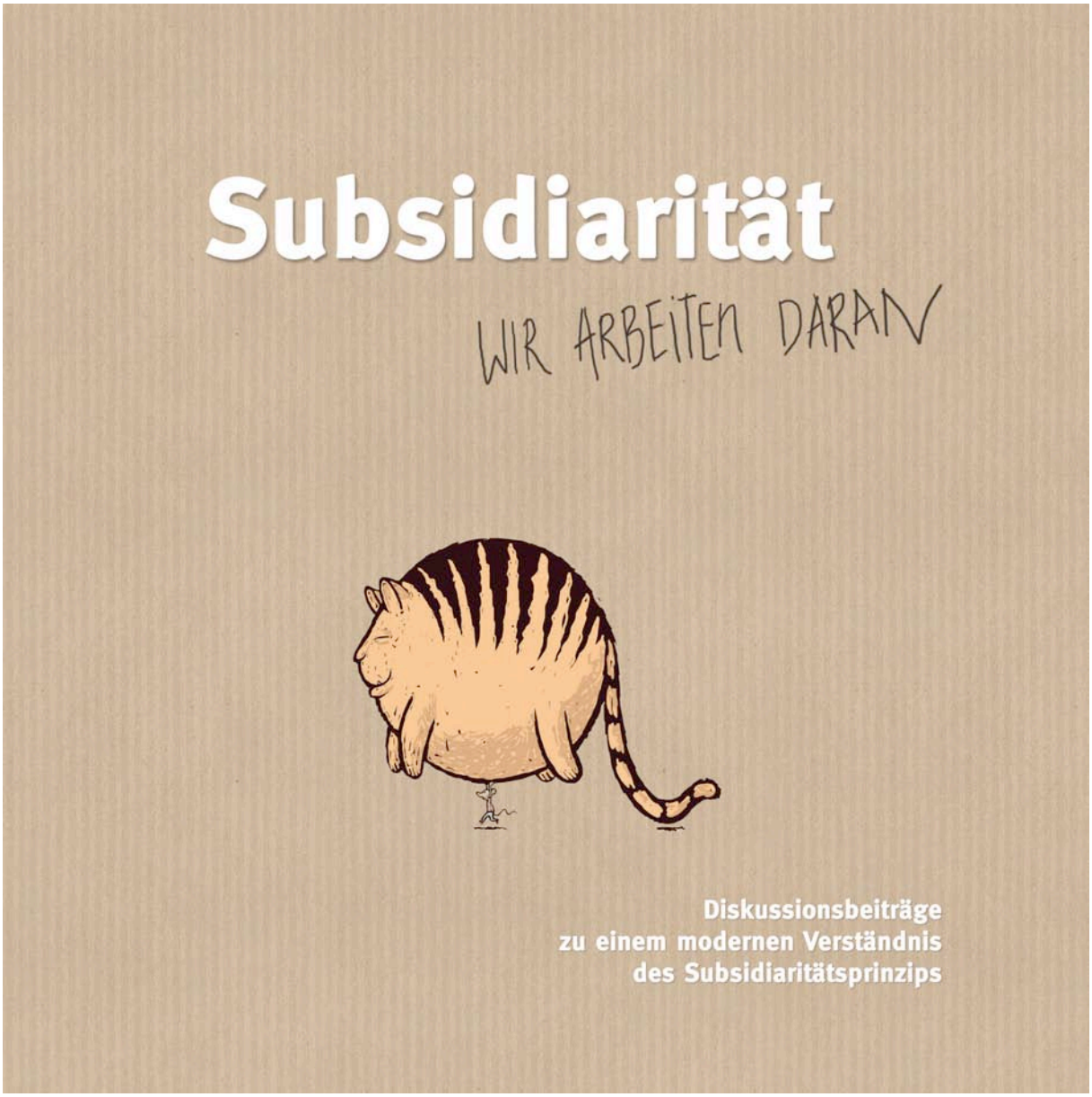

Subsidiarity – we are working on it.

Impulses for a modern understanding of subsidiarity

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Introduction

What does subsidiarity really mean? The question of how democracy functions quickly evokes numerous debates, such as those regarding the government´s responsibilities and what citizens or civil society organisations are allowed to do, can do, or should do. The following discussion seeks to balance, with various degrees of emphasis, the respect of the individual, the stimulation of the community spirit as well as the struggle to determine to what extent the government should be involved. When exactly is the call for subsidiarity in line with these ideas, and at what point do we equate it with securing one´s own resources? Is the demand for subsidiarity up to date? We asked various experts and practitioners from all over the world for their opinions.

The twenty-four reports in this brochure highlight the political heart of the matter. "Subsidiarity" as a principle is well-known, yet the term is missing in several languages, as referenced in the reports from Albania, Spain, and Egypt. The term stands for a system. It stands for a government that provides the support needed to give every individual the opportunity to develop their strengths and achieve their goals (Groner). Therefore, the government is responsible for creating conditions which enable every individual to organize or help themself. That does not imply merely outsourcing sovereignty, as described in the critical report from Lebanon. Furthermore, it is important to highlight breaches of subsidiarity when used in connection with justifying renationalisation and privatization (Rottner).

Professional groups are offended by the fact that self-organized groups are forming alliances, says Engelhardt. As a result, self-organized groups are critics of established structures that organize help for but not with the people affected, and they are an early warning system related to injustice. Within civil society there are vested interests and new developments which are creating new tensions to be dealt with, as Önder clearly describes in her article.

Subsidiarity is an essential principle by which life in a society is arranged. It assures the right of participation for each individual, but also imposes the obligation to help those who help themselves. Therefore institutional safeguards are required (Klier). In his report, Gösele takes up the line of arguments from the series of articles and argues from the perspective that society should serve the interests of real freedom for every individual. With that in mind, subsidiarity ought to support freedom by ensuring self-determination.

We would like to thank all authors for enriching the discussion with their contributions. We thank all illustrators who supported this project. And we look forward to further discussions at the international conference "New Impulse for Education?" in Munich from 20 to 22 November that we will be organizing together with *Banlieue d´Europe* and *euromedinculture(s),* where the discussion will be carried on in a workshop setting.
The brochure is available as a PDF download on our homepage.

Dr. Martina S. Ortner
Planning and Coordination Manager at *Münchner Trichter*

Translation: Emily Pickerill, Belma Slatina

Subsidiarity

The Federal Republic of Germany is a federalist state. It is built upon the principle of federalism and therefore consists of member states which have their own spheres of competences. Moreover, each local community has the constitutionally-protected right to self government. The concept of subsidiarity is always embedded in this context.

There are a few rather abstract definitions of subsidiarity. The term, which has its origins in Catholic Social Teaching, can, for instance, be used to describe a specific relationship between the state and society. According to this definition, the larger unit is entitled to intervene if the smaller unit is not able to fulfill its tasks on its own merits. But, in turn, this also means that the state has to provide the necessary assistance to allow each individual to develop his strengths and to pursue his goals. In other words, the state has the obligation to lay the foundations needed to place the smaller unit in a position to fulfill its duties on its own.

With regard to youth welfare services, for example, this implies that the greatest possible success shall be achieved by the coordinated efforts of both public and private entities (based on a pivotal Federal Constitutional Court ruling in 1967). Against this backdrop, independent non-profit youth welfare organizations have only limited priority over measures taken by state-funded youth welfare agencies (Section 4(2), Volume 8 of the German Social Security Code (*Sozialgesetzbuch, SGB*)). And yet, it is the organizations in charge of state-funded youth welfare which assume the overall responsibility. This also includes planning responsibility in order to fulfill certain tasks (Sections 79, 80 SGB VIII). This system guarantees explicit functional protection for private non-profit youth welfare organizations provided that they meet the professional standards required. Furthermore, it should be ensured that planning is governed by the principle of plurality of services (according to Section 3(1) SGB VIII). Obviously, all these requirements can only be met in a reasonable way if those in charge work together as a team. Section 4 (1) SGB VIII stipulates that state-funded youth welfare organizations are obliged to respect the independence of the independent non-profit youth welfare sector. According to Section 4(3) SGB VIII and Section 74 SGB VIII this sector must be supported and granted financial assistance. In this context, other important sections are worth considering: Section 78 SGB VIII (the mandatory vote on planned measures) as well as Section 74(4) and Section 80(4) SGB VIII (the ever more important focus on the needs-oriented approach and on the principle of active participation which holds that those who are affected by a decision have a right to be involved in the planning processes).

January 24, 2013

Prof. Frank Groner (lawyer) was a lecturer at the *Katholische Stiftungsfachhochschule* (Catholic University of Applied Sciences) in Munich from 1978 until 2009. He is actively engaged in several civil-society organizations and takes part in socio-political discussions.

Translation: Emily Pickerill, Barbara Schatz

Illustration by Samar Ertsey: *Bears*

Curse or blessing

Any debate on the concept of *subsidiarity* requires a cautious approach because the political, economic, social and religious environment must be taken into account.

I would now like to talk about Lebanon where I live and where this principle has been an integral part of life in all respects from time immemorial. Is Lebanon therefore a good example of a democratic country that might serve as a role model for other countries to emulate? On the contrary, in Lebanon subsidiarity actually prevents the state from exercising its rights and performing its duties; in many fields the state has neither rights nor duties. Maybe our understanding of subsidiarity, i.e. delegating or transferring sovereign authority to smaller entities – is not ideally suited for discussions in a global context. And yet, we must address the topic of delegating government tasks, bearing in mind that the government does no more than merely approve of the principle underlying subsidiarity.

Let us now look at the cultural and personal environment for Lebanese citizens to illustrate the situation in Lebanon.

Lebanon is a country of four million people with eighteen different religious groups. The common strategy when dealing with the numerous and diverse matters of status (marriage, death, will, etc.) is to transfer these tasks to religious entities whereby the state has to respect the rulings issued by religious courts. If it is implied that this type of decision-making is more effective than decisions made by institutions which have the legitimate authority to exercise power, can this still be referred to as subsidiarity? Delegating powers to religious groups boils down to more power for these groups over non-religious matters.

Therefore, the state feels deprived of its power and gives way to religious groups by handing over an increasing number of tasks. Responsibilities in the fields of education – especially M.A. programs – health care and hospital services are passed on to them. The state as a competitor plays a small and insignificant role and is a mere provider of subsidies. The only positive aspect is the fact that the citizens' well-being is now in the hands of a larger number of actors, which tends to cushion the problems.

Cultural activities in Lebanon are not hindered by state interference or religious patronization. Interestingly enough, this is the result of the work of hundreds of private cultural organizations, which was carried out over many generations prior to the advent of NGOs. However, this is only about delegating tasks and not about handing over real state authority to these institutions. In fact, these organizations are anxious about potential state intervention and interference in their affairs. These private institutions managed to rid themselves of restraints because they were able to secure funding for their projects with the help of sponsors and public support. I think this is a real achievement.

Ultimately, the principle of subsidiarity is a legitimate claim in democracies which are anxious to ensure decent living conditions for their citizens.

For various reasons the state sector in developing countries tends to be in the weaker position. Some nations have gained political independence more recently; often political borders do not correspond to socio-ethnic boundaries; and even if they do there is no elite and no political culture. But at the same time, these countries tend to be more open towards the world, its peoples and the younger generation impatient for political change.

Due to the weakness of the state, indigenous groups or groups unknown to the state take its place. This means that the state must try and reclaim its rights in order to be able to delegate them.

January 18, 2013

Emil Nassar was born in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1939 and studied social economics and social planning. Nassar worked as managing director in charge of R&D (1968-1980) and as a financial consultant. In 1994, he founded *l´Agenda Culturel* (cultural agenda) and has been its managing director since the publication was launched. In 1999 he founded the *Lebanese Sponsoring Association* and is its secretary general. He is an expert in the field of creative industries. Emil Nassar is married and has three children.

