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International Congress Statistics

L'Etat et les coopératives

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This publication, produced by the UAI, appears six times a year.

The purpose of the studies, surveys and information included in this periodical concerning the international and transnational networks of nongovernmental organizations is to promote understanding of the associative phenomenon in a human society which continues to grow and evolve regardless of the consequences.

The programme of the review, in accordance with the principles of the UAI, is intended to clarify general awareness concerning the associative phenomenon within the framework of international relations and, in particular, to inform associations about aspects of the problems which they tend to share or which are of common interest to them.

The columns of this review are open to association officers, research workers and specialists of associative questions. The articles do not of course necessarily reflect the point of view of the publisher.

Cette publication, éditée par l'UAI, se présente à ses lecteurs sous la forme d'une revue de période bimestrielle.

Son objet associatif d'études, d'enquêtes, d'informations, au service des réseaux internationaux et transnationaux d'organisations non gouvernementales, s'attache aux idées et aux faits d'un phénomène de société humaine en expansion continue et en évolution hâtée.

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SOMMAIRE **CONTENTS**

Les relations Etat-coopératives **110**

Cooperative Development? **115**

Why Cooperatives Succeed and Fail **120**

Réflexions sur les ONG, leur gestion et leur rôle en matière de développement: Italie, Royaume-Uni, Inde, Chili et France **130**

The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in World Affairs,
by Edward J. Lacey 138

Harmonization of Studies and Statistics on Conferences,
by Gian Carlo Fighiera 143

Les réunions internationales en 1987,
by Ghislaine de Coninck 159

Vie associative - Association News **162**

Les relations Etat-coopératives

Le thème des relations Etat-coopératives correspond à une préoccupation très présente dans les milieux coopératifs, gouvernementaux et universitaires. Le rôle joué par l'Etat dans le développement coopératif est variable quant à son importance, ses modes d'intervention et le type de pouvoir qu'il exerce. On observe une grande diversité dans les types d'intervention selon les pays, depuis ceux où il n'y a aucune intervention ou ingérence jusqu'à ceux dans lesquels elles sont entièrement dominées ou dirigées par les pouvoirs publics.

Ce sujet est certes difficile à examiner tant sur le plan de la théorie que de la pratique coopérative. En proposant l'analyse de la dynamique des relations Etat-coopératives, le colloque international organisé par l'Institut de recherche et d'enseignement pour les coopératives (IRECUS) (*) a permis de distinguer les types de rapport entretenus par la pluralité des acteurs impliqués, les niveaux et les modalités d'intervention et la diversité des ressources mises en œuvre pour promouvoir la coopération.

Les objectifs poursuivis par ce colloque international étaient les suivants:

- *analyser la dynamique des relations entre l'Etat et les coopératives dans une perspective internationale;*
- *comparer les relations Etat-coopératives dans les pays du Nord et du Sud;*
- *identifier les modes d'intervention de l'Etat dans le secteur coopératif;*
- *connaître les besoins des milieux coopératifs et leur conception du rôle de l'Etat;*
- *évaluer l'influence de l'Etat dans le développement coopératif;*
- *identifier les principes et les modalités d'une interrelation constante et convergente entre l'Etat et les coopératives;*
- *publier et diffuser les résultats de ce colloque.*

Les participants en provenance de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Amérique latine ont ainsi eu la possibilité d'exprimer leurs différents points de vue et de partager leurs expériences respectives. Les discussions se sont articulées autour de trois thèmes principaux: les modes d'intervention de l'Etat dans le secteur coopératif, les besoins des coopératives et leur conception du rôle de l'Etat et les enjeux et alternatives des relations Etat-coopératives. Ces thèmes ont été abordés successivement de manière à permettre, au terme de ce colloque, de dégager des conclusions et prospectives pour la réalisation de certains objectifs spécifiques au développement coopératif.

Ce document d'introduction s'articule autour de trois ensembles. Un premier ensemble expose la problématique générale des relations Etat-coopératives préparée par une équipe de l'IRECUS en vue de ce colloque international. La seconde partie présente les résumés des conférences qui, reproduits dans la langue des conférenciers, permettront aux participants d'avoir une vision globale des sujets abordés dans les plénières et les ateliers. Le *troisième et dernier ensemble offre une bibliographie sélective du thème « Les relations Etat-coopératives ». Cette bibliographie a été réalisée par des chercheurs de l'IRECUS.*

Situation de la recherche

L'étude spécifique des rapports entre Etats et coopératives est un champ de recherche relativement vierge. Cela étonne quelque peu quand on considère l'importance du rôle de l'Etat dans le développement du coopératisme. On pourrait croire que ce rôle est considéré comme allant de soi, à tel point qu'on ressente moins le besoin d'en cerner les composantes avec précision.

Ainsi, en considérant la recherche au Québec comme un premier point de comparaison, on constate que le phénomène des rapports Etat-coopération est scientifiquement peu documenté. On trouve de nombreuses recherches sur

(*) Colloque organisé par l'Institut de recherche et d'enseignement pour les coopératives (IRECUS) en collaboration avec le Conseil canadien de la coopération et The Co-operative Union of Canada, Sherbrooke, 31 mai - 4 juin 1987, May 31 - June 4 1987.

les divers secteurs coopératifs: consommation (Male, 1976). épargne et crédit (Desforges et Giroux, 1982-83), habitation (Leduc, 1978), agriculture (Beauchamp, 1979), production (Pâques. 1982), coopératives de travailleur (Tremblay et coll., 1979-80; Lévesque et coll., 1985) pour n'en citer que quelques-unes. On constate par ailleurs qu'il est difficile de faire une étude même sectorielle, sans être confronté à l'omniprésence de l'Etat (Beauchamp, 1979; Gagné. 1981; Bastien et coll.. 1980, Roy, 1981, etc.).

Cette lacune est confirmée par un relevé du Guide bibliographique de Deschênes (1980), qui, sur un total de 1551 titres, identifie deux court articles sur les rapports Etat-coopératives; même en incluant les quelque 40 titres qui traitent de législation et de fiscalité, la récolte reste très pauvre. Depuis, quelques chercheurs se sont penchés sur la question soit dans une perspective globale (Gervais, 1981 ; Rioux, 1981), soit par rapport à un secteur particulier comme le logement (Maheu, 1983) ou les coopératives de travailleurs (Bridault, 1986).

Au Canada, un colloque récent sur les coopératives de travailleurs, tenu à Saskatoon en février 1985, consacrait une partie de sa réflexion au rôle des Etals provinciaux dans le développement de ces coopératives (Mayer, 1985; Thompson, 1985; Trernblay, 1985; Safinuk, 1985; Hryshko, 1985).

Au plan international, un examen sommaire des sources laisse croire que la moisson sera relativement maigre en ce qui a trait aux ouvrages consacrés spécifiquement à cette question. Outre l'ouvrage de Carlos Uribe Garzon sur la législation coopérative en Colombie (1965), on peut repérer trois ouvrages publiés par l'Alliance coopérative internationale (1967, 1971, 1980) et quelques litres sur les pays de l'est européen.

Ainsi, l'Etat a manifestement joué un rôle dans le développement du coopératisme : rôle variable quant à son importance, quant à ses modes d'interventions et quant au type de pouvoir exercé par les Etats nationaux.

Un examen rapide de la conjoncture récente semble confirmer l'hypothèse que les interventions de l'Etat se sont faites plus actives, plus nombreuses et plus structurées. C'est le cas, notamment, de nombreux pays en ce qui touche les coopératives ouvrières de production. Certaines études européennes démontrent un rapport quasi direct entre l'existence d'un cadre juridique et politique et l'émergence d'un ensemble impressionnant de coopératives de ce type notamment en France et en Italie. Au Canada et au Québec, on s'aperçoit que les deux paliers de gouvernement viennent de découvrir le potentiel des coopératives ouvrières comme bassin alternatif de création d'emplois; nul doute que la situation économique des dernières années ait été un stimulant puissant de cet intérêt. Il en est de même dans le secteur des coopératives d'habitation reconnu comme le plus dynamique actuellement au Canada. Cet essor est attribuable vraisemblablement à des nouveaux programmes de financement spécifiquement destinés à favoriser ce type de propriété collective.

Ces quelques exemples illustrent l'importance du phénomène dans l'hémisphère nord. Mais le coopératisme dans les pays de l'hémisphère sud est tout autant tributaire des influences de l'Etat, même si les modalités varient selon les pays, les régimes politiques et en fonction du type de développement économique et industriel. De ce point de vue, l'Amérique latine, l'Afrique latine. l'Afrique et l'Asie constituent des champs d'études potentiels d'une richesse considérable tant par la diversité des modèles coopératifs que des types et des secteurs de développement, en corrélation avec la variété des politiques nationales. Enfin, mentionnons les pays de l'Est où le rôle de l'Etat est très explicite; on y trouverait là aussi des points de comparaison riches et féconds.

Si l'importance des rapports entre Etats en coopératives est facilement démontrable, l'étude de ces rapports n'est pas sans soulever de nombreuses difficultés de tout ordre. L'ampleur même que nous venons d'évoquer constitue déjà un premier obstacle important, mais peut-être pas le plus difficile.

Laidlaw dans son rapport au congrès de l'Alliance coopérative internationale (1980) situe très bien le problème, tout en rappelant que c'est un vieux débat puisqu'il avait été amorcé en 1904 au congrès de Budapest. Sous le titre «Les coopératives de l'Etat», il dit ceci: Le sujet susvisé est, pour plusieurs raisons, l'un des plus difficiles à examiner tant sur le plan de la théorie que de la pratique coopérative. Voyons de plus près ces raisons:

1. Cette question est celle qui soulève le plus de divergences et différends de nature idéologique dans l'ensemble du mouvement coopératif.
2. On ne saurait trouver dans ce domaine plus grande diversité entre les différents pays, depuis ceux dans lesquels les coopératives ne subissent pour ainsi dire aucune intervention de l'Etat ou ingérence politique jusqu'à ceux dans lesquels elles sont entièrement dominées ou dirigées par les pouvoirs publics.
3. La question en soi est extrêmement complexe, dès lors que la situation varie, comme nous l'avons vu, non seulement d'un pays à l'autre mais aussi parfois d'une région à l'autre au sein d'un même pays, d'une catégorie de coopérative à l'autre dans la plupart des pays et quelquefois d'une coopérative à l'autre dans la même catégorie et le même pays selon telle ou telle conjoncture.

En somme, c'est le problème pour lequel il n'existe aucune réponse facile, pour ainsi dire aucun argument si solide soit-il qui ne résiste à un examen plus approfondi et n'appelle des réserves.

Le problème est en effet insurmontable pour qui chercherait à établir des consensus au plan de la pratique. Par ailleurs, sa complexité même constitue un intérêt indéniable pour la recherche, tout en incitant les chercheurs à une grande prudence, conceptuelle, méthodologique et empirique.

Si l'Etat est une réalité onmiprésente et quotidienne, il importe néanmoins d'en préciser le concept, car il n'est pas univoque. Certains l'entendent au sens global où il inclut l'ensemble des composantes constituant une société nationale circonsrite dans un territoire géographique. Nous le définissons de façon plus limitée par ses instances décisionnelles, c'est-à-dire comme un acteur dominant et structuré, détenteur du pouvoir législatif, exécutif, administratif et juridique, quelles que soient les formes ou modalités d'exercice de ce pouvoir. Le rapport Etat-coopération est donc institué comme un rapport de pouvoir puisque le modèle coopératif implique de par sa dimension démocratique et autogestionnaire une revendication autonomiste susceptible d'entrer en conflit avec le pouvoir étatique. Comme le rappelle Laidlaw (p. 38) c'est le problème fondamental, que la coopération soit considérée au plan de ses unités de base, les coopératives, ou d'ensembles institutionnalisés que sont les fédérations et les confédérations.

*impact de l'*Etat sur *le développement des coopératives*

Cette dialectique permet d'établir les pôles qui déterminent les limites de l'intervention étatique, depuis l'autonomie jusqu'au contrôle autoritaire des coopératives, voire jusqu'à leur élimination. Une typologie sommaire de ces interventions inciterait a distinguer entre les interventions directes, visant directement et spécifiquement les coopératives, et les interventions indirectes, mesures législatives, politiques ou économiques globales susceptibles d'affecter les coopératives de quelque façon sans qu'elles soient l'objet spécifique de ces mesures.

