city provides substantial funding for a volunteer services bureau (*Freiwilligenagentur*), which acts as an interface between citizens that are interested in volunteering on the one hand and organisations that are in need of volunteers on the other.

In the following, the local practise of the reception of asylum seekers in Dortmund as well as the key characteristics of the two accommodation centres and the voluntary organisations, which form the case to be studied, will be presented.

5.1 Local practices of the reception of asylum seekers

In Chapter 3, it has been demonstrated that the implementation of reception conditions for asylum seekers is a responsibility of the federal states (*Länder*), but that in most cases, is effectively carried out by local municipalities; a situation which – despite the existence of a number of provisions on reception conditions for asylum seekers on the European- and the national level – leads to substantial differences not only between the *Länder* in Germany, but also across the individual municipalities in each *Land*. In addition to the national legal provisions, local standards are defined by standards on federal state levels, in the case of Dortmund thus by standards stipulated by the *Land* North Rhine-Westphalia.

Recently, North Rhine-Westphalia has introduced minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers in addition to those stipulated by European and national law. These standards do primarily concern the organisation of housing in accommodation centres and are defined by the *Definition of standards in asylum accommodation centres in North Rhine-Westphalia* (*Leistungsbeschreibung über Standards in Unterbringungseinrichtungen des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, MIK NRW, 2014). In addition to the provision with supplies and services as stated by European and national law, this document requires providers of reception facilities to provide asylum seekers with hygiene products, including e.g. toothbrushes, toothpaste, soap, and shampoo, to organise a clothing bank that is open on

at least 5 half days per week, to establish a health-care point with regular opening hours, and to organise childcare and playrooms for children. Additionally, providers are advised to enable and/or offer social activities on a social basis, including, for example, language courses, the organisation of sports activities, or the organisation of meetings exclusively for women, and to establish communal areas and a communal kitchen that allows asylum seekers to cook together. Furthermore, the document introduces a staffing ratio of 4:200, whereas at least 25% of staff have to be trained as social (education) workers. These standards do not apply to emergency accommodation centres (*Notunterkünfte*), where different standards can be negotiated between providers and the appropriate authorities with regard to the given framework conditions in individual cases (MIK NRW, 2014).

Dortmund hosts one of the three Central Foreigners' Authorities (*Zentrale Ausländerbehöre*) of North Rhine-Westphalia and two initial reception facilities (*Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen*) for asylum seekers, which are managed by the federal state (*Land*). The City of Dortmund, in turn, is responsible for the subsequent reception of asylum seekers that have officially been allocated to the individual municipalities in North Rhine-Westphalia. Until early 2014, Dortmund was able to house these asylum seekers in one central municipal accommodation centre, where they resided until they could be provided with individual accommodation in houses or flats. Due to the drastically rising numbers of asylum seekers arriving in Dortmund over the past two years, the city had to resort to establishing a number of temporary as well as emergency accommodation centres. These centres were established in municipal buildings (e.g. former schools and administrative buildings, but also gyms that were in use of schools and sports associations), or in container- or tent villages set up in municipal spaces, such as parking lots.

In January 2016, 13 temporary accommodation centres and three emergency accommodation centres are operated throughout the entire city area and another nine facilities are planned or in implementation. Under optimal conditions, these facilities can provide housing for more than 7000 asylum seekers (Stadt Dortmund, 2016). All of these accommodation centres are operated by external partners (welfare associations, voluntary organisations, or private providers). The majority of them is operated by a traditional welfare association (e.g. the *German Red Cross, Caritas, Diakonisches Werk,* or *Arbeiter-*

wohlfahrt). A nearly equally large number is operated by one large, private firm that has specialised in the commercial provision of social care. Two accommodation centres, namely those that are the focus of this study, are distinct as they are operated by a local migrant association in cooperation with their previously established not-for-profit company. All of these providers receive financial compensation from the city and, in turn, are required to provide accommodation and food, to support asylum seekers in legal and administrative affairs; to ensure a good social climate at the accommodation centres; to engage in conflict management; to increase the acceptance of the facility within its social environment, and to serve as a contact point for local actors; and to support asylum seekers in moving into individual houses or flats. For this purposes, the City pays for the positions of two trained social (education) workers (one of which will be assigned the official manager of the facility) as well as one social assistant per 100 inhabitants (Stadt Dortmund, 2015), a ratio that is considerably more favourable than the one stipulated by federal state law (cf.: MIK NRW, 2014). Nevertheless, the findings of the case study, which will be presented in the next chapter, show that the providers of accommodation centres in Dortmund depend heavily on the engagement of volunteers in order to be able to fulfil their duties.

5.2 Background information on the case-study units

Framework conditions of voluntary engagement for asylum seekers are substantially defined by the organisational setting in which volunteering takes place. Therefore, this section is dedicated to introducing the background information that is relevant for understanding the voluntary engagement for asylum seekers within the context of this case study.

The selected accommodation centres

The two asylum accommodation centres compromised in the selected case are both operated by the same provider: a local migrant association in cooperation with a not-for-profit company, which had previously been founded out of the first.

The migrant association operating the selected accommodation centres had been founded in 2008 and acts as an umbrella organisation of 38 migrant organisations that are active in and around Dortmund. Their aims are to establish socio-cultural as well as employment-oriented offers to migrants, to shape intercultural life in the city of Dortmund, to facilitate tolerance across all cultures and ethnic groups,

and to improve educational chances of children and youth with a migratory background. Their offers include culture and language courses, educational counselling, career counselling, and offers for children and youth. With regard to these matters, the association does furthermore try to build networks and initiate the collaboration between local educational institutions, the local unions, the welfare associations, and local government. Furthermore, the migrant association employs a strong, local focus: In order to strengthen the quality of neighbourhoods, they invest resources in initiating collaboration and dialogue between persons with and without a migratory background.

In 2010, a not-for-profit company has been founded out of the migrant association. This company operates in close cooperation with the migrant association in all regards and pursues non-for-profit, charitable objectives only. Their key objective is to ensure the equal participation of people with a migratory background in socio-cultural regards as well as in the labour market. The company offers labour-market oriented qualification courses as well as support to families, children, and youth within the scope of an educational aid and counselling programme.