Translation: Benjamin Eder

Illustration by Steffen Haas: *1 – Curse and Blessing*

Subsidiarity, participation and political education

Both the right to participation and the duty of capacity building, which are the two complementary aspects of true subsidiarity, have to be ensured by institutional measures and must not be dependent on the more or less accidental goodwill of the government and its elites.
(Müller, 1997; unofficial translation)

For a long time, in my intense pursuit of political education, the subject of subsidiarity has been in the forefront of my mind. However, I have normally neglected to think about what it actually means in this context, or even, what it should mean. My interest in the deeper meaning of the term subsidiarity was first sparked during the lectures that I attended on the subject of "international development cooperation". This has always been "my" subject, too – in various ways. It is also closely connected with the subject of solidarity which has also always been important to me as a trade unionist. Subsidiarity especially comes into play when solidarity is not meant in a paternalistic, patronising manner but, for instance, when it implies capacity building. As a principle, subsidiarity thus also means for me an aspiration towards the development of individual skills, self-determination and autonomy. Only after one's own possibilities have been exhausted, other superior units such as the local authority, the federal states or other organisations such as trade unions can be brought into play, according to the principle of subsidiarity [Hence, this discussion is equally of vital importance in a trade union context and arises in the debate about "politics by delegation", or alternatively, with the demand for an end to it. Problems have to be solved and successes fought for together *with* those affected – not *for* them. And only then does solidarity have a future in and with trade unions]. Subsidiarity must not be confused with work on a completely voluntary basis or absolute self-reliance, for it requires social discipline (Müller 1997, p.161) – and a personal contribution, if possible. To me, the concept of subsidiarity carries great weight especially regarding democratic action and thus political education since this is where so much depends on the involvement of every single person. Reciprocally, the question of when people receive necessary support must not be arbitrary or randomly determined.

… participation and political education

These competencies do not only exist internally – unrelated to doing something, so to speak – but are always manifested in the context of ***actions*** *and* ***conduct****. (Himmelmann 2005, p. 34; emphasis in the original; unofficial translation)*

As a concept, political participation requests the participation in the decision-making process of as many members from society as possible. Authentic subsidiarity thus implies taking a close look at the (groups of) people affected and their everyday world in order to be able to act in a politically responsible and realistic manner. This applies on the one hand with respect to the ability of people to actually participate; on the other hand, to their willingness to contribute to processes of change. By implication, a lack of participation can quickly lead to a political attitude of refusal. Especially when it comes to the realisation of political decisions, the local level, the family, the communities and municipality levels are very quickly in demand as a result. At these levels, the specific course that has been set towards political (major) projects has to come into operation. At this point, big and trans-regional impulses for modernisation in particular have to be compatible; in other circumstances they will trigger resistance. Participation, however, always requires willing participants.

As to competencies and the capacity or proficiency to participation, people have to be empowered appropriately in order to be able to participate and to fully stake their claim in society. A proficiency in this sense also implies personal willingness and volition. Competence and the willingness (the volition) to political participation develop in the microcosm of the lived-in world of the people

affected; where they can act and where the results become visible, too. And where they experience that, they and their requests are taken seriously in case of doubt. Political learning for the purpose of a reflection on personal action and its consequences for the society must therefore occur in a subsidiary way so that there is an opportunity to actually be able to achieve something through action. On the subsidiary level, being taken seriously, however, also means that there are requirements for personal action in the sense of a joint activity. The attitude, moral values and the political conduct of individuals can eventually only be changed sustainably via true subsidiarity, virtually seen as a way or a process. And thus, participation and political education can be made possible.

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Alexander Klier works for the *DGB Bildungswerk München* and is in charge of its vocational adult education and training programs (offered by the German confederation of trade unions DGB), especially for the Munich section. He studied philosophy, economics and adult education. In his dissertation he examined the phenomena of synchrony and the complex interdependence between the time concepts of duration, waiting periods and breaks in corporate organizations.

Translation: Emily Pickerill, Monika Waldschütz

Illustration by:

Subsidiarity in the One World network

Some of you may have seen the large-format posters proclaiming that the organisation *Engagement Global* supports and strengthens the developmental commitment of individual people, groups and cities … . No donation account is indicated, however, which is only logical because the poster is a self-promotion for this new organisation within the restructured Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development *(Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, BMZ),* a ministry which the current officeholder, Herr Niebel (Free Democratic Party, FDP), actually wanted to abolish – so he announced during the last general election campaign.

Subsidiarity advocates the following political, economic and social maxim: Self-determination and personal responsibility come first. Subsidiarity seeks to promote people's individual skills. This is the realisation of the concept revolving around "the responsible citizen". The principle of subsidiarity also implies that activities which can be carried out by way of self-determination are assigned to civil society institutions or to the lowest tier of an organisation. This principle of subsidiarity is an important concept in federal systems such as the Federal Republic of Germany. Therefore, the promotion of civil society networks, for example, including the One World network, is the appropriate realisation of this goal and no "grace from above". Of course it is legitimate to ask whether these civil society structures are functionally good and more or less representative. For Bavaria and Munich the answer is yes. But the current organisational structures which are developing within the framework of development policy run counter to the prevailing state-maxim.

Now, the BMZ, together with its new structures *Engagement Global* or *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (Society for International Cooperation in Germany), to name but two, praises the cities and the local communities for their commitment to development policy. However, there is no mention of a corresponding specified item in the government budget. There is mention, though, of twenty life-time employment jobs which will be created in the Service Point Communities of One World *(Servicestelle Kommunen in der Einen Welt, SKEW).* Here, the question arises, why this is necessary?

Some real-life examples

The One World Network in Bavaria *(Eine Welt Netzwerk Bayern, EWNB)* with more than 129 member groups, an excellent knowledge base and a lot of practical experience was startled when *Engagement Global* set up a decentralised office in Stuttgart in order to support the development policy efforts in the federal states of Baden-Wurttemberg and Bavaria. There have been well-established One World networks in both federal states for quite some time. So what does this have to do with the principle of subsidiarity? One World Network Bavaria voiced unequivocal criticism:

"Contrary to several announcements by the BMZ, the registered association EWNB has not received any information on job advertisements, the introduction of a new structure or a job description applying to the decentralised structure of Engagement Global in Stuttgart which is also responsible for Bavaria. Opening a decentralised office in Stuttgart on 8 October 2012 is beyond our comprehension as to what the ultimate purpose of the new decentralised structure could possibly be. Then, more than eight months later, Engagement Global was not able to give any information about its future strategies either. The EWNB puts a lot of emphasis on the fact that this new state-structure is in line with the principle of subsidiarity. One is still under the impression that a two-tier state structure is being created before our very eyes. It is with a sense of amazement that we take note of the continued nationalisation of the work of One World."

If this is supposed to be the real-life scenario, it would have been unnecessary to put so much effort and money into hanging up posters.

A different situation in Munich

Munich, for example, shows that it can be done in a different way. Here, municipal institutions have consciously promoted the One World commitment in civil society. Some examples based on the motto – *Think globally and act locally* – demonstrate this.

The City of Munich (Department of Culture) promotes One World's local umbrella organization in Munich, the registered association *Nord Süd Forum München* (65 member groups) There is the cooperation between the municipal authorities and civil society regarding the twin-town agreement between Munich and Harare (i.e. between the Munich Office of the Third Mayor and the Harare-based Office of International Affairs); the Climate Alliance Partnership between Munich and the indigenous Asháninka people living in the Peruvian rainforest (supported by the One World office in the Department of Health and Environment) promoting their local Fair-Trade retail locations within various communities or the organisation of big events; or the advisory committee with representatives from all strata of the civil society consulting the City Council Committee for Local Development Cooperation, and so forth. It is clear that, provided the powers that be show political and structural goodwill, the One World network, too, is well-suited to implement the principle of subsidiarity.

Another point worth mentioning is the fact that grants for people who actively participate in civil society and funds for initiatives working effectively, as well as the funding for lifelong employment jobs and parallel structures created by state authorities are financed from the taxpayers' money – the money does not come from the ministry's coffers.

Heinz Schulze, Chairman Nord Süd Forum München e.V.

Translation: Emily Pickerill, Stephanie Wintergerst, Olga Zakharova

Illustration by

Subsidiarity – a matter of politics

Historically speaking, France is a centralized state where political decisions are made in and by Paris. In 1981 and 1982, the new socialist government initiated decentralization by means of a series of laws. Different territorial levels were given some authority: 22 regional administrative authorities (*Conseils régionaux*), 100 general councils – the assemblies of the French *départements* – (*Conseils généraux*) and more than 36,000 municipalities (*Municipalités*). Concerning formal education for instance, regions are in charge of grammar schools, départements of secondary schools and municipal councils of primary schools. At the same time, the state keeps the sovereignty of the syllabus to itself. But – and this demonstrates the state's mistrust regarding decentralization – the state has installed administrative bodies in every region and for every policy in order to monitor the proper implementation of decentralization by the regional administrations. The state even has the power to censure the decisions made by regional administrations or to shift the decision-making authority from the regions to the state.

In fact, this centralist "top-down" principle dominates the entire sphere of public administration and is firmly established on all levels of local politics. This trend is reflected in the development of new administrative structures, for example in metropolitan regions which include several cities, where there is no interaction with existing administrations. In this context, the civil society, primarily represented by hundreds of thousands of organizations, has in fact no legal representative with a say in political and public decisions. Sometimes the civil society is integrated into decision-making processes, but mostly it only serves as an advisor. To continue with the example of education, one cannot help noticing that there are numerous associations of teachers, parents, principals and even pupils who are only asked for their opinion and listened to when they take to the streets.

Only political bodies make decisions and are responsible for them. People in France rely on the principle of delegation as a result of democratic elections. Every citizen votes periodically and thereby delegates his or her decision-making power to the elected representatives. With the exception of public services (when an administration delegates its duties to any other public or private organization), the principle of subsidiarity is severely restricted by law enforcement and will never reach the civil society.

Concerning cultural affairs, the situation in France is even worse. Except for a few cultural institutions – e.g. special libraries which local authorities are responsible for – no power of decision-making in cultural matters was given to regional administrations or départements. Nevertheless, départements do support the arts and culture in their respective sovereign territories. Yet, they do so voluntarily and without any legal obligation. Nowadays, 50 percent of cultural costs are covered by local authorities. (In Germany government spending on culture only covers 7 percent of the total costs.) These voluntary subsidies can be stopped any time, which means that this support is completely up to the discretion of local politicians. They can choose to support one organization, rather than another. They can withdraw their support overnight, no matter for what good or bad reason, with no one contradicting them. That is why the state is holding on to its power over cultural matters, albeit with steadily declining funds over a period of more than twenty years. Regional and local authorities have gradually replaced the state in order to preserve the artistic and cultural environment, but they are also taking the types of risks described above. While politicians have absolute power over the "life and death" of cultural organizations, they are not always competent enough to assess their creativity and to foresee the consequences of decisions. This is one explanation for the difficulties in supporting experimental and innovative artistic practices. Indeed, the direct and daily contact with their voters can sometimes be a challenge for local politicians when they are asked to explain unpopular decisions to the local public.

Cultural associations in France account for 20 percent of a total of 1.1 million NGOs, but they have no real power whatsoever. They are mere instruments used to justify the continuity of the cultural and educational policies prescribed by decision-makers. The only time they managed to make themselves heard, was in 2003. The government intended to carry out a thorough review of the status of "*intermittents du spectacle*" (i.e. artists and technicians employed in the entertainment industry without steady employment) as beneficiaries of social security insurance schemes (editor's note: comparable to the *Künstlersozialversicherung* in Germany). As a result, the artists decided to call a general strike which led to the cancelling of some famous festivals – such as the Festival d'Avignon or the festival of literature in Aix-en-Provence. The politicians in power suddenly became aware of the economic impact of these events and of the power of this social movement. Consequently, the government withdrew its plans. But this is a one-off example and has certainly not brought about any changes of the statutory framework of decision-making processes.
In France, the principle of subsidiarity – with regard to the world of culture – does not enthrall the powers that be.