INTERVENTION DIRECTE

Autonomisante

Il n'est pas d'autonomie absolue pour les coopératives, toujours soumises aux cadres généraux des politiques et des économies nationales. Cependant, certains Etats laissent une grande marge de manœuvre aux acteurs socio-économiques, de façon à favoriser leur développement sans chercher à les contrôler; l'Etat établit alors un cadre de support apte à faciliter l'action des coopérateurs en vue d'atteindre leurs objectifs, sans ingérence bureaucratique ou administrative. Par exemple, aux Etats-unis sous Roosevelt, à l'époque du *New Deal,* la création de la « Farm Crédit Administration » et des banques pour les coopératives favorisait considérablement le développement autonome des entreprises coopératives; il en fut de même pour la Régie pour l'electrification rurale qui permit aux fermiers américains de créer des coopératives d'électricité qui, en 20 ans, firent passer le taux de pénétration de 10% à 95% (Davidovic, 1975). L'Angleterre, le Danemark, la Finlande sont des pays où l'on trouve aussi des exemples d'intervention étatique favorisant le développement autonome des coopératives. En France, pendant le ministère Waldeck-Rousseau, le décret de 1899 permettait l'éclosion des SCOP de la construction qui allaient jouer un rôle important dans la construction des édifices publics. Enfin, au Canada, la Société centrale d'hypothèque et de logement donnait, à partir de 1978, aux coopératives d'habitation, les possibilités financières de leur expansion; tout comme le gouvernement du Québec favorisait récemment les coopératives forestières en stipulant que leur soit confié 50% des contrats sur un territoire donné.

Aliénante

Par ailleurs, la sollicitude de l'Etat est souvent ambiguë; celui-ci a parfois tendance à considérer la forme d'organisation coopérative comme un instrument privilégié pour réaliser ses politiques de développement économique. L'Etat intervient alors d'autorité pour provoquer, par diverses mesures incitatives, la formation de coopératives en vue de solutionner des problèmes économiques ou sociaux.

L'effort récent du gouverment québécois en faveur des coopératives de travailleurs avant aussi comme objectif de trouver une solution au problème du chômage (Bridault, 1986). C'est aussi le cas de nombreux Etats africains qui, ayant obtenu l'indépendance, ont cherché à utiliser la coopération comme solution à leurs problèmes de développement et de mobilisation sociale, avec la soutien des organismes internationaux.

L'expérience tunisienne de «socialisme coopératif», entre 1962 en 1969, en constitue un exemple topique, tant par l'ampleur de sa visé que par le désenchantement de son échec, attestant de la résistance des bases sociales aux politiques téléguidées par le pouvoir en place (Gagnon 1976).

La Tanzanie de Julius Nyéréré, après la déclaration d'Arusha en 1967, fait elle aussi des coopératives un instrument de sa politique socialiste et les soumet à un contrôle rigoureux réduisant ainsi leur autonomie de façon considérable (Ryan, 1973).

Selon certains auteurs, les expériences sénégalaises, béninoises et malgaches témoignent également d'une intervention étatique qu'on peut qualifier d'aliénante et qui est vraisemblablement un facteur de leur relatif succès (Camboulives, 1967; Okouin Akiyo, 1974). C'est aussi le cas de l'Inde comme le précise Raymond Louis.

Un autre écueil doit être évité: celui du paternalisme. Poussés par diverses considérations économiques ou politiques, soucieux d'aider, considérant que les coopératives ne sont pas encore à même de s'occuper de leurs affaires, les pouvoirs publics, alors, les prennent en charge, créent et gèrent les institutions coopératives en y affectant souvent leur propre personnel, octroient des avantages et des privilèges, allouent des ressources à des organisations qui deviennent « leurs » coopératives. L'exemple de l'Inde montre que les résultats d'une telle politique ne peuvent être satisfaisants à long terme (Louis, 1982, p. 129).

Enfin, la situation des coopératives dans les pays du bloc de l'Est, dans un contexte d'économie planifiée, s'avère un terrain fécond pour l'étude des effets d'un contrôle étatique rigoureux aliénant l'autonomie du développement coopératif. Par exemple, en U.R.S.S., l'étude du système kolkhozien des années 30 manifeste cette emprise totale d'un Etat autoritaire et bureaucratique qui permet de *«soumettre la paysannerie à une surexploitation sans précédent»* (Bettleheim, 1982, p. 98).

INTERVENTION INDIRECTE

L'Etat peut intervenir de façon indirecte sur le développement coopératif, par législation, réglementation, mesures administratives ou autres, qui, sans viser directement les coopératives, peuvent avoir sur elles des effets positifs ou inhibiteurs. Les lois touchant la propriété, les modes de regroupements à visée économique ou sociale, la fiscalité, l'épargne et le crédit, etc., ont des effets incidents sur le développement coopératif. De même que les politiques générales touchant le développement économique, agricole et industriel, le commerce international sont susceptibles des mêmes conséquences. Par exemple, dans certains pays, le fait que ta loi établisse une distinction dichotomique entre employeur et salarié empêche les sociétaires de coopératives de travailleurs de jouir de certains avantages sociaux ou fiscaux.

Plus subtilement, l'Etat peut aussi ignorer les coopératives et orienter son développement en fonction de l'économie dominante, défavorisant le développement coopératif dans le jeu des rapports de force économiques. Il peut arriver que l'échec de certaines politiques globales provoque, par choc en retour, des mobilisations de base propices à la formation des coopératives ou de modalités d'organisation quasi coopératives: l'échec du Projet d'aménagement de l'Est du Québec, dans les années soixante constitue, à cet égard, un exemple intéressant.

Tout le champ des interventions indirectes implique un jeu de variables multiples et complexes: il constitue un ensemble contextuel servant de toile de fond à la nécessaire mise en perspective du sous-ensemble coopératif.

A la diversité des types d'intervention, des territoires géographiques, des systèmes politiques et économiques, s'ajoute la variation diachronique des modèles. Les rapports Etat-coopératives se transforment dans le temps pour un même pays tout autant par les changements des politiques et des législations, que par les transformations des structures étatiques et de la situation des coopératives. Si la première loi coopérative adoptée par le Parlement britannique en 1852 constitue un modèle du genre au dire de Valko (1964), la situation n'est pas aussi favorable sous le régime conservateur de madame Thatcher. Pour chacun des pays, le développement des rapports entre l'Etat et les coopératives est tributaire des transformations historiques de chacun des deux pôles, compte tenu des transformations globales dans lesquelles elles se situent inévitablement.

Une problématique globale

Ces quelques exemples manifestent l'ampleur du sujet, sa difficulté et son intérêt. L'extension mondiale des coopératives, leur diversité meme en font un champ de recherche foisonnant pour lequel il importe de tracer des balises.

Nous empruntons à Claude Vienney le postulat théorique de base de notre recherche : *«L'étude comparée des organisations coopératives a l'échelle internationale est fondée sur l'hypothèse qu'il existe une correspondance entre leurs règles, leur champ d'activités économiques et leur composition sociale»* (Vienney, 1982, p. 9). Postulat qu'il commente lui-même en ces termes: *«... c'est parce qu'elles occupent des places analogues dans l'économie et sont formées par des catégories d'acteurs sociaux qui ont des positions analogues dans la société que les coopératives en sont venues à former un même type d'organisation»* (p. 29).

En nous référant à Laidlaw, nous avions précisé, plus haut, que ces acteurs sociaux, qui se donnent une forme d'organisation relativement homogène induite par l'analogie de leur position sociale, se situent en relations de pouvoir avec l'Etat et avec d'autres acteurs sociaux. Ceci peut s'expliquer par le fait que le coopérateur a des intérêts spécifiques, prioritairement économiques, structurés dans une logique associative. Cette spécificité d'intérêts le situe en position au moins potentiellement, sinon réellement, conflictuelle avec d'autres acteurs sociaux orientés par des intérêts divergents, notamment capitalistes, et ultimement avec l'Etat défenseur et promoteur de ces intérêts dominants. Ce faisant, le coopérateur n'est pas différent de tout autre acteur social dans la mesure où on admet que l'action sociaie des membres d'une société donnée vise à disposer des ressources nécessaires pour réaliser leurs intérêts. Cette action spécifique des promoteurs de la coopération se situe nécessairement dans un ensemble plus vaste, au moins national, qui permette de systématiser l'ensemble des rapports dans lesquels sont impliqués les acteurs sociaux.

Théoriquement, plusieurs modèles d'analyse permettent de structurer ces rapports (Barley; Crozier; Lemieux; Remy; Servais; Voyé; etc.). Cette approche implique que l'ensemble de la dynamique sociale soit conçue comme un jeu d'échanges et de négociations dans lequel des acteurs, disposant de ressources diverses, essaient de réaliser certains objectifs spécifiques en vue d'améliorer leur situation. Ces ressources peuvent être de toute nature: culturelles, économiques et financières, sociales, politiques ou psychologiques. On conçoit aussi que les énergies et les ressources des acteurs ne seront pas uniquement consacrées à des échanges de biens à l'intérieur d'un système fermé mais qu'elles peuvent aussi être utilisées pour transformer la nature même du système et les modalités qui régissent les échanges. Par exemple, le fait de créer des coopératives, dans un système à dominante libérale ou à économie planifiée pourrait, à un certain niveau, constituer une tentative de transformation du système lui-même.

Ces approches particulières supposent donc une pluralité d'acteurs en interactions constantes à divers niveaux de la réalité sociale. Ces acteurs occupent des positions différenciées et inégales dans la mesure où ils ne disposent pas des mêmes ressources, soit quant au type de ressources ou à leur quantité. On dira qu'ils ne détiennent pas le même capital, que ce capital soit culturel, économique, social ou politique. Cette inégale répartition des ressources détermine la répartition inégale des positions sociales et, conséquemment, les chances de succès ou d'échec dans la transformation ou l'amélioration des positions. Ces approches supposent aussi qu'un processus de résolution de conflits est au cœur de la problématique. Dans fa mesure où les acteurs sont structurel le ment en tension d'opposition, et que cette tension peut provoquer des affrontements réels, les acteurs sont tenus de négocier concrètement leurs objectifs lorsqu'ils ne parviennent pas à s'entendre.

Ainsi les promoteurs de la coopération en rapport avec les instruments de pouvoir de l'Etat sont considérés comme des acteurs en position donnée, habituellement dominée, face aux acteurs étatiques (politiques ou fonctionnaires) en position dominante.

A l'intérieur de ce cadre général, le colloque avait pour but de distinguer les types de rapports, les niveaux et modalités d'intervention et la diversité des ressources mises en œuvre pour promouvoir la coopération: culturelles (éducation, moblisation, etc.), politiques, sociales (appartenance de classe, statuts socio-économiques), etc., comme le détaille le texte sur les thèmes et sous-thèmes. *

* Les actes du colloque peuvent être obtenus auprès de l'IRECUS, Faculté des arts, Université de Sherbrooke, Sherbrooke, Qué. U1K 2RI, Canada.

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Cooperative Development?

Views of Some of the World's Leading Practitioners

The Cooperative Resources Committee, a coalition of U.S. cooperative development organizations working in developing countries, decided to try to compare and evaluate its experiences working in those countries with the experiences of other internationally active cooperative development organizations. To do this, it brought together a 12-member ad hoc Advisory Group comprised of internationally recognized experts active in various sectors of the cooperative movement all over the world.*

The consensus that emerged from a week of exchanging views in Washington, D.C. was that, although described in a variety of terminology that differs in details, there is a single cooperative mode! which is basically the same wherever it is found in the world. An unexpected conclusion that emerged was that the approaches employed in cooperative development by different groups and different sectors are very similar. This conclusion came as a welcome surprise to many expert practitioners, who were expecting the differences to be much more pronounced than the similarities.

Members of the Advisory Group found a commonality among the lessons learned and among the areas in which improved cooperative development should be sought.

What are cooperatives ?

Cooperatives are:

- People's movements, concerned with the economic, social and cultural wellbeing of their members;
- Private sector organizations providing goods and services to members;
- Advocates of practical, mutual assistance to resolve common needs often unsatisfied by government or other sector organizations;
- Providers of nonprofit services who value efficiency and accumulate capital;
- Respecters of their members, regardless of race, religion or sex;
- Member owned and controlled organizations practicing and advocating democratic principles; and
- Organizations seeking autonomy from, but favoring collaboration with, government.