The migrant association is the main operator of the two accommodation centres that have been studied within the scope of this thesis. They do, however, receive substantial support from their not-for-profit company in realising their objectives. During a public information event on the establishment of the first accommodation centre on November 6, 2014, it was stated that the two bodies had been chosen as providers of the centre because of the following reasons: On the one hand, they have been very active in the neighbourhood of the accommodation centres for several years and were seen fit to initiate a dialogue with and create acceptance among the residents of the neighbourhood. This was additionally thought to lead to a good integration of asylum seekers into local community structures. On the other hand, the migrant association and not-for-profit company have been chosen for practical reasons. Members of the two bodies speak a huge variety of languages, which facilitates communication with asylum seekers. Moreover, they were believed to be able to activate a pool of volunteers for support in short notice (own observation; IKU, 2014).

The two accommodation centres that are now operated by them are no regular reception facilities. They have both been created in the course of efforts of the City of Dortmund to deal with the rapidly increasing numbers of asylum seekers that were assigned to the city in 2014 and 2015. The first centre,

which was opened in December 2014 and is located in a former evening-school, is a temporary asylum accommodation centre (*Übergangsunterkunft*) that will be closed again as soon as no longer needed to ensure the adequate accommodation of asylum seekers on the city's territory. The second centre was established in September 2015 and is located in a gym, which used to host a nearby school's physical education lessons as well as the training and competitions of local sports associations. This centre is labelled as emergency accommodation centre (*Notunterkunft*) and is supposed to be closed and returned to its regular functioning as soon as possible, given that homelessness of asylum seekers can be prevented otherwise, e.g. through completion of the construction of two new alternative lightweight-design reception facilities that is currently taking place. Each of the accommodation centres can host up to 120 asylum seekers.

Close links between the two centres are maintained not only by the fact that they are both managed by the same association, but close geographical proximity, which facilitates the practice of a number of volunteers that engage at both centres. In addition, since October 2015, the centres have created a joint position for the coordination of voluntary engagement. According to the providers' own accounts, more than 600 volunteers are active within the two accommodation centres in early 2016.

The voluntary organisations in the environment of the selected asylum accommodation centres

There are three voluntary organisations that are active within the direct environment of the selected asylum accommodation centres. All three of them provide support to asylum seekers at before coming to, during their stay at, or after having left the centres. In some cases, punctual collaboration is taking place between volunteers at the accommodation centres and the voluntary organisations. Some volunteers are even simultaneously active at an accommodation centre and within a voluntary organisation. One of the voluntary organisations was even directly established by a group of volunteers that met while engaging at one of the accommodation centres.

All three organisations have emerged within the course of the year 2015 and are thus still very young. Two of the organisations have gained the status of a non-profit association; the third organisation functions as a non-membership based voluntary group.

In the following chapter, the findings of the case study concerning the "Who", "What", "Why", and "Where" of volunteering for asylum seekers will be presented.

6. Findings

This chapter aims at answering sub-research questions 2-5 ("Who volunteers for asylum seekers?", "What tasks do volunteers perform for asylum seekers?", "What are the motivations of volunteers to engage for asylum seekers", and "How are volunteers organised and to what extent do local public authorities facilitate their engagement for asylum seekers?"). To this aim, the main findings from the analysis of interview data are discussed.

The chapter is organised as follows. Chapter 6.1 deals with the question of who volunteers are and presents findings e.g. on age structures, gender, etc.. Chapter 6.2 presents the wide scope of tasks that volunteers perform for asylum seekers in the selected case. In Chapter 6.3, the motivations of volunteers to engage for asylum seekers in the selected case are discussed. The different motivations are presented and compared to existing explanations for volunteering as presented in Chapter 2. Finally, Chapter 6.4 is dedicated to the question of how volunteers in the selected case are organised and to what extent they have experienced support from or coordination through the local public authorities. The chapter will conclude with a short discussion of the results.

6.1 Who are the volunteers?

Within the scope of this study, 11 individuals, among which 4 males and 7 females, all between 22 and 65 years old, and including 5 persons with a migratory background, were interviewed. Four respondents were students, another four respondents worked full- or part-time, two respondents were retired, and the remaining respondent gave up their self-employed activity and lives from their savings in order to be able to volunteer full-time. Three out of the five respondents with a migratory background came to Germany as refugees either as young children or as adults in the 1980s or 1990s.

For the purpose of learning more about who volunteers at the accommodation centres and within the voluntary organisations, the respondents were also asked to report about the personal characteristics of people that they have met while volunteering in the mentioned contexts. Overall, interview data leads to the conclusion that there is no such thing as a prototype of the typical individual that volunteers for asylum seekers. On the contrary: representatives of all age groups, ranging from 16 to over 70 years old, are volunteering both at the accommodation centres as well as within the voluntary organisations.

While female volunteers are overrepresented at the asylum accommodation centres and the voluntary group, there are almost as many male as female volunteers that engage within the two voluntary associations. A considerable proportion of volunteers consists of students and retired persons, in many cases, however, volunteers are working either part- or full-time or are self-employed. Additionally, there are many volunteers with a migratory background, some of which are refugees and others still asylum seekers. At first sight, a logical explanation for this phenomenon could be the fact that the studied accommodation centres are being operated by a migrant association. A closer look at interview data does however suggest that the vast majority of volunteers at the accommodation centre had not been involved with this association before. Moreover, volunteers with a migratory background can predominantly be found within the two voluntary associations, where many asylum seekers and refugees, who have arrived since 2014 and have already benefited from the engagement of others, volunteer for the newcomers.

6.2 What kind of tasks do volunteers perform?

Volunteers at the selected asylum accommodation centres and within the voluntary organisations perform a variety of tasks that aim at ameliorating the reception conditions of asylum seekers and refugees.