Frédéric Jambu has been working for the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs for several years as well as for the Ministry of Culture and Communication where he was entrusted with European and Euro-Mediterranean relations (including a five-year assignment in Brussels).
He is a founding member and the manager of *ADCEI* (Association for International, European and Cultural Development). In 2004, he founded the *Euromedinculture(s) network* (with 29 member organizations from 21 states) and has run it since then. Frédéric Jambu organizes events, works as a technical adviser for several universities and takes part in international projects.

Translation: Keith Kelly, Martina Schor

Illustration by

Some thoughts on inclusion and the principle of subsidiarity within the educational debate

When starting a structural discussion about formal education, the principle of subsidiarity is immediately seen as a precondition for inclusion, especially in the field of special education. The principle of subsidiarity implies that a task should be carried out by the smallest "responsible" unit and that the superordinate units should only intervene if the lower units are not capable of doing so.

In the established school system integration-based education programmes cannot be taken for granted. Whether or not such programmes exist seems to be a matter of chance and place of residence. According to experts, inclusion-oriented school education requires a subsidiary special-educational format based on an independent conceptual platform, which emancipates itself from inflexible established special-education patterns. On the political level, there has been a discussion for quite some time about a legislative initiative, referred to as the "great solution", which aims at integrating children with disabilities. This idea is based on the premise that the sophisticated social incentive system in Germany stands in the way of inclusion – especially due to historical reasons. The "great solution" therefore suggests bringing all children and adolescents irrespective of their disabilities and learning difficulties into the incentive system, with access to the Child and Youth Services according to Volume VIII of the German Social Security Code. This option has been discussed among experts for years. The Children's Commission of the German Bundestag advocates a rapid implementation of the agreed upon suggestions as soon as possible.

Looking more closely at concrete examples which exist in practice throughout this country, it appears that a new danger is looming on the horizon. However, due to the enthusiasm surrounding the bundling of measures, the fact that the new support centres are once again going to become a new kind of special-education institution is overlooked. The mess can perhaps be untangled by getting to the bottom of two principal terms. The principle of subsidiarity focuses on the development of individual skills as well as self-determination and self-reliance. The Latin origin of the word "subsidiary" means "supportive" or "alternatively intervening". The principle of subsidiarity also affords a clear image of the human being, especially when thinking liberally, namely of the independent individual.

The term inclusion (includere: include, enclose) results from the opinion that a society consists of individuals who, more or less, differ from one other. Inclusion seeks a change in existing structures and opinions based on the idea that diversity among individual human beings reflects the normal state of things. The diversity of human beings and their potential for society and the individual is at the centre of the resulting "pedagogy of diversity". Acting according to the ideas of "pedagogy of diversity" initially means becoming sensitive to the existence of diversity and calling attention to its potential. That automatically implies the legitimate claim of every individual to be accepted as an independent person, wherever it is possible, and only be supported "alternatively – in a subsidiary fashion" when one actually cannot progress further alone. Thus, an inclusive attitude allows for the possibility to recognize and value the uniqueness of every human being.

Our considerations regarding education bring us to an extended educational concept – education as self-education.

"No person has ever changed another person, rather a person changes himself as result of specific influences, in order to survive." (O. Speck)

As a result, a broader educational term refers to the world of the subjects, thinks of education as self-education, works with a holistic approach and encourages people to engage in cultural action.

According to the maxim *"It is normal to be different"* (R. v. Weizäcker), the inclusive ideal of education is a system in which all members experience and perceive a shared process, every individual has a secure place and thus participation for everyone is guaranteed.

The result of this scenario is a utopia which we deliberately describe in a provocative manner: Since our formal educational system obviously still has a long way to go in order to achieve real inclusion, non-formal education – for example cultural education which claims to enable every human being to participate in the cultural life of society – is gaining significance. One can see cultural education as a lifelong, individual learning process which accompanies human beings everywhere, young and old, both within and outside of educational institutions, in private as well as in public. Cultural education does not only take place in institutions and is not only part of projects which are specialized in cultural pedagogy. Important paradigms are voluntariness, "error-friendliness" and subject orientation. Freed from the pressure of measurable success and educational choice, the experiences which are gained in small subsidiary and differentiated working-environments can be re-transferred by cross-linking with the formal educational programmes – which evolve more and more these days – and can have a lasting effect for the entire system towards real inclusion.

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Karl-Michael Brand is an art educator (M.A.), theatre educator and member of the *Federal Association of Theatre Educators*. He is a founding member of *ECHO, Verein für integrative Spiel- und Kulturpädagogik e.V.* (association promoting integrated educational play and cultural education) established in 1990 and has been working as its full-time manager since 2000. Before that, he gained professional experience in cultural education in *Pädagogische Aktion und PA/Spielkultur* (association for youth culture) and in working with people with disabilities at *Franziskuswerk Schönbrunn*.

Translation: Melina Nieß, Emily Pickerill

Illustration by Karl-Michael Brand: *Elephants*

Governments and associations

After more than thirty years of witnessing the development of France's cultural sector, I am convinced that the main problem has always been the lack of access of the working-class to cultural opportunities. I always tried to involve marginalized citizens, whether that be the factory workers in Montbillard, the miners in the coal basins of Lorraine, or the inhabitants of working-class areas in Strasbourg, in order to show them a way which follows a new, different conception of cultural action.

For fifty years now, France's cultural sector has been based on a triptych system: production, advertising, and presentation. Production and advertising have experienced an exponential period of growth, while mostly only university graduates, the educated middle-class, have benefited from presentation.

In the early years, culture was supported by the Ministry of Culture in Paris; then cities, local authorities and regional administrations took over the funding of production and advertising with a 2.5 times larger support budget than the Ministry of Culture.

In France, most cultural institutions are organized as associations with representatives of the public administration as chairmen. Over the past ten years, we have observed a new phenomenon. Cities, local authorities and regions have intervened directly in the cultural sector by organizing their own artistic activities, financed by cultural associations. Marketing, image advertising, rivalry with other cities and regions are the main reasons. But this interference is limited to mega-projects, such as museums, important exhibitions and festivals which promise opportunities for image advertising.

In any case, whether through support of cultural associations or through direct intervention, the powers that be control the cultural sector based on the age-old motto "He who pays the piper calls the tune".

Jean Hurstel: man of the theater, author, social philosopher,"*enfant terrible de l'administration culturel*", Director of the Cultural Centre in Bechamen (Brussels), founder of the European Culture Network "B*anlieues d'Europe*" and its president for twenty years.

Translation: Sara-Marie Carstens, Emily Pickerill

Illustration by : *Paris*

Self-help initiatives – from group-based activities to legal standardization

When people form a group and organise themselves on any level of society, their self-organisation is a productive and content-related expression of intention. This process always represents a specific concept of grassroots democracy which may open up new vistas. As a rule, self-help initiatives convey two messages. They lay claim to the right to self-determination and participation, and they present factual content-related goals. The many varieties of self-help initiatives are all different forms of grassroots-democracy which emerged in the health-care and social sectors. Over the past six decades, they made a valuable contribution towards firmly establishing the concepts of democracy and innovative qualification in the health-care and social sectors.

During the period of National Socialism, self-organised groups or organisations were either abolished or fell victim to *Gleichschaltung*, i.e. the enforced conformity of organisations in line with Nazi ideology. Post-war Germany saw the comeback of a diversified spectrum of self-organised groups. From 1947 onwards the first self-help groups were founded to provide health-care services. Their members were initially people in need of these services. They exchanged their views in communication forums and worked out categories of self-help services and services that would not fit any professionalizable pattern. These services included psychical stabilization, customized assistance for people suffering from chronic diseases or disabilities and advice when dealing with professionals. Indication-oriented self-help organisations were continuously improving the legal entitlements of benefits and therefore also the quality of life of the recipients of benefits. This was achieved with the help of lobbying practices which had become socially acceptable. That is why I consider these groups to be traditional self-help initiatives.

From 1970 onwards, as a result of the student movement numerous alternative self-help groups and alternative self-organised projects (altogether far more than 5,000) emerged in the health-care and especially in the social sector. I am referring to these groups as alternative because they frontally attacked the professional work in theory and practice and tried to fundamentally change it. They criticized the hierarchical structures, the (legally protected) almightiness of professionals and depersonalization of the people affected (patients/clients). They adopted – like all other social movements – the objectives of the student movement and demanded self-determination, co-determination and participation for patients/clients. These alternative self-help groups succeeded in implementing their guiding principles in real projects, and they did so with remarkable enthusiasm and exemplary commitment. Even at that time the numerous cases of certain institutions abusing the system were criticized, but they were never discussed in public.

Both the traditional and even the alternative self-help initiatives did not stay in their prescribed group ghettos. Like any other social movement in their respective lines of activities, self-help initiatives have transformed the health-care and social sectors in terms of work processes by introducing specific content and field-related innovations and in terms of socio-political acceptance by implementing the rights to self-determination, co-determination and participation (since 1991 when the Child and Youth Welfare Act came into effect). In other words – the work performed by the various types of groups has gained momentum far beyond the actual group environment and become a dynamic social force which triggered fundamental reforms that affect work processes and the legal status of services. The majority of professionals and associations in the health-care and social sectors did not want to have anything to do with alternative self-organised groups, the ‘mucky pups’ in health care and social services, which they considered a restriction and threat. Most training institutions ignored – and to some extent still ignore – the multi-faceted educational field of self-organisation. Many scientists as well as public institutions and especially the Federal Government, however, saw potential in self-help initiatives and their innovations. Eventually, the Federal Government decided to lay the legal foundations by passing the Child and Youth Welfare Act on the

basis of the 8th Youth Report 1991 and by adding further sections to the German social security code. Therefore, essential parts of the groups' work underwent transformational processes and now they form an integral part of social structures. The result of the work of self-help initiatives can be summarized as follows:

- *Self-help associations focus on the general principles of self-determination, co-determination as well as participation and on the abilities of those affected by health and / or social problems; they have improved the living conditions of their group members; due to their experience and know-how in this field, they were able to give good advice or make reliable recommendations available for other persons affected. Especially in the social sector, they developed field-specific or across-the board approaches which now – due to fundamental considerations and because of their proven effectiveness – belong to the state-of-the art methodological repertoire.*

- *These achievements clearly show that self-help associations acted as the main driving force and have contributed significantly to the democratization and modernization of the social and health-care sectors. Legislation adopted the demands of self-help associations – self-determination, co-determination and participation in social and health-care matters; specialized literature on the subject also encouraged legislators to do so. Supporting self-help associations has become a mandatory requirement; self-determination, co-determination and participation are now the principles governing the rights of the patients / users as well as statutory guidelines for professional staff as stipulated in the German social security code. Initially, professionals working in these institutions were not in agreement and put up passive resistance.*

- *Thereby a new paradigm is laid down in the legal norms of the German social security code for applying for jobs in the social and health-care sectors. It can be described as a balance between knowhow-based professional authority on the one hand and the right to individual self-determination, co-determination and participation of the patient/user on the other hand.*

  (From: Engelhardt: Leitbild Menschenwürde – wie Selbsthilfeinitiativen den Gesundheits- und Sozialbereich demokratisieren, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt 2011, p. 15; unofficial translation).

At long last, self-help initiatives – a tiny minority – managed to convince the Federal Government as a legislative body that the principles governing their activities should be legally binding.
With a 40-year delay, the Federal Government translated the individual claims to self-determination anchored in the German Constitution into applicable law for the health-care and social sectors.