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What do cooperatives do ?

Cooperatives are capable of doing many things. They can :

- Give people access to financial systems;
- Counterbalance market imperfections often created by local monopolies;
- Provide services which governments fail to provide;
- Make modern technology available to cooperative members who would not otherwise have access to it;
- Raise income levels;
- Mobilize local savings and human resources; and
- Provide goods and services at lower cost or of higher quality.

As an Advisory Group member from Latin America put it, *« Cooperatives are an alternative to violent change »*. They are an alternative way to achieve positive social and economic change in the face of high foreign debts, low investments and high under- or unemployment, which are undermining many political systems and economies in the developing world.

What are the requisites for successful cooperative activity?

To achieve the maximum success possible, cooperatives require :

- Laws favorable to their formation and operation;
- An economy that permits competitive business;
- Membership open to users only;
- Equity emanating principally from members;
- A high equity/debt ratio;
- Member-centered services;
- Boards of directors elected by and from members only (no governmental appointees);
- Professional management;
- Accountability of all employees to the cooperative (no seconded personnel);
- Management training;
- Membership education;
- Willingness to use modern technology; and
- Organization around a resource base and service sufficient to sustain the cooperatives as viable businesses.

What are the dilemnas facing cooperative development?

How Can Cooperative Development Be Evaluated?

The evaluation of the contribution of cooperatives to grass roots development involves the following difficult issues :

- How can the impact of organizations which have important sociological and attitudinal effects on their members be quantified?
- How can the impact on personal dignity be measured?
- How is the impact of the reliability of services measured ?
- How can the cost effectiveness of the delivery of cooperative services be compared with alternative methods of delivery when it is next to impossible to obtain cost data on those alternative methods?
- How can useful aggregate data on different types of cooperatives be obtained when no such aggregate data base is routinely compiled?

It is not that adequate data bases could not be established at all levels from which such assessments might be attempted, but that setting up and maintaining these data bases might prove more expensive than the very projects whose impact they are designed to measure.

Two issues dealing with the evaluation of cooperative development activities and the results thereof did receive particular attention of the Advisory Group. A consensus emerged that effective cooperative data bases cannot be created at the national or regional levels unless second and third tier cooperative organizations are in place. And the group agreed that the assessment of the level of participation in cooperative development has been inadequate where attendance at annual meetings has been used as an important indicator of participation. Rather, it was felt that the issue is whether members exercise control over their cooperatives when they deem it necessary, not whether they do so on a periodic basis. The contribution of member equity should also be considered as an indicator of participation.

What Is Enough Time for Cooperative Development?

It is frequently forgotten that cooperatives in the developed countries took a long time to establish. CDOs may receive government funding with the string attached to show results within a short enough period of time so that such projects can be encompassed within the government's normal planning framework. Yet cooperative development is a slow institution-building process. As one member of the Advisory Group noted, such development moves with glacial rapidity, but, like a glacier, creates far more changes under the surface than are readily visible and overcomes the toughest of obstacles.

Institution-building takes time, is sporadic and can be unpredictable. On the other hand, the planning and budgeting processes of donor agencies tend to be precise, focussed on the short term and insistent upon clearly defined results. But cooperatives need to absorb assistance at a pace reasonable to them, not in accordance with the funding levels and artificial time limits established in donor documentation. It was felt that funding assistance is often pushed too fast because of the pressures created by donor agencies to spend funds allocated within a specified budgetary time period. The goal of long-term viability and sustainability of the cooperative being assisted is undermined if external funding outpaces the financial and managerial absorptive capacity and equity participation of a cooperative and its members.

In order to avoid conclusions about cooperative development based on unreasonable time frame expectations. Advisory Group members see a need for more realistic time frames in the design of cooperative projects.

What Is the Role of Government in Cooperative Development?

Cooperative leaders and promoters need to help governments attain a better understanding of the desirable role for governments in cooperative development. Often, there is no clearly defined government policy towards cooperative development. Contrary to popular belief, the interests of government and cooperatives need not always be at odds. As noted by one of the Asian Advisory Group members, government should not be viewed as an adversary but as belonging to the people. Cooperativists should view their government as representing their interests, and the road to follow is to encourage government officals to support cooperatives as a way of effectively reaching people.

The dilemma of the appropriate role for government often arises in countries where the apex or national cooperative organizations are weak. This weakness creates a need for government subsidy of cooperatives, which brings with it an attitude that cooperatives should be dealt with/ treated as extensions of government. This situation creates the need for achieving a balance and raises two important issues:

- How can cooperatives achieve independence?
- How can a positive, less intrusive stance of government be attained under such conditions?

Several strategies were identified to create, protect and/or strengthen cooperative independence:

- Apex organizations in order to become self-sufficient should provide needed services and charge for them.
- Capital formation within the cooperative movement should be intensified, building member equity through a variety of techniques.

- Members should be enlightened through intensive member education programs.
- Cooperative promoters and leaders should give a high priority to the development of the respective roles of both government and the cooperative movement.
- The design of cooperative development projects should ensure that these factors are always emphasized.

The conclusion emerged that it is desirable to avoid government financial assistance where possible. This will assure more independence of action and conceivably free cooperatives from the need to respond whenever asked for information or other action by government.

It was also suggested that organizations providing technical services should not be established by a branch of government which then calls them « cooperatives » but rather that cooperatives should be established independent of government as nonprofit organizations serving all their members.

As noted by one Advisory Group member, governments can, by indirect financial action, destroy cooperative movements they do not approve of. They can assure that cooperatives never reach a point of selfsufficiency and independence but rather that they become increasingly dependent upon what is erroneously viewed as « subsidies to cooperatives».

What Should Be the Relationship of Cooperatives to National Governments?

The Advisory Group members believe that cooperatives and their leaders, as well as external technical agents, should promote a stance of collaboration, not antagonism, vis-a-vis governmental authorities. However, though cooperative movements need to participate in the political processes that lead to policy formulation, they should do so in a non-partisan manner. Governments change rapidly, and exclusive identification with one political party or faction can be fatal to cooperatives. It was deemed important that an understanding of the difference between involvement in partisan politics and participation in legislative and lobbying processes of a non-partisan nature be developed among cooperative leaders.

One member emphasized this point by noting that, from his observations, in newly independent countries, people tend to act against government and, in that way, become heroes. But he added that anyone who becomes labelled by the government as someone to watch out for loses his effectiveness as a cooperative leader.

In order to both review and initiate ideas on coopéra* tive policy, it was felt that cooperative movements must develop national planning capabilities. To do so requires not only strong member education but also skill formation and the ability to draw upon expertise from all cooperative sectors.

What Is the Appropriate Role for Subsidies?

There is no single position which may be adopted with regard to subsidies other than seeking to assure that they are neither derided in situations where they are seen as essential and justified nor adopted as an easy solution when their results could prove highly counterproductive.

If, indeed, the only way government can deliver certain services is on a highly subsidized basis, it becomes necessary to examine whether the appropriate vehicle for the delivery of those services is through a so-called « cooperative».

If the members of a cooperative are not in a position to make contributions to the equity of a cooperative from the first day of its inception, substantial infusions of outside capital (from whatever source) directed at the creation of such a cooperative will almost certainly ensure its failure. This point was echoed by many Advisory Group members. Sometimes all that is needed is a very small amount of capital, made available with only minor constraints. Small grants and short-term technical assistance to cooperatives are not usually easy to obtain even though these may be as critical and productive as large-scale grants and continuous incountry technical assistance. The example of Korea was cited, where a $ 70,000 loan and a limited amount of technical assistance from external credit union organizations was parlayed into a credit union league with nearly a million members and a savings base of U.S. $ 600 million.

However, it was agreed that at times continuing subsidies are the only means of making it possible for cooperatives to provide certain types of services when governments have defaulted on their responsibility to do so.

What Is the Appropriate Role for Collaborating Agencies?

It was acknowledged that cooperatives have valid objectives of their own and thus in no case should be viewed as instruments for accomplishing the objectives of donor agencies alone. Nor can cooperatives, which often operate in marginal markets, be expected to provide some services, which governments themselves are not providing, without continued assistance. They must do so in ways which are consistent with the survival of the organization and with the continued provision of important services to all members.

Since the institution-building process is frequently subject to political upheaval, natural disasters, personnel changes and other unanticipated developments, the only successful approach to assisting in cooperative development is a flexible one. Insistence by collaborating agencies on a detailed project plan prior to funding authorization and disbursement frequently is contrary to the often repeated need for participative design, iterative planning and the unpredictable nature of institutional growth. Cooperatives need to absorb assistance at a pace reasonable to them. Donor agencies must accept and deal with development as a gradual and evolutionary process, and relax some of their operating limitations on the provision of small-scale assistance. Large projects of the type often financed by donor agencies too often require a type of precision prior to making assistance available which does not permit cooperative members, staff and leadership the opportunity to play key roles in defining what is to be done, how and at what pace.

It was suggested that collaborating agencies could improve the assistance they make available by continually exchanging information among themselves to create a cumulative learning experience from which all can benefit.

Conclusion

There are certain areas which members of the Advisory Group see as integral to the development of strong cooperatives. Essential to the process is the viewpoint that cooperative development is a gradual process, subject to

modification in mid course based upon experience and circumstances. The participation of cooperative representatives in the identification of the principal needs of their cooperatives was also seen as essential to ensure their responsibility for and commitment to any cooperative development projects.

Vital to the balanced development of cooperatives is the contribution of local resources from the very outset. Such contributions demonstrate a local commitment to self-help. Attempts to accelerate the accomplishments of a cooperative by substituting external resources for local ones aborts the crucial process of member control and decision-making and subverts the support of cooperatives by members.

Appropriate levels of technical assistance must be phased out as carefully as they were first introduced. Follow-up short-term assistance needs to be made available to ensure the development of skills by local personnel. And the initial introduction of technical assistance must be appropriate to the level of a cooperative's development. In order to ensure that local skills are being developed, technical assistance providers must assume the roles of advisors and coaches rather than assuming executive or line functions.

Perhaps the most critical elements of cooperative development are management training and member education. Both are a continuous process. Member education must be participatory and must be the responsibility of the cooperative. Self-sustaining internal systems should be encouraged within cooperatives which can provide educational services to both management and members.

The Advisory Group concluded with a plea that the evaluation of cooperative projects be conducted over a long period of time. End-of-project evaluations were seen as inadequate. They not only make it difficult for cooperatives to correct mistakes or weaknesses which could and should have been detected early in the life of a project, they also fail to provide a means to verify that project objectives have indeed occurred and led to further spontaneous growth over much longer periods of time.

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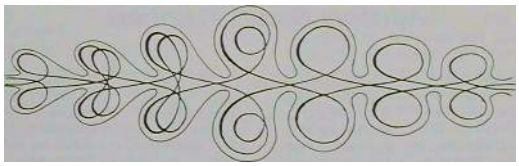

Why Cooperatives Succeed... and Fail

A Compendium of Views by International Cooperative Experts'

Why do cooperatives succeed?

While there are many reasons for the success and failure of cooperatives in developing countries, there is no checklist of criteria which will automatically ensure success. Achievement of certain criteria will tend toward success, but many « successes » or «failures » are relative and fall in a gray area in which improvements can definitely be made. The enumeration of criteria which tend to lead to success is presented to aid cooperatives and those assisting them to adjust and correct the focus of their activities. This is followed by a brief listing of common misconceptions about cooperatives and by a discussion of additional reasons for cooperative failure besides the absence of those factors discussed in previous sections.

What Are the Criteria for Determining If a Cooperative Is a Success ?

- Is the cooperative an economically viable business entreprise?
- Does it have the capacity to adapt, to grow and to be innovative ?
- Does it provide services that its members are seeking?
- Does it afford democratic participation in decision-making related to the planning and implementation as well as the sharing of economic benefits and risks of development objectives ?
- Is the cooperative effectively pursuing whatever social and economic goals it has set out for itself?

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Important Factors Contributing to Cooperative Success or Failure

Leadership

The ability to articulate, motivate and stimulate others is important for the leadership of a cooperative. (As noted by a professor from York University in Canada, bureaucrats may see leadership only as providing orders and making others follow).

Sound Management

Cooperatives need to have sound management and need to have a system of checks and balances for their governance and control.