At the accommodation centres, volunteers run a clothing bank for asylum seekers and organise childcare, meetings exclusively for women (*Frauencafés*), language courses, sports activities, and various activities of other kind, including e.g. celebrations, theatre visits, and excursions. In addition, they support asylum seekers during doctor's visits, with administrative formalities, in dealing with the public authorities, and with translations. Furthermore, a great part of voluntary engagement focuses on the organisation of material donations – ranging from clothing and school materials to furniture –, help in finding individual accommodation (renting a house or flat) and assistance with relocation.

Within the two voluntary associations, volunteers provide language courses, childcare, sports activities, and activities and excursions, including e.g. visits to the theatre, the zoo, football matches, concerts, meetings, parties, and since recently also a café-format informal meeting possibility in cooperation with the city that takes place on a regular basis several times a week. Furthermore, the associa-

tions offer legal advice, advice and support regarding the recognition of foreign qualifications, support in finding a job or an internship and preparation for application processes, and assistance with relocation, including the organisation of material donations (e.g. furniture, electronic devices, etc.). One of the associations offers the placement of volunteers as mentees for asylum seekers and refugees and is building a healthcare platform including a network of doctors and therapists that are willing to coach and take care of both asylum seekers and refugees as well as volunteers. In addition, both associations are involved in the *Drehscheibe*, the initial reception and immediate re-distribution of asylum seekers that arrive in North Rhine Westphalia, which is taking place in Dortmund once every four days under the direction of the municipal fire department. Tasks at the *Drehscheibe* include e.g. medical care, childcare, translation, and the provision of asylum seekers with food and clothing.

The members of the remaining voluntary group focus mainly on the organisation and the forwarding of material donations of all kinds. In the past, they have however also organised activities and provided services in cooperation with other actors, such as for example mobile hairdressing salons at accommodation centres.

Overall, the scope of voluntary engagement of individuals for asylum seekers varies substantially. Some volunteers engage for a small and limited amount of hours on fixed days only, while others engage full-time. Out of the 11 interviewees in this study, one has given up their job in order to be able to volunteer full time, while another three invest all of their leisure time next to their work or studies for voluntary activities. The remaining interviewees volunteer between about 5 and 20 hours per week, spread across several days and usually including a number of activities on fixed days and times. Interviewees have also reported that they know a lot of people, who do not volunteer regularly, but perform ad-hoc voluntary activities for asylum seekers every now and then.

6.3 What motivates individuals to volunteer?

In Chapter 2, I have presented a number of theoretical explanations for volunteering. Existing theories can be arranged into five main topics: 1) social network and social capital theory, 2) historical experiences, 3) norms and values, 4) intrinsic motivations, and 5) reaction to government failure. For each of these topics, assumptions have been formulated in line with existing theories of volunteering. In the

following, the findings of the case study will be presented with regard to each of these topics and the underlying assumptions.

Social networks and social capital

The role of social networks and social capital for volunteering in the selected case is ambiguous. The majority of interviewees showed high degrees of social capital, which were, for example, expressed through engagement in a variety of (civil society) organisations, and/or through embeddedness in social networks that are supportive of civic engagement.

In one case, social network and social capital theories do, however, not seem to be applicable at all. Here, the interviewee has neither been asked to volunteer by friends, nor is volunteering regarded as a socially desirable behaviour in their social environment, nor have they volunteered or civically engaged before, nor do they have the desire to increase their number of acquaintances. Instead, they claimed:

> "*I don't need to become friends with other volunteers. And I don't think I even want to. I go there to <u>help</u>, not to build new, private relationships. If I wanted to make new friends, I would visit my local pub*" (Interviewee 4).

"Somebody asked me"

According to Assumption I, people who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to have been encouraged or asked to do so by people in their environment, including their online social environment. Interestingly, none of the 11 interviewees has decided to take up their voluntary engagement because they have been asked to or otherwise encouraged to do so by people in their social environment. Nevertheless, interview data confirms that being asked to volunteer does still constitute an important element of volunteering for asylum seekers in Dortmund. Many interviewees reported that they have successfully recruited family members, friends, or acquaintances by asking them to volunteer for asylum seekers:

> "*Just approaching people and saying: 'I've got something [a task] for you!', that is the easiest thing to do, and in most cases, people do then really enjoy supporting asylum seekers, although they had not really thought about it before*" (Interviewee 3)

Civic engagement and a history of volunteering

According to existing studies of volunteering, previous volunteering and the degree of civic engagement in other spheres is highly determining for a person's voluntary engagement for asylum seekers. Assumptions II and III state that people who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to be simultaneously involved within one or more secular or religious organisations and are furthermore likely to have a history of volunteering.

In the selected case, seven out of eleven interviewees have reported a history of volunteering. Out of these seven interviewees, three are involved in secular civil society organisations (interest groups and political parties). One interviewee reported that they did not engage civically apart from their membership in a sports association. The remaining three interviewees have neither volunteered before, nor are they engaged civically in any other regards.

Furthermore, interview data confirms the self-reinforcing and habit-forming character of volunteering (Putnam, 2000, pp. 121-122). Three interviewees have reported that when they started to volunteer for asylum seekers, they were planning to do so for a fixed amount of time and performing a certain task only. Nevertheless, both the scope of activities they perform as well as the amount of time they invest have significantly increased. One of the interviewees stated that this was partly due to the following reason:

> "*Once you are in, there is always so much more to be done. And when somebody*
>
> *approaches me and asks me for help in a certain matter, it is difficult to say no and I just*
>
> *say: Okay, I will see what I can do for that person, too*" (Interviewee 3).

Historical experiences

According to assumption IV, people who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to have benefited from the voluntary engagement of others in the past. The story of one interviewee, who came to Germany as a refugee, and has reported the following, matches this assumption precisely:

> "*There was one person that really helped me a lot and I asked him how I could possibly*
>
> *ever pay him back. And he told me: You don't have to pay me back. Just pass it on to*
>
> *other people who are in need. And so I did*" (Interviewee 2).