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Translation: Keith Kelly, Sebastian Mix, Ulrike Popfinger

Illustration by

NGO in Egypt – politics, practice and legitimation

The Renaissance in Egypt took place in the era of Mohamed Aly between 1805 and 1848. Mohamed Aly built a new Egypt on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. The main pillars of this renewal were education – also manifest in social reforms – modern schools and the founding of a centralized state that still exists today. On this basis, Egypt was established as one of the most advanced countries outside Europe. Patriotic and democratic Egyptian movements gained their independence and maintained it. The king resigned and the Arab Republic of Egypt was proclaimed. The first non-profit NGO of Egypt was founded in 1829 and many others were to follow. Some of them pursued cultural goals or were science-related, others had religious backgrounds and were guided by welfare motives. When the constitution came into effect in 1923 which officially recognized NGOs, their numbers multiplied. The era of liberalization in Egypt between the revolution of 1919 and the revolution of 1952 helped NGOs to prosper, especially the religiously and Islam-orientated humanitarian NGOs, from which the Muslim Brotherhood emerged. During the period between the revolution in 1952 until the 1990s civil society activities came to a halt, since the regime pushed the creation of a totalitarian system that monopolized and controlled any movements outside its own power circuit, especially after the victory over the Muslim Brotherhood, the communists and even over the democratic wing of the revolutionary groups. It is important to highlight this historic background in order to understand the development of subsidiarity under several regimes irrespective of their ideological orientation.

Analysis
At the moment, centralization permeates all areas of life in Egypt, and society as a whole suffers in every respect. This holds true for the dictatorial regime which has governed Egypt for the past sixty years. During the Mubarak era law, order and the constitution were exploited by the government to wield power. Between 1982 and 2012 Egypt was governed under emergency law, which allowed for extensive surveillance and the violation of human rights by the authorities. Civil rights were curtailed as a result of stern supervision by the police and the judicial system. In 2002, NGOs had to adjust to a the changing environment after the fall of Saad Eddin Ibrahim – he was sentenced to seven years in prison for impeachment and was accused of conspiracy and taking action against the state as well as fraud) and his colleagues from the Ibn-Khaldun-Center who were accused of fraud and embezzlement.
But the truth is they defended democratic civil rights, just as Nawai El Saadaoui and others had previously defended human rights, while individual civil rights were ignored, for example by persecuting homosexuals. Therefore, the difference between a democratic system of government and other systems is that legislation is the legitimization for the former, while the goal is restriction for the latter. Who was going to found an NGO under these circumstances? Are they founded because people really think that they need them? Does this correlate with the needs of society?

At the moment, there are 16,800 NGOs with three million members from all strata of society. In 2002, 35 percent of these were religious NGOs with welfare-related or other religious motivations. This number is quite remarkable and the question arises whether they are all active organizations. The number of active NGOs is actually no more than a few hundred with several thousand members. Do these active NGOs play a role in civil life? Some NGOs find a way despite the financial problems and the real or imposed restraints because they are supported from abroad. Others are privileged and favored by the two factors field of activity and 'who' runs the NGO. In this respect the former First Lady who was much of feminist always supported movements that promoted the rights of women and children. And, accidentally, all big international organizations support exactly these fields of action and projects. It was no coincidence either that Ms Mubarak became president of these NGOs that received strong financial support from abroad and from business people. Between 1982 and 2010, Egypt received $1 billion from Europe and the United States.

There is no denying the fact that these efforts 'fell on fertile ground' because a number of laws came into force promoting the rights of women and children. In this context, the term 'force' is to be taken literally for, in many cases, the government used force and put pressure on parliament to pass these laws. These changes were needed to improve the regime's image in the world in order to receive money. They were decided upon on the legislative level; but they were never implemented by politicians and followed by precise and purposeful action. Sadly, this intricate corruption scheme also served as a model for many NGOs.

The work on the grassroots level – the raison d'être of NGOs – has not even begun yet.
In the past few years the number of street children, for example, has increased dramatically to unprecedented levels According to estimates by UNICEF there are between 500,000 and 1,000,000 homeless children living in the streets of Egypt. The work on the grassroots level has been marginalized whereas political talk shows are thriving – and generating money. At the same time, no stone is left unturned to secure the centralized allocation of funds. The principle of subsidiarity does not seem to represent a basic value for authorities. The primacy of bureaucracy and centralization is obviously more important.

Point of view
If subsidiarity as an NGO strategy is seen as a means for democratization, it is, in my opinion, like showing a picture upside down or putting the cart before the horse. Subsidiarity is an expression of democracy. Therefore, political volunteering is required to carry out corresponding reforms.

Outlook
Egypt is changing. At the beginning of the revolution there were significant legislative proposals which were relevant to the independence of NGOs (especially to those caring about human rights). Due to the corruption practices during the Mubarak era nothing came of it. Now, instead of the state intervening in order to respect these recommendations, there is talk of a more restrictive legislative procedure (concerning the founding of NGOs, management, financial practices, activities, members). The government will present a bill to parliament and the idea is to ensure more centralization.

Conclusion
Luckily, there are movements, institutions, new small businesses, new generations, and an entire nation that stand for a new era of orientation towards new ideas, enthusiasm and self-rule as well as calls for radical reforms. It is the only way for us.

I would now like to share my thoughts on the European model. Europe has fought for a long time and paid a high price to become such an advanced region. And it has created this civilization, which is built on democracy and participation. When a society has enjoyed affluence and the blessings of its civilization for a long period of time, it might stagnate and forget where it is going, especially with a new generation which never had to pave this way. This is the moment when decadence begins to show its face. You need be aware of the social issues and able to address them in order to wake up your citizens.

The civil society should be in a state of constant change to safeguard its achievements.

Iman Nouredin studied cultural history and management at Senghor University (1999-2001). She worked for the library of Alexandria; initially she was responsible for the History of Science Museum, then for the Cultural History Institute/exhibition area and now she is a free-lance consultant and project manager for various cultural projects.

During her ‘journey’ she succeeded in pairing with foreign institutions and developing common projects. Besides, she is an expert on NGOs in Egypt, and especially of the works of cultural artists in Alexandria. She also engages voluntarily in social movements that rebel against corruption and vested interests. She wants to get to the bottom of the problems and is concerned about the post-revolution developments in Egypt.

Translation: Keith Kelly, Nadine Wunderer

Illustration by

Subsidiarity as a part of civil society

There have been fundamental changes in the field of children and youth services in the last few decades. The growing scarcity of financial resources (financial crisis, national debt) and the widening social gap in our society have led to fundamental changes in the area of state welfare organisation.

Public agencies and voluntary organisations were joined by private welfare organisations. Now, a business mind-set determines which offers are on hand. People affected and individuals seeking help have become "customers", whereas youth welfare organisations have begun providing predefined services. The most reasonable bids are awarded the contract. The principle of subsidiarity was for the most part circumvented and is being replaced more and more by the market principle.

Therefore, the fundamental aspect of the subsidiarity principle has been lost. This fundamental aspect can be understood as a "strengthening of civil society". It defines the relationship between public agencies and voluntary organisations in a way that private welfare agencies not only have influence and flexibility but also (conditional) priority when performing social tasks. This does not only concern the social welfare system but also the core principles of a working democracy. Thus, discussing subsidiarity involves discussing the issue of participation and the role of civil society to preserve and develop democracy. Besides major associations, the numerous small voluntary organisations are particularly affected.

The reasons for not entirely letting the subsidiarity principle fall victim to the market principle, but instead striving for a modern reinterpretation and reorientation are:

1. Subsidiarity strengthens civil society as well as democracy and allows participation.
2. Subsidiarity creates the conditions for good and successful work.
3. Subsidiarity severs the connection between public aid and control.
4. Voluntary organisations are not only service providers but also (political) stakeholders and advocates of the people concerned.
5. Voluntary organisations provide a clearer point of view on the people's problems and incorporate them in solving the pending tasks.
6. Voluntary organisations promote voluntary commitment relevant for civil society and utilise scarce resources to best effect.
7. Voluntary organisations contribute to further development of the social sector by innovation and creativity.
8. Voluntary organisations have an important "early warning function", which means they can draw early attention to unsolved problems and new issues because of their proximity to the population and their ability to oppose and protest.
9. Voluntary organisations have an important role to play in controlling public institutions.

The public welfare system cannot afford to forego the potential of voluntary organisations. In return, it is their responsibility to utilise this potential and make it visible. For this, however, besides being provided with adequate funds, it is also necessary to cooperate on the same level. Participation, acknowledgement of different opinions and views, solidarity with the weaker members of society and the assumption of responsibility for the community are all part of a working civil society.

Subsidiarity, as described above, is more than just a division of labour between public agencies and voluntary organisations to optimise working processes. It is part of a functioning democracy, in a country that focuses on human dignity, not on "reducing costs".

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Günther Gugel is an educator (M.A.). He worked for the German Institute on Peace Education *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedenspädagogik* (1977-1980), was the co-manager of the *Institut für Friedenspädagogik Tübingen e. V* (until 2011) and at the moment he is with the *Berghof Foundation / Peace Education* in Tübingen.

Translation: Markus Haselmann, Emily Pickerill

Illustration by Hans Mayrhofer: *The Bremen Town-Musicians (a folktale recorded by the Brothers Grimm)*

The principle of subsidiarity – the Albanian case

The fact alone that the Albanian language does not have a proper definition for "the principle of subsidiarity", where by all Albanians can grasp the true meaning of such principal in and of itself, should be enough to indicate how much of a new concept this principal is to the Albanian society. Such a lack in the basic dictionary of the Albanian language, has its roots in the history of Albanian politics. Built and functioning on the principles of the Stalinist System, that stood against everything subsidiarity stands for, it was impossible to even come up with the mere terminology for such a principle up until Spring of 1991. Even the word "participation" meant something very different from the civil "participation" in a democracy.

So, the Albanians would come to know of the principal of subsidiarity, as with other democratic principles, only 22 years ago, with the change of the political system to a democracy. Describing the difficulties and obstacles that building the democracy in Albania has run into over the past 22 years, as continues to still run into, would be too long of a story and yet, incomplete. But regarding the principal in this matter, allow me to bring just one example: The law for the creation of the Agency for the Support of the Civil Society, was voted by the Parliament in 2009. This is a national Agency and based on projects presented by Albanian non-governmental organizations, by law it has to distribute funds on a budget of 1 million USD. Based on public records, this Agency has never received more than half of those funds. And, as for local government, in any town or city, including the capital, where more than a quarter of the country's population resides, such funds to support the civil society, have not even been included in the budget.

Does voting the Law for the creation of the Agency for the Support of the Civil Society eighteen years into democracy speak for a mature Albanian political class and government institutions? It would be a positive answer to this questions, had the law come to the parliament as an organic need to restructure the new democratic Albanian society, where by every citizen freely claims their proper responsibilities. But it did, in fact, come about for a very different reason. Right before the March 2009 Elections, the Albanian government was in a rush to present Brussels with the request for the status of a candidate country in the BE, so they could use it in the campaign. One of the conditions that the European Commission stated, in order to accept this request, was the law to financially support the civil society. As we all know, a forced law, has very little chance of being upheld and applied.

However, during the last 22 years of democracy, a rather rich network of non-governmental organizations has been created. And this has been mainly possible thanks to the support in finance and experience of Albania's friends and the European Commission. But, I would concisely add that, this financing completely from the outside, despite the benefits, has also brought on frustrations on all players. At times these non-governmental organizations have misinterpreted (abused) their authority. They have acted arrogantly towards the local governments. And, for their lack of democratic experience, the local government has many times seen the NGOs as the enemy. Thus, the cooperation, without which the principal of subsidiarity can not function, has been damaged.

The Albanian case brings up the fact that this principal touches on the very core of the democratic culture of a society. The fact that the Albanian dictionary doesn't even contain a proper and clear definition of this principal and its meaning, is proof that the principal has not been assimilated by the Albanian society itself. Yet, the NGOs have no problem what so ever communicating in English or any other languages with their foreign donators.

And this just isn't the way to achieve the goal and serve the purpose for which they were created in the first place.