Training

Training is necessary in both the skills required to operate a cooperative and in the professionalization of those operations.

Education

Traditional cooperative education for leadership, staff and the membership is vital, as is the distribution of information on the privileges and responsibilities of membership. The continuous flow of information provides members with the capability to participate effectively in decision-making.

Favorable Climate

Governments should create and foster the conditions which allow cooperatives to flourish.

Sensitization

*This is the * education » of government officials and other members of the community to make them aware of the role cooperatives* can *play.*

Legal Status

Format legal recognition through legislation which grants cooperatives the right to exist and to function is essential.

Integrated Development

Cooperative development needs to be viewed as part of overall socio-economic development, and cooperative development activities should be reflected in and be reflective of national development plans.

Harmonization of Objectives

Cooperatives must join together to exert pressure for political/legislative ends.

Adequate Time Frame

New activities undertaken by a cooperative must not exceed that cooperative's ability to absorb them.

Participation

The must be full, direct participation in the planning of the cooperative's activities by the cooperative members themselves.

Open Membership

Membership in a cooperative must be open and voluntary.

Linkages

There needs to be some degree of relationship between different types of cooperatives and by cooperatives with other institutions of society.

Variety

While there may be a single cooperative « model », the validity of a whole variety of experiences with cooperatives must be recognized.

Individualized Planning

There must be situation-specific solutions to problems of cooperative development organized in a phased manner.

Why These Factors Are Important

Leadership

The prerequisite for cooperative development is strong leadership. It is essential in order to initiate and maintain a cooperative's momentum. The leadership base must be continually expanding. Continuous strong leadership is required to prevent others from taking advantage of the absence of leadership.

Sound Management

The larger the membership of a cooperative, the more difficult it is for members to exercise control. There are often calls for professional management of cooperatives, leaving policy decisions in the hands of the boards of directors and management in the hands of professionals. But it needs to be remembered that professional managers are interested in their own professional success (as businessmen, not necessarily as cooperativists) rather than in providing services to members. Professional management can lead to various unhealthy practices, as can the presence of board members who function for long periods of time and who develop vested interests.

Financial constraints also hinder the acquisition and retention of professional management. Boards of directors which are unwilling or unable to employ managers at a salary greater than they themselves receive do not hire the expertise that is needed.

The lack of expertise in management is frequently cited as a cause of the failure of cooperatives. In addition to problems cooperative managers confront caused by external circumstances (inflation, changes in world markets), managers sometimes lack experience in international trade and are managing cooperatives which are not meeting shipping schedules. Bad management exacerbates factionalism and problems with productivity and marketing.

Training

Training needs to be directed toward ail the people who are involved in the operation of a cooperative: members, staff and boards of directors. As was pointed out, very often the wrong people are trained - women do the work in many cases and the men are trained to be members of the boards of cooperatives. A plea was made by an African cooperative leader to train the people actually doing the job rather than passing the knowledge along through their spouses. Women want more first-hand training.

Education

Cooperative education is a major factor in the success of cooperative development because it leads to the creation of a commitment to the cooperative on the part of members. This education includes not only professional training but the training of professionals to be good cooperators. Member education not only helps to preserve the essential concept of service, it prevents members from using a meeting to achieve their own ends by taking advantage of the ignorance or illiteracy of fellow members. The legitimizaïon of cooperatives is a vital element of cooperative education.

Favorable Climate

Governments can impede or enhance independent cooperative development. The role of government is to facilitate as well as to set policy. Laws are needed which are favorable to cooperative development, but government appointees or employees seconded to cooperatives are not desirable. Decision-makers in government are often well aware of what is good for cooperatives but are tempted for other reasons, largely political, to intervene. They need to be given a better understanding of the importance of acting one way or another, of why it is desirable to apply more or less regulation in the cooperative area. The role of government should be to strengthen the ability of the members to be self-sufficient.

Other elements of a favorable climate include:

- Legislation which facilitates the development of cooperatives rather than their regulation.
- A harmonization of objectives between government and the cooperative sector and agreement on the time necessary to reach those objectives.
- The existence of vertical structures which make possible activities within the management capacities of cooperatives.
- Access to sources of finance and to inputs.
- Policies allowing fair competition and pricing.
- Guarantees which allow cooperatives to have manageable risks.
- The support for cooperatives of other organizations and sectors of society such as labor, business and civic groups.
- A supportive political environment.

There does seem to become correlation between domestic political systems and structures and the successful functioning of cooperatives. Likewise, cooperatives have made it easier for democracy to work in some countries. Some governments, e.g.. St. Vincent and Indonesia, have introduced cooperatives in the schools in an effort to spread the principles of cooperativism widely.

Cooperatives find it difficult to operate in a monopolistic or oligopolistic market where competition is not possible. Cooperativists need to work with government to demonstrate that cooperatives do work.

Sensitization

Raising the consciousness of government officials and community leaders about the role cooperatives can play has to be tempered by the recognition of their possible concern that a unified cooperative movement might form a power base in opposition to their own. It is important that goals which each has in common be stressed.

Legal **Status**

Cooperative legislation is an acknowledgment by government that it views cooperatives as partners in the development process. Such legislation in many cases gives cooperatives the right to provide services which are otherwise reserved to the government.

Integrated Development

Not all the aims of national development plans can be accomplished through cooperatives. Though cooperatives can be used to alleviate difficult situations in some developing countries, there may be other situations where the problems are too large for cooperatives to deal with.

Harmonization of Objectives

The cooperative movement must be viewed in the context of social and human welfare. If cooperatives are to be an instrument in the alleviation of poverty in the world, they need to reach the poorest people. But the provision of services to the very poor in society may not be the job of cooperatives. If cooperatives are regarded as a vehicle for self reliance, the membership should encompass not only the poorer section of the community but leave room for other members. If the membership is too closely restricted it may, for example, eliminate instances where urban savings flow toward rural areas. If cooperatives were nothing more than service agencies for the poor, they certainly would not provide for self-reliance.

The cooperative movement as a whole must define its objectives in a way that strengthens the movement as a whole and does not lead to divisions between different cooperative sectors.

Adequate Time Frame

Cooperative development is a lengthy process in order to be successful. A realistic time frame for the establishment of national or regional cooperative systems may be 10 or 15 years. International donor agencies, anxious to achieve their own development goals and unfamiliar with local circumstances, often lose sight of the fact that cooperativists who may be lacking in know-how, literacy and development experience need time to develop capabilities in these areas. Imposition of an external timetable that does not reflect local conditions is not realistic.

Participation

Participation to a cooperativist involves groups of people defining problems, taking action, learning, readapting and readjusting. (Bureaucratic logic defines participation as merely corning to meetings, listening and voting.) Participation of members in informed decision-making is made possible through the consistent provision of programs of cooperative information and education. Without participation there cannot be commitment to the cooperative cause.

When there are differing motivations for joining together into a cooperative, there can also be problems. As a founder of the credit union movement in Korea noted, when credit unions in Korea were built on the membership base of labor unions, problems arose : a labor union is not a financial organization - one is a pressure group and the other is a service organization.

Donor organizations need to watch the scope of the activities they propose under the rubric of « cooperative development ». A senior technical advisor with the Project Management Department of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) questioned whether the Protestant ethic of doing everything possible is a bit misplaced. Maybe donors should only do what is necessary to make possible for others to do what they want to do.

Open Membership

It is generally recognized that a broad membership base is beneficial to a cooperative and that cooperatives should be open to membership for all. The problem confronting cooperative development organizations has been to reach the poorest 20% of the population because members are expected to contribute in some way in order to belong to a cooperative. It would create a terrible leadership problem to try to distinguish those too rich to participate; those people's skills can be used to increase the welfare of all the members. The cooperative has to serve the community as a whole.

It also has to be recognized that, while a small group of members with the same kinds of problems is often able to work out their difficulties, a greater effort has to be made if the members do not share the same kinds of problems. A cooperative may be considered to be too small if it cannot join together all the people desiring to be served and too big if the sheer number of members leads to a lack of democratic control.

Linkages

If cooperatives create their own institutions while avoiding the larger problems of the context within which they must operate, that context may sink the cooperative organization. A tendency to separate the cooperative concept from the rest of the economy often leads to the cooperative's income/expense ratio being completely out of kilter.

Variety

A cooperative is usually created to meet the most pressing need of its members. The organizational structure which will meet that need can assume a multiplicity of guises. The only requirement is that the organizational framework be effective. There is some question as to whether the highly specialized Western model of a cooperative is necessarily applicable to the Third World.

As a cooperative grows, diversified activities in the form of additional services often become important for a cooperative as a response to multiple human needs. This often leads to a problem of the appropriate institutional infrastructure because multi-purpose cooperatives are extremely difficult from a management point of view.

Individualized Planning

Cooperative development projects and their management have to be responsive to local conditions. The more that a cooperative organization is rooted in the economy and culture of a country, the less possible it is to blueprint the desing of a project and set goals one, two or three years ahead.

Common Misconceptions About Cooperatives

- Cooperatives can succeed even where circumstances are unfavorable.
- Accelerated growth can be imposed on cooperatives by an urgent development situation.
- Cooperative enterprises can succeed even where the risk factor is great.
- Self-reliance is an automatic guarantee of success.

Additional Reasons for Coopérative Failure

As noted by the Managing Director of The Cooperative Central Bank of Malaysia, cooperatives succeed or fail for the same reasons other organizations succeed or fail. Even «failures» of cooperatives as business enterprises can leave a legacy of success in the form of members' experience in working together toward common goals, which often resurfaces at a later date in connection with other ventures.

Use by Government of Cooperatives As Tools in the Development Process

That international donors can successfully use cooperatives as tools of development was recognized by the opening speaker at the international workshop on « Why Cooperatives Succeed... and Fail». Mrs. Neal Peden, the Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development's Bureau for Private Enterprise, acknowledged that, « All of you in the cooperative movement are our natural allies... We are pleased to support your work».

But the use by governments of cooperatives as a vehicle to resolve some of the problems of developing countries has led to some of the most egregious failures of cooperatives, largely because of misconceptions about what it is possible for cooperatives to achieve and the inappropriate use of cooperatives to achieve certain ends. Care must be taken in those instances not to regard failure of those cooperatives as a failure of the development process and vice versa.

There have been many instances where the government has had a separate agenda, e.g., providing employment, and has taken the initiative « from the top down ». But those instances have led to excess government control of cooperatives to the point where all decisions are made, as in Indonesian agricultural cooperatives, by the government on the price of fertilizer, rice, etc., and cooperative general meetings are no longer effective; the Board of Directors is obliged to follow government decisions. In these situations, there is often no difference between the rights and obligations of members and non-members.

Indonesia is an extreme example of where cooperatives are used as tools of government. A Directorate General of Cooperatives has been created within the Ministry of Cooperatives which, as part of the national development program, has priority to develop cooperatives in rural areas. Cooperatives have been given priority to implement all the programs of the Agriculture Department.

From a business viewpoint, many Indonesian cooperatives are a success. But their success gives rise to a conflict as to whether they are truly cooperative organizations. All members of a community are considered members and benefit from the services of the cooperative by virtue of where they live.

Having cooperatives take care of providing services which the government would otherwise be obligated to provide is very attractive to government planners. But if cooperatives are to be used by the government in this way in the development process, they should appear in the national development plan. If they do not so appear, they will not have access to the scarce resources normally allocated through the development plan.

Excess *Involvement of Government in Cooperative Management and Governance*

Governments should be encouraged to refrain from affecting the independence of cooperatives. Once governments exercise the initiative in determining a cooperative's activities, they cannot be expected to withdraw at a later date. As noted by the Chief of the Rural Cooperative Section of the International Labour Organization, governments create problems when they attempt to impose their timing or priorities on cooperative development. Ranter, government development aims need to be harmonized with the aspirations of individual cooperative members.