Similarly, the other two interviewees with a refugee background stated that they volunteer for asylum seekers – and have both done so since they were young – because of their historical experiences:

> "*I want to grant them a possibility to become like me. I know this sounds strange, but I have had all opportunities and am perfectly integrated and I want to give the same opportunities to young refugees*" (Interviewee 9).

Moreover, interview data reveals that a lot of the volunteers, who engage within the three voluntary organisations that are included in this case study, are refugees that have arrived over the past two years, have already experienced voluntary support from others, and do now want to give something back to asylum seekers and society in return.

In addition, interview data reveals that the voluntary engagement for asylum seekers in the selected case is also influenced by historical experiences other than a migratory background or having experienced the voluntary support of others in the past: One respondent had made adverse experiences during childhood, including exposure to violence. The respondent reasoned that their voluntary engagement is motivated by a desire to "*help the weak, especially the children, who are the most innocent human beings*" (Interviewee 4). Another respondent stated that they had experienced rejection and exclusion in the past due to their sexual orientation. Having made this experience, they volunteer in order to "*give asylum seekers the best possible starting chances for a socially integrated life*" (Interviewee 5).

Norms and values

Assumption V states that people who volunteer are likely to be driven by humanitarian, religious, or political norms and values.

Indeed, interview data shows that humanitarian values are a very prominent motivation for individuals to volunteer. All interviewees stated that they have decided to volunteer because they want to improve the welfare of asylum seekers. Reasoning included, for example, that they "*want to help the weak, especially the children*" (Interviewee 4), want to "*help people who had to flee from the consequences*

of war" and "*facilitate their social integration as quickly as possible*" (Interviewee 8), or feel "*obliged to help people, who are in need*" (Interviewee 7).

The role of political norms and values is slightly vaguer. One of the respondents, who is also active in a political party, strongly emphasised that the voluntary engagement for asylum seekers should clearly stand apart from the pursuance of political goals and that organisations offering voluntary support to asylum seekers should be apolitical. Nevertheless, she as well as three other respondents stated that they regard volunteering as especially important in Dortmund – a city suffering from the presence of a very active right-wing milieu –, and that they view their own engagement as a stance against right-wing ideology and anti-refugee propaganda:

> "*(...)and media is very powerful and can help us to raise awareness but also show*
> *another image - showing everyone that it is not [as racist] as everyone thinks and that*
> *here in Dortmund, we are open and multicultural and we all work together and can be*
> *very welcoming. This is very important to all of us*" (Interviewee 9).

This is consistent with Assumption VIII, according to which people that volunteer for asylum seekers do so in order to convey a political stance. In any case, interview data points to a high political interest among volunteers. In the course of at least seven interviews, it became apparent that interviewees were highly informed about current social and political events, especially asylum and refugee issues.

None of the interviewees reported religious values as a reason to volunteer or mentioned that they were religious. This might, however, be a bias related to my choice of case: It could well be that people, who volunteer for religious reasons, prefer to do so in ecclesial settings, that is directly within their religious communities or with welfare associations that hold religious values.

Intrinsic motivations

According to Assumption VI, people who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to do so because of intrinsic motivations, such as for example their personal well-being, self-enhancement or career-related goals, or the desire to increase the number of their acquaintances or friends.

Personal well-being

Personal well-being is a difficult item to cover in qualitative data collection. Interviewees do usually not like to admit to being motivated to volunteer because it makes them feel better because they want to avoid sounding selfish. Nevertheless, interview data has revealed that positive feedback about their voluntary actions for asylum seekers means a great deal for the majority of the interviewees in this study. Answers on the question "What do you get back in return for your voluntary engagement for asylum seekers?", did, for example, include "*a smile*" (Interviewee 4), "*gratitude*" (Interviewees 5&7), and "*seeing that what I do is important to [the asylum seekers]*" (Interviewee 10). The fact that volunteering makes the interviewees feel good is, however, no proof for personal well-being constituting a motivation for rather than just a comfortable side effect of their voluntary engagement.

Self-enhancement

Theory states that self-enhancement can be an important motivation for people to volunteer. Self-enhancement can involve learning something new, a career-orientation, and getting new qualifications that could, for example, be important for a current or future career (cf. Clary et al., 1998; Chapter 2.3).

Quite a few volunteers work in jobs or follow study programmes that are located in fields that are relevant for care for asylum seekers (e.g. social work, social education, or psychology). There is, however, no evidence that they have decided to volunteer for asylum seekers in order to advance their careers. On the contrary, all interviewees concerned had already started to volunteer – either for asylum seekers or in other social projects – before taking up their studies or work:

> "*I definitely didn't suddenly start developing an interest for volunteering because I wanted to apply the knowledge from my studies. Quite the opposite, I would say: I have always been interested in helping others and that was why I decided to study psychology!*" (Interviewee 6);

> "*Of course it is nice to see that I the things I learn during my studies are useful in practice, too, but this is not the reasons why I do this. And I have volunteered [...] long before I even knew that I wanted to study social work*" (Interviewee 1).

Desire to increase number of acquaintances or friends

The desire to increase the number of acquaintances or friends can be counted as an item of social network and social capital theory as well as an intrinsic motivation (cf. Clary et al., 1998; Clary & Snyder, 1999; Degli Antoni, 2009; Chapter 2.3). Within the course of interviews, respondents were asked which role the establishment of new social contacts plays for their voluntary engagement and how they would describe their relationships with other volunteers.

Four interviewees – two of which are active at the accommodation centres and two within the voluntary organisations – expressed that their social networks have substantially increased through their voluntary engagement for asylum seekers and that they enjoy meeting new people, in particular those who would normally not be part of their usual social networks:

> "*One establishes a lot of new contacts. And sometimes very close friendships develop out of this. It is a very friendly environment, very social, and I if I need help with something myself for once, many people support me.*" (Interviewee 5)

> "*I have met lots of great new people. And in one case a very strong friendship has developed, and it is interesting because she is quite a bit older and maybe I would not have befriended her under normal circumstances – but now we have very long conversations on the phone several times a week.*" (Interviewee 3)

> "*(...) and you also get to know people that you would never have met under normal circumstances, which can be very interesting*" (Interviewee 7)

Just as in the case of personal well-being, it is however difficult to judge whether meeting new people constitutes a direct motivation for people to volunteer. It could be that it is appreciated side effect only. The following quote by one of the interviewees confirms that boundaries concerning social networks are indeed blurred:

> "*Networking? - - yes, of course I somehow do it. But it is more of a side effect, really, it is personal. Providing help is paramount.*" (Interviewee 1)

Reaction to government failure

According to theory, people are likely to take up voluntary engagement as a reaction to failures of governments to provide (adequate) services (cf.: Lundberg et al., 2011: Chapter 2.23). In line with this, Assumption VII states that people who volunteer for asylum seekers are likely to perform roles that, according to their perceptions, should be performed by local authorities.