Besnik Mustafaj (Albania), Albanian writer, former Foreign Minister of Albania, President of the *Albanian Forum for Civil Alliance* and of the *euromedinculture(s) network*

Illustration by Steffen Haas: *Albanian Dictionary*

Subsidiarity, Decentralisation and Participation in Cultural Policy: Views from Spain

The notion of 'subsidiarity' has mainly entered the language in Spain and Catalonia in the context of European Union politics – subsidiarity as the principle whereby decisions should be taken and implemented by the level of government which is more relevant and effective as regards the nature of the issue being addressed. As such, 'subsidiarity' remains a rather specialised word, mainly used by academics and professionals.

Nevertheless, some of the values behind this term are indeed fundamental to our own views of culture and public cultural policies – in particular, *decentralisation* of responsibilities in the field of cultural policy and *participation* of everyone in cultural life. As in other federal or quasi-federal states, and as a result of the recognition of its internal cultural and linguistic diversity, the evolution of cultural policies in Spain since the end of dictatorship owes much to the role played by local and regional authorities. According to data provided by the *Compendium on Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*, local government was the source of almost 55% of all public cultural expenditure in Spain in 2008, whereas regional governments provided an additional 30%. The fact that central government was only the source of 15% of public funding for culture proves the decentralised nature of decision-making in this field.

The importance of local governments for cultural policies and their contribution to sustainable development has been reinforced internationally in documents such as 2004's *Agenda 21 for culture*, which argues that '*Cities and local spaces are a privileged setting for cultural invention which is in constant evolution, and provide the environment for creative diversity, where encounters amongst everything that is different and distinct … are what makes full human development possible.'* The Agenda provides general guidelines for the implementation of sustainable cultural policies, which local governments across the world are invited to adapt to their context.

These principles also highlight the need to create the conditions for citizens to *participate actively and equally* in cultural life. The right to take part in cultural life is, indeed, a basic human right, as recognised in 1948's Universal Declaration of Human Rights and 1966's International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which should influence policies and ultimately inspire all public and private actors intervening in cultural life. Recommendations for local cultural policies fostering participation were formulated in 2007 in the context of the *Guide to Citizen Participation in Local Cultural Policy Development for European Cities*, the result of a European project the results of which remain valid to this day.

The link between participation and subsidiarity is also reinforced by considering both these principles as some of the *intrinsic values of culture* – i.e. those core aspects of culture which serve to affirm its fundamental place within human dignity, rather than seeing culture as a resource for the achievement of economic or social aims. In the words of Eduard Delgado, the founder of Interarts, '*There is a special quality in cultural processes which are fully determined by their own protagonists; where neither market producer nor maecenas nor officials decide on contents or structure…. Policies which are seen to promote autonomy rather than dependence … induce responsible projects from arts promoters and invite risk and challenge… Autonomy is related to subsidiarity in public policies and it leads to decentralisation, devolution and deconcentration schemes.'* (Eduard Delgado, 'Cultural Planning vs. Arts Values', 2000).

The current economic and political context in Spain places important challenges to decentralisation and participation as we have come to know them. On the one hand, the trend towards the reduction in public deficit is leading governments to reduce their involvement in cultural life, with some regional authorities favouring a re-centralisation of competences at national level. On the other hand, some civil society actors which had traditionally played a key role in cultural participation find it increasingly difficult to raise public or private resources for their activities. Even though new forms of participation are emerging (e.g. crowdfunding, crowdsourcing, etc.), times are indeed difficult - a good time to rethink our ways of operating, whilst retaining the importance of participation and decentralisation in cultural life.

Barcelona, February 2013
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Illustration by Philip Junk: *From a Spanish point of view*

The promotion of pop and youth culture: an example from Munich

Playing in a band, DJing, skating, spraying, filming, making music on a PC, developing graphics and layouts – all these activities are part of a wide range of today's youth culture whereby young actors deliberately avoid all academic establishments, as well as most non-academic cultural education opportunities. Educational institutions are having a hard time understanding youth, their codes, rules, and ways of communication in their milieu, and, in general, understanding the production methods of today's youth culture. That is to be expected, as youth cultures come into being by deliberately distancing themselves from institutional education and culture. Young musicians and artists often downright ignore pre-established cultural standards of quality and search for role models in partially obscure sub-cultural niches (according to the parent generation). They despise the mainstream but also occasionally flirt with it.

Most of the time, young people acquire the skills and information they need through learning-by-doing or peer-learning, where experts and "cracks" of the scene pass on their knowledge. To a large extent this happens informally: they try to organize themselves as far as possible and often decline educational offers from non-academic education institutions, declaring them "uncool". The young actors in these youth culture, pop-affiliated environments therefore develop a DIY (Do-it-yourself) culture, which has absolutely nothing to do with the pretentious world of casting and talent shows marketed by the media. In all its aspects this DIY pop culture is a heartfelt wish of mostly young actors and their audience. Only an extremely small fraction of these actors achieves (or even wants to achieve) a transformation of their hobby into a stable and sustainable profession. Few even wish to become a star. Still, from the start, this hobby, in contrary to traditional house concerts, aims to reach and inspire an audience. Interacting with it and establishing a fan base represents a touch of fame, an ego boost and euphoria in the spotlight of scene clubs.

This cultural acknowledgment needs room, if it wants to develop productively. It needs sensitive, non-normative support. Encouragement must be close enough to the actors and their needs to stay credible in their eyes and to be accepted by them. On the other hand, they have to keep enough distance to prevent the abuse of the artistic outcome in a manipulative or demanding way.

A supporting institution like the specialist unit "*Fachstelle Pop*" in Munich sees itself as a counseling and service unit for the young pop (musician) scene. Financed by the urban culture administration, it has the task of supporting young pop culture without being bound by specific operative goals. It is based on the notion that pop and youth culture thrives on fast and creative changes and thus successful support of this culture has to be process-oriented and open-ended. The specialist unit uses its unique mandate to offer flexible, demand and user-oriented support and networking tasks. It maintains constant dialogue with the young and creative; it offers room for rehearsing, developing, trying and presenting, supports networking structures among actors and offers low-threshold and affordable counseling and services. Embedding themselves into the context of a huge youth cultural institution with distinctive event organization ("*Feierwerk*") affords it the required credibility within the youth culture scenes. As such, the worries expressed by musicians and artists of being devoured by cultural bureaucracy (a kind of "office of pop culture") are invalidated. Instead, the specialist unit works together with these musicians and artists to provide the young pop culture with the social recognition they deserve and therefore bring it further than ever before into the limelight of cultural support.

Klaus Martens is a veteran educational worker at *Feierwerk* (association for cultural activities for children and youth) in Munich. Since 2009 he has worked at the specialist unit "*Fachstelle Pop*" and in the administration of the event organization for youth and young adults.

Translation: Emily Pickerill, Laura Rohrsetzer

Illustration by : *Two people sitting at a desk*

Subsidiarity in public youth work
A contribution from Frankfurt

Between the end of World War II and 1967 ten public youth centres were opened in Frankfurt under the auspices of the municipal association "*Häuser der offenen Tür*" (Open Door Organisations). Their agendas were particularly aimed at those teens who did not belong to any youth organization, and also at associations without any club facilities of their own. Thanks to donations from American Christian organisations, centres were founded in certain neighborhoods in adherence with the Anglo-Saxon Community Concept and targeted at multiple generations.

Apart from the *Halbstarkenkrawalle* (a wave of protest among the younger generation in the 1950s) in Munich and Berlin or biker brawls in Frankfurt in the late fifties, a relatively peaceful atmosphere in the Youth Welfare Act's sphere of action has reigned in the post-war republic until the outbreak of the youth protests in 1967/68. In retrospect, the post-war order seems to us in this context always like an extremely peaceful social partnership with mostly temporary small-scale conflicts between the corporation cartel's participants. However, nowadays we read about the disputes over subsidiarity in the 1960s between mainly social democratically-led federal states and municipalities on the one hand and the German state led by the conservative party on the other hand. This conflict was not solved until a Constitutional Court ruling was issued in 1967. The municipalities argued against restrictions of their right to self-determination through denominational welfare associations in application of the principle of subsidiarity, which is not explicitly mentioned in the constitution, and only referenced in 2009 with regard to the delimitation of spheres of influence between the European Union and the individual member states. That "subsidiarity dispute" finally seemed to have been settled in the German Social Security Code, Volume VIII, in 1990. In Section three, general welfare service providers and others are placed on the same level. "Youth welfare is marked by the variety of welfare service providers with different value orientations and a variety of contents, methods and forms of work."

When the CDU (Christian Democratic Union) won a surprising victory in the Frankfurt municipal elections in 1977 after many years of social democratic leadership, more and more emphasis was put on the subsidiarity principle in youth policies. Initially, it was the only opportunity for the CDU to oppose the social-democratic traits in the administration of the Youth Welfare Office. At that point in time, the funding environment of public youth work was structured into three pillars: pillar 1 included the relatively well-equipped Municipal Open Houses *(stadteigene Häuser der offenen Tür)*; pillar 2 implied *youth initiatives*, which were founded as predominantly self-managed youth centres within the framework of attempts for autonomy during the youth protests, but by the end of the 1970s had turned into badly equipped, minor institutions that were completely dependent on municipal sponsorship or even ended up being run completely on the staff's initiative. The mainly church-based youth clubs were united into the Working Group – Youth Houses Supported by Independent Organisations *(Arbeitsgemeinschaft Jugendhäuser freier Träger) of* pillar 3. Due to the management's good counseling, public organisations of left-wing youth associations successively joined this group, too.

This three-pillar system remained on a relatively solid basis until the end of the 1980s, and the facilities had been adapted gradually to some degree. By the time when municipal indebtedness led to the first budget cuts, the initiative "*Aufschrei gegen Sozialabbau*" (outcry against reducing social services) was formed and liberal cultural initiatives joined the protesters. But by the end of the 1980s, the foundational period had ended. In fact, the first budget cuts did not lead to institutional shutdowns, but they irrevocably clarified boundaries to growth.
I do not want to recap the entire history of youth work in Frankfurt, but only list a few phenomena that can be connected with applying the subsidiarity principle to austerity policy.

Hostile acquisition: An independent organisation that was one of the last to found its own mini youth centre close to a municipal youth centre, disputes the municipal youth centre's Trespass and Ban Policy. In the end, operating the municipal youth club is assigned to the private organisation. Savings effect: in the course of the takeover negotiations, the mini youth club costs were cut, and one staff member of the municipal youth centre was dismissed.

Performance Cuts: A small independent organisation has to finance all its overhead costs with their own projects. Whereas former sponsors of youth welfare services – thanks to institutional support by the Youth Welfare Office – could spend project funding on pedagogical projects, now economies are made on fees. Instead of being supported by professional artists, special interest groups are increasingly instructed by students.

Cuts in social services: Minor institutions can allow more participation of visitors than major municipal youth clubs. In 1970, the youth centre movement argued against the establishment of municipal youth centres with the slogan: "Daring for more democracy!" After closing a major municipal youth centre in Frankfurt in the late 1990s, a liberal, medium-sized sponsor replaced it with a small youth club inside a temporary storage unit. A proposed solution was to relocate it, with the help of a private investor, to a former railway depot for a period of time, and then transfer it into a new permanent institution. But when the investor changed his mind, the youth club was scrapped altogether.

The more time I spend on this subsidiarity principle, the more it seems to me like it has been increasingly abused, in various ways, since it is a rather modern term with only few definitions. In the European context, it is said to open the door to efforts concerning re-nationalisation. The conservative state government of Hesse used this term to promote the privatisation of local utility services. If the financial crisis continues on the local authority level it could easily become an exit strategy for the welfare state.