External Imposition of Goals

A study by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N. showed that one of the most profound reasons that cooperatives fail is because they were set up under external pressure and the members are not convinced about what they are doing. Villagers in many instances

were expected to organize around an activity which is not necessarily their main concern. Unless members are attempting to meet through a cooperative what they themselves define as one of their primary needs, they are unlikely to have a commitment to the program of that cooperative. If their principal problem is not resolved first, the cooperative will not succeed,

Loss of Liquidity

While loss of liquidity has not necessarily led to the failure of cooperatives, it has often led to problems for credit unions which have greatly weakened them. Credit unions are designed to make short-term loans available to their members for productive purposes which include housing and related activities. But an increasing number of loans by credit unions have been going for housing at longer terms. In many instances, this means that cooperatives have gone into partnership with the public sector in the area of housing. The San Francisco de Assis Credit Union of Quito, Ecuador, is the largest financial institution in the country and finances housing annually for 1,000 members. Where the public sector's implementation capacity has been limited by lack of time and funds, cooperatives have found themselves involved in finance mobilization for housing. This affects the liquidity of credit unions by limiting their ability to respond to diverse needs because their short-term savings have been converted into long-term assets. It is also a problem for credit unions in times of high inflation if a substantial portion of their funds are locked into fixed rate, long-term loans.

Dependence on External Sources of Financing

Many Third World cooperative organizations are undercapitalized. To the extent that they depend on external financing, including government financing, they are subject to manipulation. Success is dependent on cooperatives' raising their own capital resources.

Meeting Credit Needs Rather Than Creating Debt Capacity

To the extent that development projects, including those carried out by cooperatives, attempt to meet credit needs rather than create debt capacity, they contribute to the failure of those projects. According to a Senior Operations Officer with the World Bank, there is substantial evidence that there is much more liquidity in poor areas than has been imagined, not necessarily in cash but in things with economic value. He pointed out that the manner in which a project is financed is related to its success. Risk can be reduced or augmented by different credit techniques.

It is important to relate the size of a loan to repayment ability rather than to the size of an investment. It is possible to ascertain what a farmer can afford and what a farmer can afford and what he can manage, but not his needs. When people are very poor, quantification of needs becomes very subjective: needs seen to suggest something absolute and imply no alternative-

He introduced the concept of debt capacity, which is defined as the amount of credit that an individual enterprise can obtain. There are four basic steps in determining debt capacity :

1. Project the future cash flow of the borrower.
2. Determine what will happen to that cash flow in the event of adversity.
3. Compute senior claims on that cash flow, which will give the amount available to the lender for repayment.
4. Make a judgment about the lender's access to that minimum repayment capacity. This involves subjective assessments of things such as the borrower's character, the efficiency of the collection mechanism, the legal framework within which the transaction occurs and whether the borrower belongs to the same peer group as the lender.

Debt capacity can be created on small farms, for example, in many ways: through technical innovations which lead to reduced risk and « make the discount for adversity smaller »; through improvements in infrastructure; through outside institutional innovations; and through institutional improvements in financial markets which lead to more appropriate loan terms and conditions and "which can be accomplished without focussing on increasing the supply of loanable funds.

Whatever the means chosen to increase debt capacity, it is « the way » a development organization should seek to make aid available. Since the cost to a donor agency of giving credit has been calculated at three times the amount loaned, giving credit is not the most effective way to help the poorest of the poor. When credit is given in such circumstances, it will be given at lower than market rates, which will provide an incentive for others to move in or for the credit to be used for purposes other than those intended. The groups the cooperative development organization is seeking to make self-sustaining will not become so because they will be tied to the donor's low interest rates.

If, in spite of the above caveats, a cooperative development organization is forced to start its activities by making credit available, it should also start with a program for savings. The two should be kept in balance in order to be viable.

Government Shifting the Full Burden of Risk to Cooperatives

In many cases it is the responsibility of government to make the infrastructural changes which are necessary to bring benefits to the poorest in society. When cooperatives are carrying out the development programs of government, the risks should be shared between government and cooperatives. The risk of providing services to the poor should not be assumed entirely by cooperatives. Various types of instance are needed, such as savings deposit guarantees and crop insurance. Whatever mechanisms can build confidence will lead to the solution of the problem of risk assumption. Building confidence is probably the ultimate good deed which cooperatives can accomplish.

Cooperatives are unique businesses with a social purpose. Care must be taken not to transform cooperatives into social institutions. Their existence depends on their economic success. It cannot be said to be developmental to bankrupt an institution in order to meet the needs of the poor.

Lack of Trust and Hierarchical Thinking

Lack of trust by cooperative members for one another impedes the identification of the individual with the group and can lead to lack of confidence in a cooperative as well

as set the stage for abuses. A tendency to think in terms of hierarchical relations interferes with participation and impedes the functioning of a cooperative on a truly democratic basis. The Vice President for International Development of the National Cooperative Business Association claims that both these obstacles to development and to the democratic functioning of cooperatives are cultural phenomena present in most developing countries.

Whether or not these are cultural phenomena, it was agreed that cooperatives offer one of the best ways to change values and attitudes which will make progress achievable. It was pointed out that, even under dictatorships, democracy has been practiced in cooperatives. Examples were offered of societies with hierarchical thinking where very successful farmer cooperatives are functioning. Other attitudinal factors which are highly propitious for cooperatives, such as discipline and the sacrifice of the individual for the group, have had more influence. Hierarchical thinking has only proven to be a problem for cooperatives when there is an abuse of power.

Workshop Conclusions and Recommendations

- *Domestic capital formation is and should be the priority for development through cooperatives.* It has been demonstrated that the poor can save and that mobilization of domestic finance from the poor is possible. These savings can be mobilized by cooperatives of all kinds.
- *External support should be supplementary.* External capital should be used to help lever capita! formation domestically, to reinforce the capitalization process. Grants can and should be used for startup operations more imaginatively than at present.
- *Priority should be placed on income generation.* There needs to be discussion of policies dealing with the rational use of scarce resources. Cooperatives should choose the projects they wish to undertake.
- *The variation in credit needs should be accommodated.* The ultimate beneficiaries should be enabled to decide their own needs, which cooperatives can enable them to meet.
- *Special vehicles are needed to lessen risk.* Domestic savings which are mobilized must be protected. The creation of mechanisms to protect savings is very important, as are loan guarantees.
- *Interest rates should be comparable with the general market conditions in a country.* Subsidized interest rates are usually counterproductive; external funds should not be used to subsidize interest rates. Market rates of interest should be charged by a cooperative for loans, and any profits should be rebated to members as dividends.
- *More flexibility is needed from those making loans.* Although it is recognized that borrowers and lenders each have their own agendas, there is a need to trust domestic institutions to on-lend for further programs. More loans should be made on the program level rather than earmarked only for specified projects.
- *There should be incentives to make cooperative members want to repay loans.* It is important to focus on incentives which will help ensure the recovery of loans; safeguards can usually be circumvented.
- *Innovative ways of using food aid should be explored.* Good aid can be used in a variety of ways to capitalize cooperative institutions.
- *Good management of cooperatives is necessary.* Nothing substitutes for good management.
- *Cooperatives should seek to improve their efficiency.* Governments will often seek to intervene in cooperatives if they perceive them to be inefficient.
- *Governments should plan for viable cooperative systems as part of comprehensive planning.* This will facilitate external coordination of potential donor agencies as well as internal resource allocation.
- *Cooperatives need to be allowed to respond to competition.* Fixed prices do not enable a cooperative to function as a business by responding to market fluctuations.

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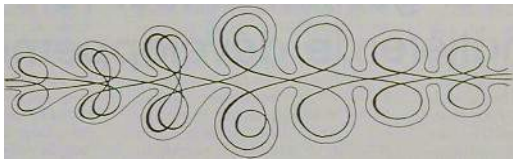


Italie, Royaume-Uni, Inde, Chili, France

Réflexions sur les ONG, leur gestion et leur rôle en matière de développement*

Les organisations non gouvernementales (ONG) favorisent-elles plus efficacement les activités de développement rural que les gouvernements ou les organisations internationales?[1]. Sont-elles mieux équipées pour acheminer vers la base assistance matérielle et avis techniques? Sont-elles capables d'amorcer un processus authentique d'auto-assistance dans les communautés avec lesquelles elles travaillent?

Devant le concert unanime des louanges dont elles font en ce moment l'objet, notamment de la part de la Banque mondiale, on est tenté de conclure qu'elles sont seules à même de porter remède à tous les maux qui affligent les «activités de développement » depuis quelques dizaines d'années. De plus en plus de gens en viennent à penser qu'elles sont dotées de la vitalité et de l'esprit de service qui font trop souvent défaut aux grandes bureaucraties nationales et internationales.

Cela se peut. Cependant, cette situation ne serait-elle pas due a la crise patente dont souffrent les approches traditionnelles de l'aide au développement plutôt qu'à la valeur et aux qualités intrinsèques des ONG?

Du moins, le monde des ONG a-t-il entre autres le mérite que l'on y discute les motivations et les modalités des opérations entreprises plus ouvertement qu'il ne semble possible de le faire quand des gouvernements ou des organismes intergouvernementaux sont en cause. En outre, les ONG sont responsables de leurs actes envers le public qui leur fournit des moyens de financement (espérons que cette transparence persistera, même si un pourcentage croissant des revenus des ONG donatrices provient à l'avenir d'autres sources.)

Nous avons pensé qu'il serait intéressant de sélectionner quelques opinions et réflexions sur les faits et gestes des ONG, émises récemment dans diverses revues et dont les auteurs ont pour la plupart travaillé pour ou avec des ONG. Certains de ces commentaires concernent plus précisément des problêmes structurels; d'autres touchent à des principes fondamentaux tels que le classique: *«Quel développement?»* (ou même *«Pourquoi développer?»).*

Bien évidemment, cette sélection reflète des expériences et des sensibilités variées. L'Italien dont le pays n'est engagé que depuis peu dans la coopération au développement, s'interroge notamment sur le caractère ambigu du statut de volontaire ainsi que sur la nature de projets susceptibles de *«libérer effectivement les connaissances et les ressources »* des communautés du tiers-monde. Une volontaire britannique parle de son séjour au Zimbabwe, qui l'a amenée à examiner plus à fond les postulats et les valeurs ayant cours dans sa propre société et à se demander s'ils sont adaptés aux sociétés auxquelles on les transmet. Elle met ainsi en question le rôle que consciemment ou non, le volontaire joue dans ce processus.

Un tel «choc interculturel» ne se produit pas quand les volontaires vont comme en Inde travailler dans leur propre pays, encore qu'il y ait en général de grandes différences de classe et de revenu entre eux et les membres des communautés locales. L'auteur de l'article sur l'Inde rend hommage aux *«jeunes gens et jeunes femmes de la bourgeoisie urbaine idéalistes et pleins de zèle, qui sacrifient de brillantes carrières»;* il se félicite aussi des « capacités de

* Article reproduit de *Idées et Action,* 1987/3, CMCF/Action pour le développement (FAQ).

gestion" dont font preuve certaines des ONG indiennes les plus performantes pour promouvoir le développement rural.

Toutefois, malgré des résultats tangibles et bien que les ONG se soient effectivement démarquées des organisations traditionnelles de bienfaisance, il estime que l'élément «charité» persiste, ne serait-ce que de façon déguisée. Facteur plus grave: les activités de ces ONG renforcent souvent la puissance des membres riches de la communauté au détriment des plus vulnérables. Plusieurs de ces programmes ont contribué à introduire un nouveau phénomène dans les Etats où ils sont mis en œuvre: les migrations saisonnières, avec toutes les séquelles sociales déplorables qu'elles entraînent. Toutefois, opérant dans une économie de marché, comment les ONG, si elles ne s'y adaptent pas, peuvent-elles obtenir des résultats dont profiteront les communautés locales avec lesquelles elles collaborent?

Cette relation entre l'économie de marché et ce qu'il appelle le « monde invisible» est l'une des principales préoccupations du groupe chilien dont l'étude contient des remarques de nature à intéresser les ONG. Soucieux avant tout d'un «développement à l'échelle humaine» le groupe examine le rôle que les « micro-organisations» sécrétées dans un pays comme le Chili sous l'effet de !a crise économique, pourrait jouer dans la transformation de la société. L'un des meilleurs passages du document original - malheureusement trop long pour que l'on puisse valablement le condenser ici - concerne ce qu'il appelle des *« satisfactores »* (facteurs de satisfaction) c'est-à-dire *«les formes d'être, d'avoir et de faire, tant individuelles que collectives, qui conduisent à la pleine satisfaction des besoins».* Si elle faisait l'objet d'un débat approfond, cette thèse pourrait profondément modifier certaines des perspectives actuelles du développement.