Two interviewees stated that they have decided to engage for asylum seekers instead of volunteering in another field, because they felt that – in comparison to other areas of volunteering, e.g. for the elderly, or the disabled – volunteering for asylum seekers is and has always been an underdeveloped field. One of the interviewees reported:

> "*In other fields, volunteering has been prominent for a very long time and organisational structures are already well-established. (...) Concerning aid to refugees, this is different. A couple of years ago, it was not considered 'normal' to volunteer for asylum seekers. Now virtually everybody volunteers for asylum seekers, but there is still no overall concept for the field*" (Interviewee 9).

Overall, especially the volunteers that spend a lot of time on coordinating the voluntary engagement of others and on networking with other actors think that their roles should be performed by or that they should at least receive support from the local authorities.

Although they are officially stated to be responsibilities of the providers of accommodation centres by the quality guidelines in North Rhine-Westphalia (cf. Chapter 5.2), interviewees that are voluntarily involved at clothing banks and in childcare at the accommodation centres did not feel that their tasks should be performed by any other actors. Nevertheless, two interviewees expressed the wish that the local authorities supported their activities in better ways, e.g. by financing supplies that are needed for language courses of childcare, and by offering training courses in which volunteers can learn more about asylum procedures and how to deal with situations that they are confronted with when volunteering for asylum seekers (e.g. trauma, notices of deportation, etc.).

Barriers to volunteer

During the interviews, nine out of eleven respondents mentioned factors that complicate or do even constitute barriers to volunteering for asylum seekers. In order to facilitate a better understanding of the local volunteer market in the selected case, these factors will be discussed shortly in the following.

Nearly all respondents reported problems with the reconciliation of their voluntary engagement for asylum seekers and their private lives. There are two reasons for this: On the one hand, time is a problem for volunteers. Three interviewees stated that they volunteer so much that their usual activities suffer. On the other hand, many interviewees encounter problems in switching off and drawing clear lines between their voluntary engagement and their leisure time. One interviewee said: "*It's difficult to go home and just let go. There is always so much more that could be done*" (Interviewee 3). In addition, nearly every interviewee has been confronted with psychologically challenging situations during their engagement for asylum seekers, including e.g. situations in which asylum seekers tell about horrible experiences that they have made, or having to deal with the deportation of asylum seekers that volunteers had previously worked with.

Another barrier can be constituted by an unsupportive social environment. Three interviewees have received massive negative feedback on their voluntary engagement for asylum seekers from people in their surroundings, including disagreement and controversies with friends and family members. The three interviewees stated that they encountered a lack of understanding, mistrust, or envy, and have even lost friends. In addition, another interviewee reported that while she did not necessarily receive negative feedback, she feels that her friends react with a lack of understanding and do not sufficiently support her engagement.

Volunteering and especially also access to volunteering can further be complicated by structural barriers. Interviewees have reported that it is not always easy to find access to volunteering for asylum seekers. Staff at the accommodation centres is oftentimes too occupied with other tasks to attend to people who express the desire to volunteer on-site. In Dortmund, citizens have the possibility to address the volunteer services bureau (*Freiwilligenagentur*). Yet, none of the interviewees that have contacted or know people that have contacted the *Freiwilligenagentur* had ever received a reply.

6.4 How are volunteers organised and to what extent do local authorities support or coordinate their engagement?

Volunteering is substantially influenced by the context in which it is taking place. A comprehension of the roles, functions, and motivations of volunteers that engage for asylum seekers requires an understanding of relevant contextual factors, including organisational structures and support structures for volunteering. Therefore, this section presents the development and actual state of organisational structures at the accommodation centres and within the voluntary organisations, and discusses the impact that local governance has for volunteering for asylum seekers in the selected case.

Structures and organisation of volunteer work at the accommodation centres

The development of structures and organisation of volunteer work at the accommodation centres is a very interesting one. Only a couple of days before the first centre was opened in November 2014, a public information event took place in the neighbourhood. During this event, several persons uttered an interest in supporting asylum seekers at the centre. One of the attendees decided to take initiative and collected contact details in order to establish a Facebook-group for further communication. This first grass-roots network of volunteers – which had grown without any control or involvement of the providers of the accommodation centre – counted more than 100 members and became active for the first time in helping to set up furniture and collecting material donations after less than 4 days.

In these early stages, communication between individual volunteers and staff at the centre were not streamlined. Several interviewees have reported that a lack of structured communication and agreement between volunteers and the provider had complicated voluntary engagement so much, that some volunteers even decided to leave. Therefore, after a couple of weeks, volunteers agreed with the providers upon the following organisational structures: For each area of volunteering (e.g. clothing bank, childcare, sports activities, material donations), a designated contact person has been appointed. This contact person acts in consultation with the association running the accommodation centres and tries to coordinate the engagement of other volunteers in their area. These structures are still in place, and organisational learning has taken place in the sense that the structures have been applied from the very beginning when the providers' second accommodation centre was opened in September 2015. Additionally, in October 2015, the accommodation centres have created a joint position that includes the

coordination of voluntary engagement. Up until the time of data collection (November 2015 to January 2016), this coordination has, however, had no influence on the existing structures, yet.

Online social media play an irreplaceable role in the organisation of voluntary engagement for asylum seekers in the selected case. Nearly all communication between volunteers at the accommodation centres is carried out via social networks, typically by means of a Facebook-groups, or via online event scheduling software (e.g. Doodle).