Nevertheless, the rich city of Frankfurt has not come that far yet. Furthermore, public youth services are protected by the Social Security Code which bears the imprint of the emancipation movement (1968 seq.) in its youth sections. If interpreted correctly, cultural youth work should be included as a legally binding provision. A cross-party alliance in Frankfurt still held its protective hand over youth budgets for many years while expenditures for culture had already been severely cut (on a higher level, however). A position paper regarding reorientation in public child and youth welfare was passed by all youth work organisations after three years of discussion. We will have to wait and see where this alliance will take us after the upcoming budget cuts in 2014.

Frankfurt, July 2013

Daniel Rottner is a certified pedagogue in partial retirement, has experience in youth association work, public youth work, youth cultural projects and institutions. He currently works with European youth exchanges.

Translation: Tatjana Becker, Lisa Glaser, Emily Pickerill

Illustration by Steffen Haas: *Frankfurt Calling*

Subsidiarity: a city policy perspective

The highly discussed principle of subsidiarity is essentially understood to be the concept that all decisions are to be made at the lowest possible level. This includes the requirement for higher levels to likewise provide lower levels of authority with the means to act.
For me as Munich City Councilor, the principle of "subsidiarity" has two particular meanings. In all areas of the social sector of Munich, we consistently adhere to the guideline of providing social services by the City only when required to do so based on our appointed role as a public and municipal authority. The allocation of grants, for example, falls into this category. To the greatest possible extent, the delivery of social services itself is placed in the hands of independent private welfare agencies. While there are varying opinions on this topic, I am proud to say that even in financially difficult times, when we have been forced to make cuts with respect to independent private welfare agencies, we have nevertheless been able to continue to provide them with some funding, such that good work can continue. We can always do more, but in all social sectors, we need not be shy about exercising our responsibilities as a local authority. Nevertheless, this means that together with private welfare agencies, we must remain socially vigilant. In particular, educational opportunities for underprivileged children and adolescents should be an issue that keeps us active.

This topic brings me to a second aspect of subsidiarity. Although local self-governance is enshrined in the German Basic Law, in reality, the situation appears to be completely different. Recently, the Munich City Council has had less than 20 per cent of the administrative budget at its disposal; the rest had already been allocated through laws, ordinances and various guidelines regarding pre-determined social obligations and other requirements, before we have had the chance to discuss it. Despite the fact that there has been quite a lot of change over the last few years, for example, in the field of social assistance, tasks have continued to be delegated to various local authorities as before, but without leaving much room to maneuver, not to mention with a lack of follow-up funding. For example, local authorities are warmly invited to put up school buildings, but what goes on inside those buildings is determined by the State of Bavaria. In a similarly generous fashion, the state in no way grants the public schools with sufficient means to provide lessons. The City of Munich is "allowed" to contribute far and above over €100 million per year to cover the costs. Thus once again, the means are lacking in the social sector.

Correcting this imbalance is a tall order for the years to come. Not only our students but the City community as a whole will be appreciative!

Christian Müller, City Councilor representing the Social Democratic Party (SPD); speaker of the Social Committee and the Youth and Child Welfare Committee (KJHA); deputy speaker for Sport and Housing; chairman of the Pasing-Obermenzing Municipal District (*BA21 Pasing-Obermenzing*).

Translation: Emily Pickerill

Illustration by Dietmar Grosse:

The subsidiarity campaign: a top priority in Europe and within Germany

The project of European integration has been a continuous success story which started with the ratification of the Treaty of Rome. Peace and friendship among European nations have been safeguarded. Other achievements of the European integration process include the freedom of movement, the Schengen Agreement and, of course, the Single European Market. These great successes need to be consolidated and secured. This implicates the vital strengthening of the common foreign policy, for example. Here, the motto "*more Europe, not less"* is definitely appropriate.

However, there are many European policies permeated with centralism. Although the Lisbon Treaty promised the strengthening of subsidiarity, this promise was not kept. What we need is a fundamental change in thinking. What we need is a campaign for more subsidiarity in Europe. All policies which are not directly connected with the Single European Market have to be put on trial. With regard to all the responsibilities emanating from these policies we must ask ourselves if European regulation is still necessary. We need a subsidiarity commissioner who has the right of veto to prevent new regulations from proliferating, regardless of who spurs the regulation frenzy – the European Commission, the European Parliament or the member states. The subsidiarity commissioner should also have the right to scrutinize existing regulations. There are plenty of notorious examples of superfluous EU regulations: from the light bulb directive and the imminent directive on water-saving fittings to rules in order to patronize local communities and regions.

We also need more decentralized decision-making both in Germany and in Bavaria. About 80 per cent of all tasks performed by Bavarian administrative districts (*Bezirke*) could actually be executed by the municipalities and local district authorities (*Landkreise*) themselves, which are closer to their citizens. The strengthening of local self-government and the specific interdependence between the costly decisions taken by the Federal Government and the Federal States on the hand and additional state and free-state funding for local authorities on the other hand are urgently required. More responsibilities for local authorities also allow for an extended and facilitated delegation of tasks from local authorities to private non-profit agencies.

In fact, delegating tasks from the state and the local authorities to independent non-profit organisations and private initiatives is vital for a thriving society, which, of course, requires adequate funding. This applies to almost all fields, especially to the cultural and the social sector. For Liberals, the principle "*private takes priority over government*" is as important as "*decentralization takes priority over centralization*". Only if the majority of tasks are executed on the local level, can local authorities pass them on to local initiatives. This would surely strengthen citizens' active participation in society. For me as a member of the Liberal Party, an active civil society is a top priority.

Dr. Michael Mattar, parliamentary party leader of the Liberal Party (Free Democratic Party, FDP) in the Munich City Council and the FDP's leading candidate the Munich mayoral election in 2014.

Translation: Julia Chitu, Isabel Kellermann, Keith Kelly

Illustration by Dietmar Grosse: *EU "Banana"*

Subsidiarity in child and youth services

Subsidium is the Latin term for *support* or *reserve*. In Catholic Social Teaching, this notion was used to develop the principle of *subsidiarity* which refers to self-determination and self-government. It suggests that upcoming tasks should always be performed at the lowest possible level.

For us, working locally at the community level, subsidiarity implies that those tasks which do not come under the official responsibilities of the state are not assigned to public sector authorities. I trust no one working in administrative authorities or in the Munich City Council will find fault with this principle.

But what exactly do we mean by *public matters*? What exactly is a *discretionary* or a *mandatory provision*? And is the internal department of an administrative authority equivalent to a charity or a non-profit organisation? This is a matter for debate. Municipal authorities, for example, have been in charge of a large number of child day-care facilities for years, although this is definitely a field where subsidiarity should play a role. Therefore, we decided some time ago to issue an invitation to submit bids for each new care facility and allocate them to organisations. Here the decision was quite simple.
But when child protection considerations come into play, the picture is far more complicated. When Section 8a of the German Child and Youth Services Act (Kinder- und Jugendhilfegesetz, KJHG) came into effect stipulating the responsibility to protect the best interests of children, there was an intensive discussion about whether the "fairly experienced staff" have to be municipal employees or not, and with recent amendments of the child protection law, this will continue to be a topic of discussion. As a City Councillor, I act as a mediator between the Youth Welfare Office which, understandably, would like to remain in charge and have a say in matters, and the independent youth welfare organisations as well as the charities which would like to be able to continue their good work on their own. Of course, youth welfare offices are the first to be held accountable when children were taken away from their families too late (or too early). When teens commit such terrible acts of violence that they even make headlines in the newspapers, it is the Youth Welfare Offices which are held responsible and come under fire publicly. The guardianship of the Youth Welfare Office implies responsibility, even if another organisation has already had "something to do" with a particular child or teen. But this does not mean that more tasks should be handed back to the municipal authorities.
In Munich, we have a variety of reliable organizations doing a very good job with whom we have been cooperating closely for years. This mutual trust must be maintained and enhanced.

In Munich, the framework for cooperation between the public sector, charities and private non-profit organisations ensures that we provide as much security and support as possible for the people living in our city. But this structural framework also ensures that we do not follow the beaten track, but offer many and varied solutions instead. A variety of organisations also means a variety of services, and in Munich, we are proud of this. This also means that alongside the established organisations there is scope for new ideas and opportunities.

Let us get back to the notion of the subsidiarity principle: self-reliance and personal responsibility. Despite our quest for security and a desire to provide adequate assistance, self-reliance and personal responsibility must not be suppressed. Everyone has the right to make their own decisions, to choose their way of live and to make their own mistakes. We, as members of the Alliance 90/The Greens, believe in the maxim "As much welfare state as necessary – but also as little as possible!"

Jutta Koller: City Councillor (Alliance 90/The Greens) since 1996, member of the Social Welfare, Children and Youth Services Committee, member of the Education Committee and member of the District Council Milbertshofen–Am Hart.

Translation: Keith Kelly, Danila Poti

Illustration by Dietmar Grosse: *Lifebuoy*

Implementing subsidiarity is an act of balance

The term subsidiarity has a long tradition. In the 17th century society was referred to as a community consisting of *different, interconnected groups which have to fulfil their own tasks and reach their own aims while depending on the support ("subsidium") provided by superordinate groups in specific areas*. *Assistance would only be granted if shortcomings became apparent; but under no circumstances was the superordinate group supposed to perform the entire task of the subordinate group.*

Our modern definition of subsidiarity is almost identical. But theory is one thing, reality another. In Munich we are very proud of our broad variety of services provided by independent welfare organisations as well as charitable organisations, especially in the fields of youth welfare and in the educational and social sector. Nevertheless, there are endless discussions about what the public sector can, should or must do itself. It is a fact that political pressure is required to introduce such services, although, in the end, people always congratulate themselves on the smooth functioning of the subsidiarity system. The sector of day nursery is one good example.

People are often keen to use the concept of subsidiarity as an argument to justify the legitimacy of their own demands. And when there is a shortage of funds, the principle of subsidiarity is frequently set against public support to emphasize that there is no intention whatsoever of undermining the principle of subsidiarity. It is then when one's own initiative and independence suddenly gain importance.

Of course, the ones who are supported apply the same rationale: It is important to have as much freedom as possible, as long as there is a safety net to catch them just in case their quest for independence does not produce quite the result they had hoped for.

Because of our wide spectrum of charities and well-established independent youth welfare organizations, I think Munich sets an example of best subsidiarity practice. But, as is so often the case, it amounts to a balancing act. During my term of office in the Munich City Council the balance was increasingly shifted towards subsidiarity – and so it should be, according to the Child and Youth Welfare Act (Kinder- und Jugendhilfegesetz). We had heated debates over some issues, but in the end the independent and non-profit welfare organizations were the winners. Today's discussions are, once again, more complicated, which is only logical. In addition to independent and non-profit welfare organizations many commercial providers have entered the fray. There are plenty of examples in the field of day nursery. At the same time legal regulations are getting tighter, the financial burden is increasing and the framework conditions are becoming more complicated.

In the years to come, one of the most important tasks of the Munich City Council will be to keep this balance and make sure that the scales do not tip in favor of state-run welfare agencies.

Beatrix Burkhardt, voluntary member of the Munich City Council, spokesperson on children and youth affairs for the parliamentary group of the Christian Social Union (CSU).

Translation: Keith Kelly, Stefanie Megele

Illustration by Dietmar Grosse: *Men of different sizes*

The art of subsidiarity

Naked and unarmed, this is how Prometheus found the human species. His brother Epimetheus had used all his power in order to allocate traits to unreasonable animals. Since no physical traits were left when it came to humans, Prometheus had to steal important survival assets such as practical craft skills, prudence and fire from Hephaestus and Athena to give these to humans – so the story goes according to *Protagoras*, Plato's eponymous dialogue. Humans obviously need cultural assets to offset their shortcomings compared to animals.

But this is not enough to survive. We need fellow humans. The moment we enter this world we already cry out for help. As deficient creatures we depend on help from the very beginning of our lives, and mutual support is the foundation of human existence. This is the very reason why we live and arrange our lives in communities: in families, friendships, in cultures, institutions, in legal and governmental systems. However, we are not building our communities for the sole purpose of helping each other, says Aristotle. We do it primarily for personal self-fulfillment. This, in turn, is only possible in communities. The ideal aim of these communities is to allow their members to live a good life. And this is where the art of subsidiarity comes into play.