« Quelle vision du développement? "telle est aussi l'un des points fondamentaux soulevés par le journaliste français, qui ne voit pas comment les ONG pourraient appliquer des politiques efficaces de communication avant d'avoir défini très clairement le genre de développement qu'elles désirent promouvoir. Bien qu'il préconise un plus grand professionnalisme tant dans la gestion que dans les communications, l'auteur ne méconnaît pas le problème qui se pose lorsqu'on veut recourir aux techniques classiques de relations publiques et de commercialisation pour sensibiliser le public à des questions aussi complexes que celle du développement: *«chacun doit»,* dit-il, «se *sentir personnellement concerné, et c'est un objectif qu'il est difficile d'atteindre dans des campagnes de masses ».* Les opinions qu'il exprime sont conditionnées par l'expérience acquise ces deux dernières années dans le cadre des campagnes « Band Aid » lancées pour lutter contre la sécheresse en Afrique de l'est en 1984/85.

La «seconde génération» d'ONG évoquée par le journaliste français et la mesure dans laquelle l'efficacité est compatible avec l'esprit traditionnel du volontariat, ont également fait l'objet, outre-Manche, d'un débat engagé à l'occasion de la présentation d'un état de dépenses par l'administrateur d'une ONG britannique qui, pourtant, avait réussi à accroître notablement les fonds et le nombre de membres de son organisation. Si l'on en juge d'après les observations du journaliste, la façon dont l'argent est dépensé est de toute évidence soumise à un contrôle public beaucoup plus sévère au Royaume-Ui qu'en France.

Nombre de ces questions et d'autres tout aussi importantes, telles que les relations des ONG du Nord et du Sud, tant entre elles qu'avec leurs gouvernements, ont été abordées lors d'un colloque tenu à Londres en mars dernier et durant lequel des spécialistes du développement venus de 42 pays ont examiné le thème suivant : *« D'autres modèles de développement: le défi à relever par les ONG».* Un rapport provisoire d'un grand intérêt a été établi tandis qu'un autre rapport plus détaillé sera probablement sorti au moment de la publicatio du présent article. Un article sur ces débats paraîtra aussi sous peu dans ta revue *World Development.* dont le siège est à Washington et qui a patronné le colloque de concert avec l'Overseas Development Institute (Londres). Pour plus ample information, s'adresser à : *World Development,* Suite 501, 1715 Massachusett Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036, Etats-Unis (v. *Associations transnationales,* n° 2/1988).

Italie

L'action de développement doit tendre à engendre l'auto-responsabilité et l'auto-organisation. Il faut apprendre aux gens à prendre leur avenir en main, a tirer parti de leur savoir libéré et de leurs ressources qui sont parfois modestes mais n'en existent pas moins. Donner, agir à leur place, équivaut souvent à les endormir, à noyer leurs potentialités sous une vague assistantialiste[2] même là où elles semblent vouloir émerger...

Le coopérant ou le volontaire - qui a choisi d'accomplir sous cette forme ses devoirs militaires - est un personnage étrange à qui l'on demande de posséder à la fois l'enthousiasme du philanthrope et l'efficacité du professionnel. ainsi que d'avoir une grande faculté d'adaptation et beaucoup de souplesse intellectuelle - qualités requises pour appliquer les méthodes des ONG en tenant compte des réalités locales; le tout, allié à la modestie et à l'intelligence.

Or, c'est précisément le professionnalisme qui caractérise les relations entre l'ONG et !e volontaire dont la position oscille entre celte du travailleur dépendant et du coparticipant à un projet. La possibilité de faire carrière en empruntant la voie de la coopération et de toucher un salaire plus intéressant (ou des allocations de subsistance, selon la terminologie juridique) sont des questions qui res-

tent floues et ambiguës, comme si le statut du volontaire restait encore à définir.

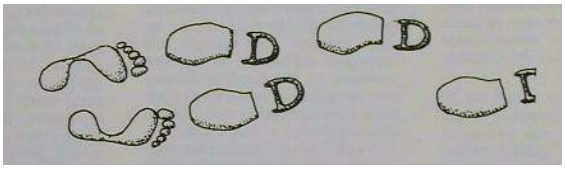
L'accroissement rapide du volume et de la qualité des activités des ONG italiennes est certes en partie responsable de l'imprécision qui règne concernant le rôle du volontaire et son statut professionnel mais il est urgent de réfléchir à ce qu'on attend de lui ainsi qu'à ses méthodes de travail, si l'on veut mettre fin à l'improvisation et à l'amateurisme.

Chaque projet devrait être suivi par une équipe de techniciens désignés par l'ONG pour analyser les problèmes et apporter en temps voulu les changements nécessaires. Il est indispensable de définir des moyens de contrôler la productivité car un projet de « coopération » doit produire des marchandises, des biens matériels et culturels, du savoir-faire, de l'autodéveloppement, des techniciens, du maïs, de l'eau potable, des malades guéris ou des idées pour l'avenir. Il s'agit d'obtenir des résultats durables, profondément enracinés et qui ne resteront pas stériles.

Combien d'activités «de coopération» réussissent-elles à atteindre cet objectif? Nous l'ignorons: les statistiques concernant notre effort de coopération sont fragmentaires et dispersées. Il est temps de les coordonner et de les systématiser. Nous devrions les étudier selon un calendrier rigoureux et sans complaisance, non pour mettre un terme à nos activités mais pour être mieux équipés dans le combat gigantesque que nous menons contre la dépendance et le sous-développement.

Tout compte fait, à notre modeste - très modeste - place, nous sommes associés à une entreprise difficile : lutter contre l'histoire écrite par les grands empires économiques et politiques, li nous faut agir avec intelligence et méthode en mettant au rencart l'amateurisme et le volontarisme, armes désormais émoussées.

Giuseppe Ortolano



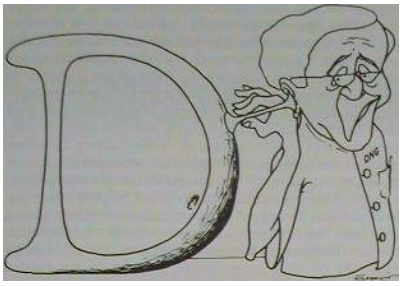
Royaume-Uni

Mon séjour au Zimbabwe m'a amenée à mettre en question mes postulats culturels, mes modes de penser, mes comportements - et sans doute des milliers de volontaires ont-ils fait !a même expérience que moi. Envisagées à la lumière d'un style de vie rurale et communautaire tout différent, des choses que je considérais comme allant de soi - à supposer que j'y prête attention - m'apparaissent comme des traits de société très particuliers, voire bizarres. En voici quelques exemples typiques: la primauté que «nous » donnons (dans le Nord? l'Occident? le monde capitaliste? le monde technologique?) à l'efficacité et à l'organisation, aux chiffres et aux estimations; l'idée que le temps c'est de l'argent, l'art d'établir des plans d'avenir pour obtenir le meilleur rendement ou les plus gros profits; le retrait dans une tour d'ivoire; la critique individuelle des mœurs sociales... Tant de réflexes développés au long des siècles par notre culture ou ses représentants qualifiés pour leur plaisir ou pour stimuler l'intelligence... Sûrement, ces deux aspects de la «culture» sont indissociables car ce qui revêt un sens économique et social séduit l'individu ne serait-ce que par son côté familier.

Le Zimbabwe rural accorde une importance primordiale à l'effort collectif, partagé (et non à la spécialisation et a la «rationalisation»): pour décharger une charretée de briques, chacun va les entasser deux par deux en file, un peu plus loin, bavardant, chantant, faisant une pause quand il en a envie. Suggère-t-on que l'on fasse la chaîne pour accélérer l'opération? Tout le monde convient volontiers que la méthode est astucieuse mais les travailleurs l'abandonnent vite et reviennent au rythme familier qu'ils préfèrent. Par ailleurs, toutes les décisions sont prises en commun au détriment, ici encore, de la rapidité et donc de l'«efficience» économique; en effet, que des circonstances imprévues surviennent, que les données changent, et il faut rétablir le consensus sur de nouvelles bases. Les éventuels obstacles ne sont en général pas pris en considération et les estimations tendent à être trop optimistes et à refléter les désirs plutôt que la réalité. Tendance qui, elle non plus, n'est guère compatible avec la nouvelle corrélation temps-argent.

Les aptitudes organisationnelles et les techniques génératrices de revenu ne sont pas innées ni universelles mais sont des habitudes sociales lentement acquises; une fois que l'on s'en est rendu compte, plusieurs conclusions s'imposent:

- Si le « développement » des pays nouvellement indépendants doit être dominé (comme cela a tout l'air d'en prendre le chemin) par la nécessité de survivre sur le marché



international, ces pays doivent s'appliquer à assimiler plus profondément qu'ils ne l'ont fait jusqu'ici les modes européens de penser, de sentir et d'agir (autocolonisation interne). C'est la condition *sine qua non* de leur réussite étant donné les termes qui leur sont offerts.

- L'argent, et le pouvoir qu'il confère, engendre des règles et des comportements qui vont à rencontre des normes sociales traditionnelles : on accuse par exemple de «népotisme» ou de «corruption» celui qui use de son influence en faveur de sa famille et il est officiellement blâmé; or pratiquement tous les Zimbabwéens le font sous une forme ou sous une autre et estiment qu'il s'agit là d'un devoir sacré. Désormais ce ne sont plus l'âge et l'expérience qui inspirent le respect mais l'instruction, la position acquise, ce que l'on gagne. Sans vergogne (mais non sans **hypocrisie) on bâtit des empires et on exploite les faibles** dans le cadre du nouvel ordre de valeur fondé sur l'argent.

- Il est très difficile, dans ces conditions, pour les gouvernements d'encourager le respect des valeurs culturelles traditionnelles - ou plutôt de freiner les forces qui portent à les abandonner, en particulier avant que l'on ait mieux mesuré les dimensions de la corrélation entre économie et culture ou que l'on se soit fait une certaine idée de ce que peut être une combinaison acceptable et viable de la « modernité » et de la «tradition ».

- «Capitalisme ou socialisme»? Ce dilemme n'exprime qu'incomplètement les choix ou les contradictions auxquels est confrontée dans son ensemble la population du tiers-monde, car les deux systèmes (tels qu'ils sont actuellement enseignés) sont des options socio-économiques récentes, fondées sur l'industrie; en cutre, te problème de l'assimilation des valeurs et des usages associées à la gestion d'une économie rationalisée, spécialisée, industrielle et monétaire subsiste même sous le régime «socialiste».

Afin de discerner clairement ce qui se passe et plus précisément, de permettre aux volontaires et aux autres agents de développement expatriés d'apprécier comment ils ont à remplir leur fonction d'intermédiaires modernes, il importe de prêter attention aux difficultés agendrées par le choc violent des cultures qui déchire les pays « en développement» (et qui définira ce que signifie l'expression «en développement» ?).

Yvonne St. Clair

Extrait de *Comeback,* 1986/1, Returned Volunteer Action, 1 Amwell Street, Londres ECIR IUL.

Inde

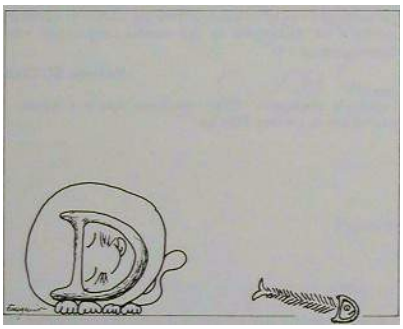
Les organisations de volontaires dont la réussite est spectaculaire ont appliqué en matière de développement rural des méthodes s'apparentant à la gestion des entreprises. Elles se sont assez vite rendu compte de l'importance des études de marché et de la nécessité d'améliorer leur profil pour conquérir les débouchés urbains. Elles sont parvenues à s'attacher de jeunes diplômés des écoles d'administration et d'autres grandes écoles indiennes, mus par un idéal humanitaire. Dès le début, elles ont constamment cherché à éviter de devenir des institutions philanthropiques, insistant pour que la population locale leur apporte sa collaboration sous forme d'argent ou de services volontaires. Elles ont tenu à ce que même les plus pauvres payent, ne serait-ce que de façon symbolique, les services rendus afin de développer le sens de fa solidarité et de l'autoresponsabilité. Leurs fondateurs ne sont pas en général issus du milieu rural mais proviennent de la haute et de la moyenne bourgeoisie urbaine et ont, par idéalisme, sacrifié de brillantes carrières dans l'industrie. Les ONG estiment avoir réussi quand les villageois parviennent à prendre la relève des « cadres venus de l'extérieur ». Somme toute, elles ont surmonté de nombreux handicaps initiaux et appris aux villageois à tenir la comptabilité de leurs coopératives et à les gérer eux-mêmes. Elles ont aussi créé des emplois et ont amélioré les conditions de vie des hommes et des femmes des classes défavorisées.