According to the providers' own accounts, more than 600 volunteers engage within the two accommodation centres. Yet, it is difficult to judge how many of these are active on a regular basis, as membership is non-formal and oftentimes expressed ad-hoc. In early 2016, for comparison, there were nearly 3000 members in the Facebook-group of the temporary accommodation centre, and another close to 900 members in the Facebook-group of the emergency accommodation centre.

Structures and organisation of volunteer work within the voluntary groups

The two voluntary associations have decided to introduce more formal structures. Their volunteers are requested to apply for formal membership; one of the associations does even request a judicial certificate of good conduct from its volunteers. Both associations have introduced typical management structures, including a chaired board. Nevertheless, they continue to exist as fully voluntary bodies without paid positions. Next to the board, both associations have designated certain volunteers as contact persons for their specific working areas. It is the task of these contact persons to coordinate the engagement of other volunteers within these areas. Having been formally recognised as non-profits, both voluntary associations are allowed to have ownerships and capital that they may use for their charitable purposes. Both associations have exercised this right in order to acquire offices, as well as storage spaces and means of transportations for material donations.

The voluntary group is non-membership based. All communication takes place via the group's Facebook-group, which had close to 1000 members in early 2016. In the first five months, the group had no formal organisational structures apart from the existence of two network administrators, who tried to streamline online communication and engaged in the coordination of the voluntary engagement of others on an ad-hoc basis. Soon, this lack of structures and the absence of designated contact persons

led to frustration. In January 2016, all members of the group who were interested in participating were therefore invited to a meeting in which alternative organisational structures were discussed. In this meeting, it was decided to increase the number of administrators from two to five, to establish a number of rules that aim at more constructive communication within the group, and to introduce designated contact persons that deal with different tasks and questions within the group.

The influence of local governance on volunteering for asylum seekers

In March 2015, the City of Dortmund acknowledged in an official document that volunteering for asylum seekers is a field that still needs to develop better organisational structures, and that the providers of asylum accommodation centres cannot provide for the coordination of volunteering on their own. Recognising the need for a facilitation of better access of interested citizens to volunteering for asylum seekers, the city proposed that a working group led by the volunteer services bureau (*Freiwilligenagentur*) should be established in which all relevant actors should agree on what should be done with regard to volunteering for asylum seekers in the future (Stadt Dortmund, 2015). Up until the point of this study, volunteers that engage outside of the traditional welfare association in the selected case have not experienced any influence of local governance on their engagement.

Volunteers at the asylum accommodation centres reported that they have had no experiences of a cooperation with or coordination through the local public authorities yet. The only form of communication with officials from the City of Dortmund that was mentioned during interviews was that in the format of round-table meetings (Runder Tisch). These meeting take place in the city district that the centres are located at roughly every three months and involve a presentation by the city's social department, the policy, and the association running the accommodation centre, and offers volunteers and other civil actors the opportunity to contribute with suggestions and ideas. In addition, some volunteers said that they have tried or know other people who have tried to register for volunteering via the volunteer services bureau (*Freiwilligenagentur*), but none of them has every received a reply. As already mentioned above, two interviewees expressed the wish that the local authorities supported their activities in better ways, e.g. by financing supplies that are needed for language courses of childcare, and by offering training courses in which volunteers can learn more about asylum procedures and how

to deal with situations that they are confronted with when volunteering for asylum seekers (e.g. trauma, notices of deportation, etc.).

The two voluntary associations have experienced cooperation with the volunteer services bureau (*Freiwilligenagentur*) to a small degree only. They do both cooperate with the bureau in the scope of the organisation of the initial federal reception of asylum seekers (Drehscheibe). With regard to local activities, there is however no cooperation with the local public authorities apart from the newly established co-organisation between one of the associations and the City of Dortmund of a café-format meeting possibility for refugees that will be taking place on a regular basis several times a week from January 2016 onwards.

Representatives from both associations stated that they would welcome support from the local authorities, especially with regard to networking activities. One interviewee has expressed the wish that the city did so by financing at least one paid position for the administration and networking efforts that are currently undertaken by volunteers.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore the relevant features of volunteering for asylum seekers. For this purpose, the following research question was asked:

"What are the roles, functions, and motivations of volunteers who engage for asylum seekers and refugees?"

In order to be able to answer this question, I included a number of sub-research questions and studied the existing legal provisions that define reception conditions for asylum seekers and the shortcomings that are perceived with regard to their implementation (Chapter 3), introduced aspects of the local implementation of reception conditions as well as other local framework conditions of volunteering for asylum seekers (Chapter 5), and conducted an analysis of interview data in order to find out who volunteers are, what tasks they perform, what their motivations are, how they are organised, and to what extent their engagement is influenced by local governance (Chapter 6).

The qualitative data collection part of this study has been informed by existing theories of volunteering, which describe volunteering as a very broad field. These theories have been integrated into a model of Bussell & Forbes (2001), who claim that the field of volunteering is essentially characterised by four qualities: The personal characteristics of volunteers (WHO are volunteers?), the tasks that volunteers perform (WHAT do volunteers do?), the context that volunteers engage in (WHERE do volunteers volunteer?), and the factors that influence volunteers to engage for asylum seekers (WHY do volunteers volunteer?).

The findings presented in Chapter 5 show that there is no prototype of the typical person that volunteers for asylum seekers. Volunteers come from a variety of backgrounds, engage to different degrees, perform a wide scope of tasks and have decided to volunteer for asylum seekers for a wide range of different reasons. When comparing the findings of this study to the assumptions stated in Chapter 2, we can see that most of the existing theories of volunteering that have been considered within the theoretical framework of this study – with the exception of self-enhancement and religious values – are applicable to volunteering for asylum seekers in the selected case to some degree. Although all

interviews were conducted in an open-ended manner and were very extensive, no new explanations of why people volunteer for asylum seekers have emerged.