Certain relationships develop due to our differences, e. g. those between a man and a woman, between children and parents or between people with different talents. They all pursue relationships because they want to design their lives together and to support each other in doing so. Hence, our jointly developed systems – e. g. the legal and governmental systems which help and support us – must first and foremost serve each individual.

Man is obviously a social, community-oriented and community-building creature and the aim of his actions is self-fulfillment. Thus the necessary mutual support requires rules and regulations. The source of this support has to be as close nearby as possible and as far away as necessary. It has to respect the independence of each individual and to take into account the community's interests of its equal members, and above all, it has to support self-sufficiency and make a contribution to (solidary) self-help. This is exactly what the art of subsidiarity is all about! It is not bound by general rules, it has to be adjusted and made available over and over again.

The question that remains is how can we find out what best suits each individual? It is actually quite simple: We talk and listen to each other. We tell our stories to each other. As a species we live in and on our stories. And because our stories always have a correlation to our past, these stories are us. They let us remember the past, they touch our hearts, and they give us food for thought. Subsidiarity supports the participating actors in continuing their stories. It encourages their actions and thereby promotes the interest in a system which allows the agents to co-design it.

Good governmental actions respect the principle of subsidiarity. The smaller social units in charge are often closer to the matter and ought to be supported and promoted. And bigger units are only allowed to intervene in their sovereignty if their limit of performance capacity has been reached. Developing social diversity requires respect for the principle of subsidiarity, which is a synonym for both participation and promoting democracy.

Dr. Helmut von Ahnen is a theatrologist, a member of the Child and Youth Welfare Committee in Munich and the managing director of *FestSpielHaus gGmbh*.

Translation: Keith Kelly, Katharina Verigin

Illustration by

Subsidiarity and education for sustainable development

In discussions about environmental education or education for sustainable environment the term subsidiarity does not play as big a role as in social contexts. Nevertheless, via the concept of "participation and support of non-state actors", subsidiarity is a constituent part of education for sustainable development not only in national but also in global contexts. The term *education for sustainable development* was coined by the makers of Agenda 21, which added ecological, social and cultural aspects to *environmental education*. Education for sustainable development has adopted the guiding principle of sustainable development and teaches children, adolescents and adults how to think and act in line with this principle. Due to the increasingly complex challenges we are facing on our planet Earth – climate change, the energy turnaround or declining biodiversity etc. – citizens need to acquire knowledge and competencies in educational contexts which enable them to meet these challenges and to consider possible courses of action. They aspire a way of life in accordance with the motto: *What we do here must never come at the expense of somewhere else, and what we do today must never come at the expense of future generations*.

Drafting an educational program which revolves around subsidiarity and has global reach requires many small steps to trickle down to the local level. The final document of the United Nations Conference for Environment and Development in 1992, termed Agenda 21, calls for the participation and co-determination of the local actors as well as for international, national and local assistance for actors implementing sustainable development (Agenda 21, Chapters 25, 28, 36). Therefore, European agreements also stress the subsidiary aspect of the program. The unique feature of Agenda 21 is its focus on the participation of all citizens and of local alliances involving a variety of actors in order to implement process-driven sustainable development step by step. Regarding children and adolescents, Agenda 21 (Chapter 25, 25.13b) states: "Governments, according to their policies, should take measures to ensure that the interests of children are taken fully into account in the participatory process for sustainable development and environmental improvement." The required combination of participation and subsidiarity needs to be negotiated locally in a political discussion with the different actors.

In order to enhance and encourage thinking and acting according to the principle of sustainable development and to prepare and cement educational processes on a global scale, the United Nations launched the *UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-14)* (http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001486/148654e.pdf). The German parliament passed a resolution (April 14, 2012) committing itself to UN Decade: "Education for sustainable development is increasingly considered an important contribution towards high-quality education and embracing sustainable development. Official education policy statements on education for sustainable development made by the the *Kultusministerkonferenz* (assembly of secretaries of education of the German states), the *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* (association of state and state-recognized universities and other institutions for higher education in Germany) and by hundreds of institutions which participate in the implementation of the UN Decade goals in Germany (...) support this view. (…) Politicians and civil societies are cooperating closely on the implementation of UN Decade." (German Bundestag, printed matter 17/9186, 17th parliamentary term, April 27, 2012).

This is where the political understanding of subsidiarity begins. The government should count on the support coming from initiatives, associations and organisations and use their competencies in order to see the social project of education for sustainable development through. The *Bayerische Landesamt für Umwelt* (Bavarian State Agency for the Environment) confirms this: "Local communities can join in. We recommend a network of different actors – from church communities and (environmental) associations to educational institutions – which is supported by local

authorities; such a network is consistent with the principle of subsidiarity and it promotes civil society commitment."
(unofficial translation; http://www.lfu.bayern.de/umweltkommunal/umweltberatung/index.htm; June 23, 2013).

Putting this into practice sometimes proves difficult. Education for sustainable development as a part of informal education relies on public support; lobbying work is required to build a self-sustaining platform and secure appropriate funding for the implementation of this goal. Government proposals to implement sustainable development often collide with the plans presented by environmental associations and environmental education institutions. This was the case in April 2013 when the Bavarian Sustainability Strategy was introduced by the Bavarian Ministry for the Environment and Public Health. Officials in Bavaria put blinders on and decided to ignore the principle of subsidiarity altogether.

A positive example on the local level is the City of Munich, which closely cooperates with local actors in different areas and actually succeeds in implementing the Agenda 21 targets. Munich has joined the international *Climate Alliance of European Cities*. In cooperation with businesses and civil society actors, it also published its own program for the *Alliance of Climate Protection Covenant Club* (Bündnis für Klimaschutz Club). The City of Munich supports and promotes the association *BenE München e. V*, a regional education centre for sustainable development, where civil society actors and sustainability networks have joined forces in order to implement multi-facetted education-for sustainable-development projects on local and international levels.

The principle of subsidiarity is a balancing act and depends on a consensus view of politics and education as well as mutual trust. However, it can only work if the actors have room for manoeuvre and provided this scope for action is granted and financed by the superordinated institutions. And as far as education for sustainable development is concerned, there is a lot of potential for further development.

Marion Loewenfeld works as the project manager for *MobilSpiel*, an independent organisation for child and youth work with a focus on environmental education and education for sustainable development. She is also the senior chairperson of *Nature and Environmental Education,* a work group set up by the Bavarian association *ANU Bayern e.V.,* an umbrella organisation focusing on environmental education in Bavaria.

Translation: Sasilak Döring, Keith Kelly, Lena Zilbauer

Illustration by Steffen Haas: *Subsidiarity and education*

Paving the way for inclusion and adopting an attitude imbued with a sense of subsidiarity

Inclusion is a process and a goal. Its purpose is to eliminate hierarchal differences as well as the discrimination and marginalization that go hand in hand with these differences. This is an overriding goal and a challenge for socio-political, economic and above all for educational activities. Inclusion is primarily about developing a certain attitude, treating people as equals despite their differences, adjusting structures to people's individual needs and recognizing self-determination as well as co-determination as inalienable human rights.

The following thoughts on how to *pave the way for inclusion and adopt an attitude imbued with a sense of subsidiarity* are based upon the narrower meaning of inclusion as defined in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, whereby the term refers to inclusion of persons with disabilities.

The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities puts the main emphasis on raising awareness throughout society (Article 8). It focuses on the rights and particularly on the dignity of persons with disabilities who must be respected and supported by society as a whole. The development and experience of self-esteem and dignity as essential steps towards subject formation are based on the social processes of interaction and recognition. When interacting with others we form an opinion about ourselves which, in turn, is the mainstay of our self-evaluation. As a social concept, recognition is neither affected by notions of power and rule nor by a person's performance (see Scherr 1997, p. 57). Bielefeldt refers to the connection between independence and social inclusion when postulating that without social inclusion people basically cannot live an independent life and without independence, social inclusion is bound to lead to patronization (Bielefeldt 2009, p. 11).

However, patronization runs counter to the principle of subsidiarity. The maxim of subsidiarity is to develop individual skills, self-determination and personal responsibility, or rather allow them to develop on their own. These notions are automatically intertwined with questions of power on social, economic and personal levels.

What does this imply for educational practices? First of all, we need to differentiate between various types of practices of social education. They differ in terms of social and economic environment, financing procedures, organizational structures, organizational survival instincts and the degree of institutionalization. These factors as well as intrapersonal aspects obviously have an impact on the personal attitude of pedagogic professionals and lay staff regarding subsidiarity and patronization.

The attitude imbued with a sense of subsidiarity, or rather, the inclusive attitude adopted by pedagogic professionals and lay staff, is characterized by the following features:

"Help me to do it myself"
This tenet, embedded in Maria Montessori's education philosophy, is the opposite of a patronizing attitude. The challenges involved are:

- to have patience with yourself and other people;
- to be open to the various methods of problem-solving;
- to minimize factors which can put yourself or other people under time pressure;
- to build space and time for listening and observing;
- to establish networks in order to provide mutual support.

Speaking with a person instead of merely speaking about a person
People with disabilities know those questioning glances from other people which never or very rarely lead to a question addressed at them directly. They are often directed at parents or the pedagogical professional and lay staff member instead, who then answer the questions. This is also a form of exclusion.

Adjusting structures to individual needs
In a pedagogical context, as opposed to a general integration context, inclusion means tailoring structures to every individual. For professional and lay staff this means that they have to be prepared to gather information about the specific needs, interests, everyday competences of people, etc. and to then alter or adjust the existing organizational and personnel structures.

Self-sufficiency is not a requirement for the right to self-determination
People with disabilities who are not able to perform certain tasks without assistance, i.e. in a self-sufficient manner, are often confronted with situations which deprive them of the right to decide what to do and how to do it. They are degraded to the status of petitioners who ought to be happy to get help in the first place. If they are not happy and if they do not show gratitude, they are quickly labelled as unappreciative complainers.

Inequalities and acknowledging being different
"People can be normal in different ways." A process of rethinking educational practices is required in order to understand this slightly modified phrase coined by Hans Wocken (2010) as a pedagogical principle. The counterparts "normal" and "abnormal" lose their meanings and can thus no longer be used as point of reference or as an individual form of assessment based on majority behavior. Therefore the question of normality and the (de)valuation involved is no longer a question of majority opinion, majority society and majority-oriented politics.

Enhancing participation and steadily increasing the level of participation
People need to take part in decision-making processes. This is an important goal in many educational fields. There are, however, several obstacles which make it difficult for people with disabilities to take part in such processes. People with cognitive and intellectual disabilities are the ones who have to face the perhaps greatest challenge: They are not trusted to make rational decisions. This is discriminating, exclusive, scientifically controversial (see also Meier-Seethaler, 2000) and fundamentally opposed to a respect for human dignity. Therefore, pedagogical professionals and lay staff members have to frequently check how heteronomy, alibi-participation and pseudo-interaction can be eliminated and how the level of participation of all persons and especially of people with cognitive and intellectual disabilities can be enhanced.

Special interest groups
People with disabilities are often treated as victims or petitioners. Phrases like "Come on, play with that boy (i.e. child with a disability)" or special events for people with disabilities to which people without disabilities are invited, too, may induce a sense of degradation. Pedagogical professionals and lay staff members have to make sure to find a common ground and create spaces tailored to the needs of special interest groups – spaces for encounter, exchange and play.