Cette conception du développement rural se teinte de scepticisme envers la technologie moderne, en particulier celle qui exige de gros investissements. «Bunker Roy», comme on l'appelle familièrement, promoteur du fameux projet Tilonia au Rajasthan est même allé jusqu'à s'opposer à l'electrification des villages, qui ruinerait, soutenait-il, l'artisanat. Une telle approche s'efforce de créer le maximum d'emplois pour les ruraux pauvres et préconise d'adopter des plans qui protègent l'environnement régional. Ses partisans ont même patronné des expériences scientifiques dans le domaine des technologies alternatives à fort coefficient de main-d'œuvre, bien que celles-ci risquent incontestablement d'être moins productives que les technologies modernes à haute teneur en capital. Mais comment peut-on, dans ces conditions, tirer assez de revenus d'un projet pour qu'il soit viable? Etant donné le faible niveau des bénéfices, les cadres de ces organisations acceptent des traitements beaucoup moins élevés que ceux qu'ils

pourraient obtenir ailleurs. L'élément «philanthropie» n'est donc pas absent, ne serait-ce que sous une forme déguisée, de leurs entreprises. Les ONG sont souvent dans l'impossibilité de verser le salaire légal minimum à leurs collaborateurs. Certes ceux-ci, en particulier les femmes, jugent que cela vaut mieux que rien, le gain de quelques roupies pouvant, en milieu rural, éviter de tomber dans les griffes des prêteurs.

Il existe une autre approche très efficace du développement rural. Verghese Kurien par exemple, qui a mis en route le projet laitier d'Amul, a introduit dans les villages une technologie moderne à fort coefficient en capital et engagé des ingénieurs et des experts en gestion pour étudier les possibilités offertes par les marchés urbains. Cette démarche a certes donné dans un sens de bons résultats mais elle n'a pas résolu le problème de la pauvreté. Kurien lui-même n'a-t-il pas affirmé que développement et justice distributive sont deux problèmes distincts?

Les deux méthodes de développement rural décrites ci-dessus ont un trait commun : elles cherchent à s'accommoder des structures «du marché libre». La première applique la stratégie des sociétés industrielles privées. En l'occurrence, leur Conseil d'administration se compose de gros et de moyens agriculteurs au lieu de gros industriels. Le système est sans conteste éminemment efficace en



régime de « marché libre » mais il a suscité une vague d'agitation dans les campagne. Le succès des coopératives de production laitière et sucrière dans le Maharashtra et le Gujarat a donné naissance à un phénomène nouveau: les emigrations saisonnières. Au moment de la récolte et de la plantation des cannes à sucre, les recruteurs de main-d'œuvre amènent dans les régions développées des deux Etats des paysans pauvres et sans terre des districts avoisinants. Ceux-ci acceptent des rémunérations moindres que les salaires demandés par les ouvriers agricoles locaux et, étant étrangers, ils se comportent aussi d'une façon qu'apprécient les exploitants riches et moyens. Ces derniers se sont libérés de leurs obligations traditionnelles à l'égard de leurs « clients ». Dans ces conditions, le développement rural a créé des tensions entre les travailleurs «locaux» et immigrés; il a d'autre part aiguisé les conflits entre une main-d'œuvre locale « revendicatrice » et les riches exploitants.

Avec la méthode de développement rural exigeant moins de capitaux, ces clivages sont, il faut le reconnaître, nettement atténués. Toutefois, son adaptation à l'économie moderne est problématique. Les projets sont principalement tributaires des marchés urbains où les goûts sont particulièrement versatiles. Les modes évoluent de même que la demande des biens de consommation. Les organisatgions de volontaires qui administrent ces projets sont continuellement obligées d'improviser. Elles doivent recourir à des bureaux de vente et à des experts en design au courant des exigences des clients potentiels. Peut-être les fédérations générales indiennes d'organisations de volontaires et de coopératives pourraient-elles fournir ces services ? Dans la mesure où les ONG sont ainsi dépendantes, elles ne peuvent éliminer le syndrome du «paternalisme» et se dépouiller de tout caractère philanthropique, quoique puissent prétendre leurs cadres bourgeois.

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Extrait de: *People's Action,* janvier 1987 (Vol. 1, NO 1), Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology, Guru Nanak Foundation Building, New Mehrauli Road, New Delhi 110 067.

Chili

Modèle linéaire ou approche par la théorie des systèmes? Telle est certainement l'option la plus importante à faire quand on veut définir un style de développement.

Agir suivant une logique linéaire crée des structures d'accumulation totalement étrangères à une vision de développement intégral de l'homme. Si l'on choisit le modèle linéaire, les priorités seront établies sur la base des carences de biens nécessaires à la vie (pauvreté de subsistance). Les programmes seront orientés vers «l'assistentialisme»"', et s'attaqueront à la pauvreté entendue au sens classique du terme. Les besoins seront considérés uniquement comme un «manque» et au mieux, les facteurs de satisfaction (« satisfactores») engendrés par le système resteront isolés. Paradoxalement, cène option amorce une spirale d'accumulation (selon la définition de Myrdal) et les pauvres ne cesseront pas d'être pauvres car ils augmenteront leur dépendance à l'égard des «facteurs de satisfaction», générés de façon exogène (c'est-à-dire en dehors de leur milieu).

Par contre, l'approche par la théorie des systèmes

donne ta priorité à la création de « facteurs de satisfaction » endogènes et synergiques[2]. Les besoins sont considérés à la fois comme des manques et comme des potentialités, ce qui permet de sortir du cercle vicieux de la pauvreté.

En conséquence, la façon dont les besoins sont perçus ainsi que le rôle et les attributs conférés aux facteurs de satisfaction sont absolument déterminants quand on en vient à définir une stratégie du développement.

Envisagé sous cet angle, le développement implique un changement dans la rationnalité économique dominante et notamment, une révision radicale de la notion d'efficacité. Cette notion est habituellement associée à une conception maximaliste de la productivité et de l'utilité (tout aussi chargée d'ambiguïté que ces deux termes)...

Un développement à l'échelle humaine n'exclut nullement les objectifs classiques de la croissance économique. Sa différence avec le modèle dominant tient à la façon dont ces objectifs s'intègrent dans le processus même du développement.

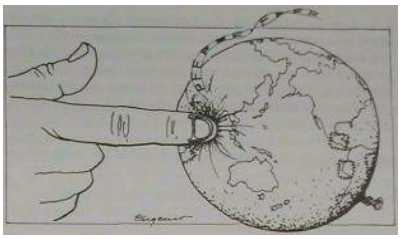
Autrement dit, les besoins humains essentiels peuvent commencer d'être couverts *dès le début et au cours du processus de développement:* la satisfaction des besoins n'est pas l'objectif mais le moteur du développement. Les résultats obtenus dépendront de la mesure dans laquelle la stratégie adoptée sera apte à promouvoir de façon permanente la production de facteurs de satisfaction synergiques.

Intégrer une satisfaction harmonieuse des besoins humains dans le processus de développement, c'est donner aux intéressés la *possibilité de vivre ce développement dés son démarrage* et de créer une croissance saine, autoassistée et participative, de nature à servir de base a un ordre dans lequel il sera possible d'allier l'expansion économique, la solidarité sociale et le progrès tant du peuple que des individus.

Un développement qui est capable de combiner synergie et efficacité n'est peut-être pas suffisant pour réaliser tout ce que l'on désire; il l'est pour éviter que l'indésirable semble inéluctable...

Dans les lignes qui suivent nous ne prétendons pas que les secteurs « invisibles » ou micro-organisations sont porteurs d'une transformation structurelle de la société, ni qu'ils apportent le salut à l'histoire contemporaine. Si nous avons fait une grande place à ce sujet dans la présente étude, c'est avec l'intention de mettre en relief ce qu'une grande partie de la littérature sur le développement laisse dans l'ombre: toute cette «infra-histoire» de la vie quotidienne dans laquelle les activités productives s'entremêlent avec les stratégies collectives de survie, l'identité culturelle et la mémoire populaire. Conscients de toutes les limitations du monde « invisible » aux plans tant économique que culturel, nous estimons néanmoins qu'il contient et engendre des relations entre pratiques économiques, organisations sociales et caractéristiques culturelles que l'on ne peut ignorer si l'on veut parvenir à un développement endogène.

Enfin, l'attention que nous prêtons au monde «invisible» et à ses micro-organisations répond à une autre nécessité : celle de compléter les études visant à comprendre la dynamique de protagonistes tels que les jeunes, les femmes, les syndicats, l'Etat, en nous plaçant dans une



perspective qui, montant de la base au sommet, permette de récupérer comme utiles ceux que l'on considère traditionnellement en marge de la société. Il n'est pas question d'édifier une mystique du marginal mais de reconnaître qu'il possède des potentialités susceptibles d'en faire l'un des acteurs sociaux d'une démocratisation participative, décentralisée et humanisée.

La crise économique que subit l'Amérique latine se manifeste de diverses façons; l'un des indices les plus significatifs est l'importance croissante prise depuis quelques années par l'« économie submergée ». Dans des pays où le chômage est très élevé comme au Chili, la proportion de la population active se livrant à des occupations non rémunérées est si grande qu'il serait paradoxal de considérer cette couche sociale comme résiduelle. On peut dire que ce phénomène est par un processus dialectique curieux, à la fois une expression extrême de la crise et une arme pour lutter contre elle. Me trouvant pas d'emploi sur le marché officiel du travail, les chômeurs et leur famille inventent d'autres formes d'organisations et d'activités productives, qui composent une mosaïque extra ordinairement bigarrée de stratégies de survivance...

Le monde «invisible» établit d'innombrables organisations de production et d'organisations communautaires au sein desquelles une éthique de solidarité est indispensable pour survivre et croître dans un univers où règne la logique de la concurrence. Les forces endogènes de solidarité se heurtent en permanence aux forces exogènes de l'efficience. De cette confrontation, se dégagent deux perspectives diamétralement opposées: ou bien 1) les pressions exogènes affaiblissent les organisations qui se dissolvent par «inertie» ou qui sont absorbées dans la logique compétitive du système dominant; ou bien 2) les organisations se consolident, accroissent leur autonomie et transmettent à d'autres secteurs de la société la force qu'elles tirent de leur solidarité. Pour que la seconde hypothèse se concrétise, il est nécessaire de décentraliser les décisions, de déployer le flux des ressources et d'encourager la participation populaire.

Cela veut-il dire qu'un développement autocentré doit se traduire exclusivement par le renforcement interne des secteurs «invisibles»? Cette solution serait partielle et réductionniste. Il s'agit en fait de donner libre cours à la créativité sociale, à la solidarité et aux initiatives d'autogestion qui constituent la panoplie forgée par le monde « invisible » pour survivre dans un univers qui le marginalise et de s'en servir pour s'opposer par une action globale à l'empire exclusif d'une logique de concurrence et de dépendance.

Les protagonistes de l'économie invisible doivent donc créer des réseaux horizontaux, concevoir des activités d'entraide, mettre au point des pratiques individuelles et collectives qui débouchent sur des projets conjoints. Ainsi sera-t-il possible de mettre un terme à l'atomisation qui menace leur existence.

Desarrollo e escala humana: una opción para el futuro, numéro spécial 1986 de *Development Dialogue,* publié par le Centre de Alternatives de Desarrollo (CEPAUR), Casilla 27.095, Santiago 27. Chili.

(1) « assistentialisme » - néologisme dérivé de l'espagnol« asistencialismo » et qui désigne un monde de dévelopement fondé sur la bienfaisance et une aide de caractère paternaliste.

(2} Synergie - comportement d'un ensemble qui ne peut être déduit de comportement de l'un de ses éléments pris séparément. Désigne un processus dans lequel les potentialités de la somme de tous les éléments est plus grande que les potentialités des éléments pris un par un.