The findings of this study show that volunteers play an essential role in ensuring adequate reception conditions for asylum seekers. Many tasks that should be performed by other actors according to existing guidelines on federal state- and the local level, such as the provision of language courses, childcare, legal counselling, but are covered by the engagement of volunteers, instead. Findings do also show that the voluntary engagement of civil society actors for asylum seeker outside of the traditional welfare association is yet emerging and, in comparison to more traditional fields such as volunteering for the elderly or the disabled, does still lack clear structures and concepts of coordination. The local government acknowledges the importance of volunteers in providing services for asylum seekers and has already officially recognised the need for a better coordination of voluntary activities and easier access to volunteering for asylum seekers in early 2015. Yet, the individual volunteers at the asylum accommodation centres and representatives from the three voluntary organisations that have emerged in the environment of these centres had experienced no or only little cooperation with or coordination through the local public authorities at the time that interviews were conducted for this study (November 2015 to January 2016). Moreover, there was only very little and punctual cooperation among the voluntary organisations, and no direct cooperation was taking place with the traditional welfare associations. Much in contrast, interviewees have reported a lack of communication, competitive thinking, and even suspiciousness towards other organisations that engage for asylum seekers.

Local governments are increasingly dependent on the support of civil society in receiving and integrating asylum seekers. While there are some functions of civil society engagement for asylum seekers that simply cannot be provided by the state, such as integration into local social communities, many of the tasks that asylum seekers perform are oriented towards the provision of fundamental tasks, which – according to legal provisions and guidelines – should be provided by governments instead. Thus, the least that local government should do is investing in and coordinating the development of newly emerging support structures for asylum seekers. A policy implication of this study would therefore entail an increased involvement of local government in activating, coordinating, and supporting local

volunteers in their engagement for asylum seekers, e.g. through the establishment of local networks, material and financial support, and the support of initiatives that provide training to volunteers, as well as through the implementation of measures that ensure a better placement of people that are interested in volunteering for asylum seekers.

Discussion of limitations and further research

This study is an exploratory study that grants first insights into factors that are important for the topic of volunteering for asylum seekers outside of the traditional setting of welfare associations. A qualitative study with a rather small sample size (11 interviews) has been conducted. This method was suitable to explore first features of the widely under-researched area of voluntary engagement for asylum seekers. Yet, it remains unclear to what extent findings are generalisable and applicable to other contexts. Finding from this study are relevant for further research from a theoretical point of view as they confirm that existing theories of volunteering can also be used to make sense to the voluntary engagement of civil society for asylum seekers. Nevertheless, they do not contribute to a discussion on how significant the relationships between the individual factors and the decisions of individuals to volunteer are. In order to be able to judge how significant the influence of the individual assumptions on the motivations of individuals to volunteer for asylum seeker is, further, quantitative research involving a greater population of volunteers will be required.

At the moment, the interest of civil society to engage for asylum seekers is very high. This study has already created findings on possible barriers (time, psychological challenges, unsupportive social environment, and structural barriers). Data for this has however only been gathered on individuals that do already volunteer, while those who do not volunteer at the moment have been ignored. Interviewees have thus been "selected on the dependent variable" (Wilson & Musik, 2007), which may limit the significance of these findings. Thus, in order to ensure a sufficient engagement of civil society actors for asylum seekers in the long run, future research could be more focused on barriers to volunteer for asylum seekers.

An interesting aspect of this study is that the structures that have been analysed are quite novel in the field of volunteering for asylum seekers and, additionally, are still very young (6-15 months). Pospisi-

lova (2007) claims that grassroots structures, as they were found within the scope of this study among volunteers at the accommodation centres and in the voluntary group, operate for only relatively short times before becoming more and more complicated and bureaucratic and do finally evolve into non-profit organisations with paid employees. Against this background, it would be interesting to see how the organisation of voluntary engagement at the accommodation centres and within the voluntary group will develop further over time.

Furthermore, the selected asylum accommodation centres are temporary and emergency facilities that will not be maintained indefinitely. But what happens, when the centres are closing again? Will volunteers (dis-)continue their engagement for asylum seekers, and – most importantly – why? While I have been finalising this thesis, the emergency accommodation centre, which has constituted a part of my case study, was shut down. Unfortunately, there was no time to follow up in detail on this situation. Yet, I will mention some impressions: Now, about a month later, some of the volunteers still come together within the scope of regular gatherings (*Stammtische*), and the Facebook-group continues to be actively used as a platform for information exchange and the organisation of material donations. Many volunteers seem to try and continue their engagement for asylum seekers that they had met at the emergency accommodation centre in private – yet, this is not always easy: Several volunteers have encountered problems with visiting their protégées in their new accommodation centres – the operators of the new centres were not supportive of volunteers that they do not know visiting their premises. Some have taken up voluntary engagement at other accommodation centres or voluntary organisations/groups. Yet again, others, such as for example one of my interviewees from the emergency accommodation centre – a neighbour, who had no history of volunteering and has reported time pressure and an unsupportive social environment during the interview – have decided to discontinue their engagement. Further research could contribute to the state of knowledge by investigating why and under which circumstances volunteers (dis-)continue their engagement.

Within the scope of this study, I could show that organisational structures of volunteering for asylum seekers in the selected context are still underdeveloped and that volunteers are not satisfied with the extent to which they have experienced cooperation with and support and coordination through the

local public authorities. In order to be able to draw better conclusion about the way in which local governance influences volunteering for asylum seekers and the scope of efforts that have already been taken by the local authorities in the selected case, more interviews, including a greater variety of actors, among which policy makers or other representatives of local government, would be required. In order to identify best practices of local governance, it would furthermore be interesting to see how local authorities deal with volunteering for asylum seekers in other settings across Germany or the European Union.

XIII. Literature

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XIV. Annex

a) Interview guideline volunteers (translated from German)

I.   Introduction

Within the scope of my master thesis, I would like to find out WHY people volunteer for asylum seekers and WHAT kind of tasks they perform in this context. I am conducting a case study which focuses on the voluntary engagement that is taking place within the context of the two accommodation centres at [locations] that are managed by [name of migrant association], as well as in their environment. I am also interested in how the voluntary engagement in this context is structured and organised and how it is affected by cooperation with and/or coordination through local public authorities.