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Translation: Andrea Krauss, Emily Pickerill, Dafine Rexhaj

Illustration by Manuele Pein: *Skater*

The principle of subsidiarity as pretense for neoliberalism and government disinvolvement

The principle of subsidiarity is often used as a legitimation as to why governments should not get involved or why they should leave the smaller structural units of their countries alone and retreat from involvement. However, this is only one possible interpretation of this principle which, to my mind, is incorrect. The principle was first introduced by Pope Pius XI on 15 May, 1931 in his social encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* the author of which is considered to be Prof. Dr. Oswald von Nell-Breuning. In relation to the social encyclical's interpretation of the principle of subsidiarity several hypotheses have been formulated:

1. The principle of subsidiarity concedes to smaller communities – e.g. local authorities, families, associations etc. – both initiative and freedom.
2. The principle of subsidiarity protects the smaller communities against the intrusive powers of the state as well as from being fully incorporated by the state.
3. The principle of subsidiarity provides special interest groups, associations etc. with authority and legitimation as organisations in their own right within the framework of the administrative system. Such organisations are characterised by a distinctive autonomy to be able to shape their own internal structures.
4. The principle of subsidiarity, however, does not imply that the superordinate entity, i.e. the state, is prohibited from supporting the subordinate entity. Of course, difficulties always arise when a higher-ranking unit with more financial resources at its disposal supports a smaller, poorer unit. There is, however, a seamless transition towards assimilating and subjugating the smaller entity.
5. The principle of subsidiarity also denotes that in the case of (financial) support of the smaller entity (families, associations) their autonomy and sovereignty have to be guaranteed.
6. According to the principle of subsidiarity the superior entity is obliged to support the subordinate unit in a way that enables it to remain viable and to develop independently. This notion of the principle of subsidiarity tends to be disregarded by politicians, because in the political context the principle of subsidiarity cannot serve as a justification for cuts in social services.
7. The principle of subsidiarity does not encourage a system of handing out alms. In fact, it calls for the reformation of the current state of affairs. Societal reforms are supposed to strengthen the smaller units and guarantee their survival. These smaller units need a legal status based on certain rights and the actual ability to be actively involved in the decision-making processes.
8. Some up-to-date examples of the principle of subsidiarity are: People should receive pensions high enough to make a living; long-term insurance schemes should be arranged in a way so that people in need of care and their families have a real choice between home care (for financial reasons), and outpatient care or inpatient care, e.g. in senior citizens' homes.
9. For associations, the principle of subsidiarity consequently implies that they be equipped with sufficient resources to be able to really carry out their duties, and to be independent from the superordinate entity.

Gerhard Endres, theologist, President of *Netzwerk Gesellschaftsethik e. V.* and Chairman of *KAB Bildungswerk e.V., Munich* (the educational institute of the Catholic workers' movement).

Translation: Sebastian Bartsch, Keith Kelly

Illustration by : *Stretcher*

Subsidiarity – a side stage for migrants?

According to a simple definition, subsidiarity describes a principle according to which activities performed by private organisations have priority over state activities when it comes to social matters. It regulates the relations between independent private welfare organizations and state-run welfare agencies. This technical description of the subsidiarity concept gains importance once the political dimension is considered. So the following question arises: Whose interests are actually taken into account by the subsidiarity principle?

Looking at German welfare organisations it becomes clear that a few specific federations are granted priority of action. According to one source of reference there are so-called leading state-licensed federations. They include *Caritas*, *Diakonisches Werk* (charitable organisation of Protestant churches), *Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband* (charitable non-profit organisation in Germany) and the German Red Cross (*Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, DRK*), to name but a few. Hence, the original idea of the civilian population or the local community taking care of their own social issues individually and in a self-determined and independent way is manifested in a few social corporations. Seen from this perspective, many small organisations hardly stand a chance, let alone initiatives and organisations with a focus on migrant issues.

Migrant communities are affected by this situation in two ways: On the one hand as providers and as founders of associations or federations, and on the other hand as the clientele of social services. Although there are approximately four million Muslims living in Germany and despite the fact that first-generation migrants and their following generations account for more than a third of the total population in many cities, no independent self- managed migrants' organisation of any significance has emerged yet. While there are some small organisations, only few professional associations and federations exist, and at the higher level there are none whatsoever. Altogether, they do not account for a significant share of the welfare market. It has to be referred to as a market, if you look at the figures compiled for the Christian welfare sector. Over the past few decades the German Caritas association and the *Diakonisches Werk* have become the biggest private-sector employers worldwide. According to a special report published by *Ver.di* (German trade union representing employees in the service sector) in 2005, the Christian welfare sector with about 1.5 million employees generated an annual turnover of approximately €45 billion. Over 90 per cent of the work of welfare organisations was financed via government or social security funds, according to the survey. Thus the battle over subsidiarity privileges and the allocation of public resources was won by the large, mainly Christian welfare federations, and only very rarely, if at all, do migrants' organisations receive a mere pittance.

For those who claim social services it would make a significant difference if there were Muslim nursing care centres next door to their Christian counterparts. Welfare organisations are confronted with a growing migrant clientele, especially in the fields of child and youth services, integration and geriatric care. Intercultural competences, language skills and biographical understanding play a major role here besides know-how and expertise. What could be more logical than professionalizing self-managed migrants' organisations, associations and federations? What could be more logical than mobilizing senior citizens with a migrant background in certain city districts and applying their specific know-how and expertise locally to provide the services needed and solve issues?

Some citizens may shuffle off their personal responsibility for the lack of professionally run migrant associations. Let them do their thing! Nobody is hindering them from doing so! However, we know by now that the reason why social barriers exist is not because they were set up to hinder others, but because nobody removed them in order to pave the way for others. Overcoming these barriers would mean empowering certain groups to organize and to professionalize themselves by giving them customized support and advice as to how to establish the contacts desperately needed or to build up networks, and by

connecting them with each other, not just horizontally but above all vertically with administrative and political bodies.

If anything, it is the field of welfare services provided by and for migrants which is in need of new impulses in our subsidiary discourse. The fact that we live in a society of migration and that migrants represent a major part of civil society has to play a central role regarding the structuring and functioning of actions guided by the subsidiarity principle. The fact that the civilian population is highly characterised by migration has to be reflected in the structure of social organizations, associations and federations.

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Subsidiarity and freedom

Now that we have presented our papers and exchanged our points of view, it is time for some afterthoughts. To sum up our ideas about subsidiarity, we can first of all note that this principle obviously commands widespread support. Most authors either directly advocate it or at least elaborate on the criteria which are most closely connected with it. They point out that subsidiarity is not the kind of principle which is bendable to fit all sizes and shapes, and ultimately, would be compatible with anything. There is this power underlying the principle of subsidiarity to warn against state actions which either go too far, or not far enough. Subsidiarity can also function as corrective mechanism and as a yardstick for one's own patterns of behavior in civil society organisations.

Only two authors cast doubt on the validity of the principle as such – at least in certain contexts. On the one hand, there is the argument that the principle lacks a clear enough definition and can therefore be misused in many ways. It could perhaps justify cuts in social benefits and services to legitimize the government`s austerity policy, or, one the other hand, open the door to re-nationalization plans within Europe. An obvious response to these allegations would be to point out that true subsidiarity preempts such abuses. However, the fact that we do apply different definitions – be they implicit or explicit applications – is evidence of the need for clarification. But how can we identify *the correct definition* for we are not satisfied with choosing the easy way out? Neither do we simply accept the legal definitions in line with legal positivism, nor do we bow to the doctrinal authority of the Catholic Church against the backdrop of our pluralistic context. Therefore, to my mind, we have to reconsider the reasoning behind subsidiarity, and why subsidiarity is such a fundamental principle for any type of social organisation.

The authors give us plenty of food for thought to answer this question. I would like to address some of these points and present a line of argumentation whereby the starting point is the concept of freedom – or, to be more precise, the claim that society should serve us all by allowing for real freedom. For me, *real freedom* means that all people have the real opportunity to choose freely among various (age-appropriate) life plans perceived as worthwhile.

Not only should there be a formal right to do so, the necessary social, cultural and economic environment must be guaranteed, too, to be able to make such choices. However, the majority of these conditions (in fact, all of them – to a certain extent) can only be guaranteed within the framework of larger and smaller social groups. And so many major or minor aspirations in life are intrinsically social by nature. And yet, in many ways these social groups which are supposed to ensure freedom or to be the places where freedom is realized can actually restrict or even destroy freedom. This is where the principle of subsidiarity comes in suggesting that the smaller the social group, the smaller the risk of jeopardizing personal freedom, and the better the chances that they are controlled by those who act as guardians and beneficiaries of freedoms. Consequently, subsidiarity is about promoting freedom by ensuring the highest possible degree of personal self-determination in a social group (– personal self-determination tends to be diluted in a group context). This claim of real freedom for everybody requires the twofold approach underlying the principle of subsidiarity. The negative approach implies that he bigger units must not interfere in matters affecting the smaller units, which would be a restriction of their freedoms; and the positive approach refers to smaller units' entitlement to support, if necessary, in order promote their freedoms.

Resorting to the original notion of the principle of subsidiarity does not automatically turn it into a panacea which assures an easy and ready solution of problems. In our debate it was pointed out to me that applying this principle is like performing a balancing act. What could then help us to find the right balance? What can guide us towards *the best practice*? Given the distinct interdependence

between subsidiarity and freedom, the correct question would be which is the best way of allocating responsibilities and decision-making powers to existing or emerging social units in order to promote real freedom for the persons affected – or rather the *protagonists*, to borrow an excellent term used by one author in his presentation.

Apropos examples of potential misuse of the principle of subsidiarity: Unfortunately, you cannot fill empty coffers simply by applying the principle of subsidiarity. There is no automatic mechanism which ensures that a small independent non-profit organisation secures more freedom and more independence for people visiting a youth club, for example, than a larger organization or a municipal agency. Likewise, there is no guarantee that the privatization and commercialisation of services provided by local authorities will enhance the freedom of those people who depend on these services. Adhering to the principle of subsidiarity does not mean that we have to turn a blind eye to reality, and to the fact that the well-intentioned delegation of responsibilities to a smaller organization may lead to its downfall. Private is not necessarily better that state, small is not preferable to large, decentralized is not superior to centralized. It always depends on what is more conducive to the personal freedom of each and everyone. It is wise to take a critical look at the non-state collective social actors. Controversy has arisen especially over non-state organisations, which are not self-organised by the persons affected or by the protagonists, but represent the various types of charitable action groups, such as NGOs looking after street children, registered associations which engage in One-World projects or youth welfare organizations. They set high standards for themselves and devote themselves to the cause of promoting the freedom of the people they are committed to serve.

A second objection to the principle of subsidiarity – at least to its claim of universal validity – originates in Lebanon. In this respect, the consideration of the aim of subsidiarity, the safeguarding of real freedom for all, is also helpful. The well-illustrated situation of transferring the regulation of "status questions" (i.e. questions of immediate concern to our status as citizens to the effect that they can change our rights and duties in civil society) to religious communities then becomes a problem concerning freedom for all (namely the damage to the negative freedom of religion), if the option to solve these questions without the involvement of any religious communities is not open to everybody. A similar situation comes about when key areas of education and health for a large swath of the population are only available from ideologically biased providers.

A final topic I would like to take up is the all-important issue of money. The synopsis of the different nations and the various different fields of social commitments represented here make clear to what extent the existence of many individual initiatives and institutions and consequently the variation, plurality and vitality of the civil sector of social and cultural commitment depend on state financial support. An explicit or implicit call for such support is evident in many of the contributions, while at the same time demanding the highest possible degree of autonomy. Concerning the latter, this claim is beyond doubt covered by the subsidiarity principle in the sense that the rule "He who pays, decides" is incompatible with this principle. Regarding the first claim, the mere existence of an NGO, of a cultural club or of youth welfare services certainly is not a sufficient reason for a claim on financial support. Only if, by reasons independent from the subsidiarity principle, the corresponding service or perceived task can be regarded as so important that it should be performed no matter what (e.g. because without it freedom would remain illusory), a demand as such can be justified.

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