All interview data will be anonymised, the final product of the study will allow no conclusions about your identity.

(If the setting allows for recording:) Do you consent to this interview being recorded?

Do you have any further questions about this study?

II.   WHO? – Personal characteristics

1. Could you tell me a bit about your person?
   o   How old are you, where are you from, what is your profession?
   o   Do you or does your family have a migratory background? If yes: From which country did you arrive to Germany, for which reasons, and when?

2. Do you have any memberships (e.g. in a sports association, a cultural, political, or religious organisation, or else)?

3. Apart from your current engagement for asylum seekers: Have you engaged in voluntary activities in the past?

III.   WHAT? And WHERE? – Tasks, scope, duration, and organisation

1. When have you started to voluntarily engage for asylum seekers?

2. Which tasks do you perform for asylum seekers?

3. Could you describe how volunteer work for asylum seekers is structured and organised in the context that you volunteer in?

   o   If at all, how and by whom does a coordination of the voluntary engagement take place?
   o   What kind of collaboration with or coordination through local public authorities (City of Dortmund) have you experienced?

4. Which role do social media (including, for example, Facebook-groups) play for the organisation of voluntary engagement in the context that you volunteer in?

IV.   WHY? – Motivations

1. Why have you decided to volunteer for asylum seekers?
   - Have you been asked to do so by people in your (online) social networks?
   - Could you describe how your social environment reacts to your voluntary engagement for asylum seekers?
     - Do many people in your social environment volunteer (for asylum seekers)?
   - What do you want to reach with your voluntary engagement for asylum seekers?
   - What do you get in return for your voluntary engagement for asylum seekers?
   - Which role does the establishment of new, social contacts play for your voluntary engagement?
     - Could you describe how your relationship with other volunteers looks like?

2. What are the positive and negative experiences that you have made with your voluntary engagement for asylum seekers?
   - How, if at all, do you manage to reconcile your voluntary engagement for asylum seekers with your private life?

V.   REFLECTION

1. In your opinion, is the voluntary engagement for asylum seekers in Dortmund acknowledged and valued enough?

2. How would you evaluate the adequacy of services that are provided to asylum seekers by the municipality?
   - To what extent should tasks that you perform within the scope of your voluntary engagement for asylum seekers be performed by local public authorities? (Which tasks and why?)

b) Coding tree

CODE	SUB-CODE 1	SUB-CODE 2	DESCRIPTON
1. Personal characteristics of volunteers			Personal characteristics of volunteers, including their age, gender, employment status, nationality/migratory background, etc.
2. Roles and tasks of volunteers			Which roles and tasks do volunteers perform for asylum seekers?
	2.1 Frequency and duration		What is the frequency and duration of the interviewee's voluntary activities?
3. Context of volunteering			In which context do volunteers engage?
	3.1 Organisational structures		How are volunteers organised in this context?
		3.2 Role of online (social) platforms	Which role do online social platforms (e.g. Facebook groups) play for the organization of volunteer work in the given context?
	3.2 Role of local governance		What role does local governance (efforts of coordination or support by public authorities on the local policy level, including e.g. networking activities, financial support, consultation and placement services, coordination of volunteer work, …)
		3.2.1 Failure of local authorities	To what extent does the interviewee perform roles that, according to his or her perception, should be performed by local authorities?
4. Motivations to volunteer			Which factors have influenced the interviewee's decision to volunteer?
	4.1 Social networks and social capital		Motivations to volunteer that can derive from the social structures and networks and social capital of an individual
		4.1.1 Encouraged to volunteer	Has the volunteer been asked to or otherwise encouraged to volunteer by people in their social environment, including their online social environment?
		4.1.2 Degree of civic engagement	To what extent is the volunteer simultaneously involved with other organisations (secular or religious)?
		4.1.3 History of volunteering	Has the interviewee engaged in voluntary activities before,

			and if yes, in which context and to which degree?
		4.1.4 Desire to increase number of acquaintances or friends (overlap with 4.4.3)	To what extent is the volunteer's motivation to engage influenced by his or her desire to acquire new acquaintances or friends?
	4.2 Historical experiences		To what extent is the volunteer motivated by his or her own historical experiences (e.g. having benefited from the voluntary engagement of others in the past, or empathy deriving from experiences of deprivation or exclusion in the past)
	4.3 Norms and values		To what extent is the volunteer driven by (…) norms and values?
		4.3.1 Humanitarian norms and values	"
		4.3.2 Political norms and values	" (also including the desire to convey a political stance and to mark a contrast to anti-asylum tendencies)
		4.3.3 Religious norms and values	"
	4.4 Intrinsic motivations		
		4.4.1 Personal well-being	Does the interviewee volunteer because it makes him or her feel better?
		4.4.2 Self-enhancement	To what extent is the volunteer motivated by the desire for self-enhancement or by career-related goals (e.g. learning something new, career-orientation, or getting qualifications for current or future career)
		4.4.3 Desire to increase number of acquaintances or friends (overlaps with 4.1.4)	To what extent is the volunteer's motivation to engage influenced by his or her desire to acquire new acquaintances or friends?
5. Barriers to volunteer			Which factors impede voluntary engagement for asylum seekers and constitute barriers for taking up or continuing volunteer work?
	5.1 Reconciliation with private life		To what extent do volunteers experience problems in reconciling their voluntary activities with their private life?
		5.1.1 Time	E.g. volunteering is too time consuming, other activities suffer from voluntary engagement

		5.1.2	
	5.2 Psychological challenges		To what extent do volunteer experience their engagement for asylum seekers as psychologically challenging?
	5.3 Negative feedback		To what extent do volunteers have to deal with negative feedback by members of their social networks?
	5.4 Structural barriers		To what extent are volunteers prevented from volunteering or experience problems with volunteering because of structural barriers (e.g. problems with contacting the *Freiwilligenargentur* or the organisation running the accommodation centres, unclear division of tasks among volunteers, ...)?