France

Question : *De ces deux ans de relations avec les ONG, quel bilan tirez-vous ? Il semble que ça ne soit pas toujours bien passé ? Pourquoi?*

Réponse: Le monde des ONG n'est pas différent du monde dans lequel nous vivons. Les individus qui y jouent un rôle ont donc leurs intérêts, à la fois légitimes, sublimes et mesquins, comme dans toute société. Mais parce qu'on parle d'humanitaire, on s'attend à ne trouver que des saints. Il n'y a aucune raison à cela.

Ce qui m'a déçu, c'est de ne pas rencontrer d'individu travaillant dans le domaine humanitaire qui ait conscience de cela. Quoi qu'ils disent, quelque part, de façon très inconsciente, ils se prennent pour des saints. Quand on discute avec eux, on s'aperçoit qu'au fond leur justification c'est que, puisqu'ils agissent pour le bien, ce qu'ils font est forcément bien. C'est trop simple.

Le fait de ne pas avoir conscience de cela provoque des catastrophes dans le monde humanitaire. D'abord, la quasi-impossïbiliîé de prendre du recul par rapport à ce qu'on fait. On organise beaucoup de colloques pour réfléchir sur son action mais, en réalité, on évite la véritable confrontation avec soi-même qui permettrait d'envisager ce qu'on fait sous d'autres perspectives.

Ensuite, le fait croire qu'on est parfait provoque un acharnement à conserver son territoire qui confine à la paranoïa et qui est en complète contradiction avec l'idéal qu'on affiche à l'extérieur. De plus, ceux qui dirigent ces associations continuent trop souvent à penser que le bénévolat c'est tout de même ce qu'il y a de mieux. On ne doit pas payer les gens puisqu'ils travaillent pour le tiers monde-

Dû coup, on retrouve dans plusieurs ONG un certain nombre d'incompétents quin'ont, pour justifier leur présence, que leur ancienneté, qui sont sous-payes, pas représentatifs, etc. Ils sont répulsifs au possible.

Question *: Il y a une deuxième génération d'ONG plus professionnelles, qui tient compte du marketing, de l'efficacité, etc. ?*

Réponse: La deuxième génération, elle n'est pas sur le terrain, elle est ici. Ce sont des dirigeants. Parce que sur le terrain, ce sont les mêmes qu'on retrouve, des gens de bonne volonté. Par exemple, l'infirmière qui a bon cœur, pas de travail ou qui en a marre de son hôpital et qui aime autant vivre un peu d'aventure utile.

Les dirigeants de la nouvelle génération n'ont, pour les différencier des autres, que deux choses: d'abord l'âge, et ensuite d'avoir vécu la transformation de la société : ils savent qu'il faut faire de la communication, ils connaissent le marketing.

Faire du marketing, c'est bien; faire de la communication, c'est bien. Encore faut-il savoir pourquoi, avec quelle vision du développement. Or, la, on est resté antédiluvien. Là, ii n'y a pas de deuxième génération. La dernière nouvelle génération, ce sont ceux qui on dit: arrêtons l'urgence, faisons du développement: des micro-projets, l'aide triangulaire, etc.

On pourrait vendre cet objectif, mais on ne récolte pas d'argent sur les objectifs. Ce marketing est donc obligé de reposer sur de la fumisterie. On le voit lorsqu'on regarde les campagnes actuelles: «Ma vie, c'est sa vie», «Nous allons vaincre la fairn», «L'Ethiopie meurt, vous lui devez 47 francs». C'est rien. On vend une image. Et vendre une image, dans le domaine humanitaire, c'est tout faire sauf impliquer le donateur, ces campagnes ne servent qu'à provoquer le réflexe du don, ce qui sous-entend que donner de l'argent sauvera le tiers monde. C'est une duperie.

Ces responsables d'ONG de la deuxième génération ne se prennent plus pour des saints. Ils font carrière: «*C'est vrai: il ne faut pas avoir honte de l'argent! Il faut être efficace».* Mais comme ils n'ont pas de vision profonde du développement, leur seule efficacité, c'est la collecte de l'argent.

C'est parce qu'on ne peut pas éviter de récolter de l'argent qu'on récolte. Mais le seul développement possible, c'est celui des mentalités, qui peut provoquer un changement lent sur les systèmes économiques et politiques.

Question : *Comment éviter ces pièges dans lesquels, selon vous, tombent beaucoup d'ONG?*

Réponse: Je crois que n'importe qui ne devrait pas pouvoir monter une association loi 1901, comme c'est le cas actuellement. Il faudrait peut-être instituer une réglementation qui pourrait aussi être économique (fonds de départ), juridique...

Toute création, en France, est soumise à des obligations juridiques, sauf celle d'une association. Ce n'est pas normal. A partir du moment où on va demander des fonds au public, il doit y avoir contrôle.

Il faudrait ensuite instituer une obligation, très durement sanctionnée, de transparence totale de l'utilisation de l'argent. Par exemple, par publication gratuite dans un organe grand public accessible facilement, par une vérification obligatoire par un commissaire aux comptes, comme dans une entreprise, avec contrôle des dépenses des permanents, voitures, etc.

Il faudrait enfin instituer une obligation absolue du respect de leur charte par les ONG, exactement comme pour les statuts d'une société anonyme. Une société anonyme dont l'objet indiqué dans les statuts est la fabrication de journaux ne peut fabriquer des voitures. On ne peut avoir une charte disant: «On aide les gens quelle que soit leur couleur, leur race, leur religion, etc.» et puis dire: «Je n'aide pas tel et tel pays », ce n'est pas possible. Ou alors, on dit qu'on est une organisation humaniaire politique, qu'on n'aime pas tel et tel pays ou tel et te! dictateur. Tout cela est légitime. On a le droit de choisir qui on veut aider, mais on ne peut tromper le public là-dessus.

Lionel Rotcage.

Croissance des jeunes nations, juin 1987, 163 boulevard Malesherbes, 75859 Paris Cedex 17.

The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in World Affairs

by Edward J. **Lacey***

Introduction

Even though national governments remain the principal actors in contemporary world affairs, they are not - and never have been - the only actors in the global system. Indeed, the state has not always been the primary actor in the system, and we cannot be certain that it will always be the most important. It is more and more widely recognized that many different classes of actors play a role in international affairs[1]. One of these classes of actors, the non-governmental organization or NGO, has dramatically increased its participation in the international system since its first appearance in the mid 19th century. Between 1860 and 1972, the number of such organizations increased almost one-hundred fold[2]. At the same time, the scope of activities in which they have engaged across national boundaries has also expanded. Thus, for example, the number of NGOs engaged in economic affairs transnationally increased by over 97 percent between 1909 - the first year for which there is reliable data on this matter - and 1972. During the same period, the number engaged in science and technology increased by over 90 percent[3]. Indeed, one scholar of international relations has stated that « new organizations formed every year engage in new activities hitherto not taken up at the international level »[4].

The Importance of NGOs

Non-governmental organizations are important to the study of world affairs for a number of reasons. The sheer number of NGOs and the variety of fields in which they are engaged cross-nationally is an important factor in world affairs[5]. There are over 20,000 international NGOs in existence today, and they are concerned with virtually every field of interest to mankind. Moreover, the importance of some of these NGOs in particular functional areas - the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Air Transport Association for example - adds to their overall importance in international affairs[6]. Indeed, some have suggested that non-governmental organizations play a more prominent role on the international scene than do many member states of the United Nations.

(*) The author is a member of the International Studies Association, represented at the 3rd UN Conference on the Law of the Sea. He wrote a doctoral thesis on *The Role of NGOs in the Third UN Conference on the Law of the « Sea »*.

Another reason for the importance of NGOs is the role which they play - or have the potential to play - in international affairs. They can frequently carry out transnational projects which neither governments nor intergovernmental organizations could accomplish. NGO activities are free of the political implications and suggestions of patronage that often hampers effective cooperation between governments and between intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and governments[7]. Thus, for example, one scholar has pointed out that

A hospital built by dint of NGO efforts on the edge of a desert in Africa can bring comfort and health to the surrounding villages without the government of the country having to sacrifice any of its declared foreign policy positions[8].

The same scholar has stated that, as a consequence, NGOs are able to achieve « outstanding successes » in numerous fields of endeavor[9]. Indeed, NGOs have been so successful in certain areas that the Deputy Director of Studies of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research wrote that

... non-governmental organizations are beginning to take over more and more tasks and functions which would have hitherto been reserved for IGOs[10].

Regardless of the extent to which this is actually occuring, NGOs are frequently requested to provide assistance and support to IGO programs. Examples of such requests include ECOSOC Resolution 1782, which invited NGOs to intensify their efforts in the global struggle against racial discrimination[11], and United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3154C, which urged NGOs to assist the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effect of Atomic Radiation in its work[12]. The importance of such NGO aid has been publically recognized by the IGOs themselves time and time again[13].

Still another role of NGOs in international affairs is that of fostering global integration. By developing common aims, creating habits of cooperation, and establishing international attitudes, NGOs tend to counter the emergence of international conflict and the use of violence'[14]. This view is an outgrowth of the theory of functionalism which was articulated by David Mitrany at the close of World War II. Mitrany asserted that by organizing international activities around the economic, social, and technical needs of the

peoples of the world, all nations would be gradually integrated and world peace would be advanced[15]. Although there is as yet little evidence to confirm the validity of this theory, the growth in the numbers and functions of NGOs - as well as of IGOs - in the post World War II era may well, in itself, be evidence to support the theory of functionalism[16]. If so, NGOs will continue to play an important role in creating the conditions which will eventually bring about lasting peace.

NGOs are also important in international relations because of their potential ability to influence other actors in the international arena. They may influence the policies of states directly and indirectly. In persuading governmental policy-makers to take their views into account through lobbying efforts, they can exert direct influence on policy-making. To the same effect, though indirectly, they can engage in activities to mold public opinion by changing the climate of opinion or by making it articulate[17].

They can also take the initiative in the presentation of new ideas for governmental consideration and provide vocal support for governmental policies of which they approve. Similarly, NGOs can exercise influence over intergovernmental organizations - directly, through contact with their officials and staff; and indirectly, through aid and assistance to their programs.

Sources of NGO Influence

The capacity of non-governmental organizations to influence other actors in the international arena - and international politics in general - stems from several factors. NGOs are a major source of expertise in many important fields of human activity, technical and non-technical alike. They also serve to represent the views and opinions of large and important segments of the world's population, as well as of selected technical communities. The NGOs can mold and mobilize public opinion to a significant extent, and. exercise a fair degree of «moral authority». Finally, many NGOs dispose of considerable technical and financial development aid throughout the world.

The major sources of NGO influence are discussed below :

Expertise. Non-Governmental organizations have accumulated a vast fund of experience and expertise in many fields of human activity, NGO information is often more detailed and available for longer periods of time than that accumulated by states and IGOs. Frequently, information which has not entered into governmental channels for political or other reasons is available only through NGOs[16]. For example, the United Christian Council on Life and Work, an NGO founded in 1925, once provided the International Labour Organisation with data on merchant seamen which were otherwise unavailable [19]. NGOs are also capable of gathering data cross-nationally since they are organized that way. On many occasions their reports have been the first comprehensive studies made of particular problems, and have become the bases of « official » intergovernmental discussions[20]. In fields where NGOs have a particular expertise, the scope of their potential influence is even greater. Indeed, an Assistant Director of Research for the United Nations Institute for Training and Research stated that

... some NGOs concerned with such subjects as the human environment and the law of the sea have contributed useful technical papers which government officials could not afford to ignore[21].

Moreover, NGOs are frequently charged by IGOs with the preparation of basic documentation for their deliberations. They are also frequently contracted by IGOs - as well as states - for the implementation of long-term research studies and projects.

Representation. NGOs represent one means by which important segments of the world public express their opinions on international issues. They represent the process by which differing groups of the public formulate and articulate their views, and provide a channel which is supplementary to, and separate from, that of governments as a means of expressing and carrying out objectives. The NGOs establish a direct link between intergovernmental organizations and groups of opinion holders organized around common interests[22]. As one United Nations official has stated, the NGOs.

... bring to the United Nations the views of peoples and groups throughout the world[23].

Many of the NGOs, therefore, exert considerable influence in international affairs by virtue of the fact that they lead and represent large segments of the world public in particular matters. (The League of Red Cross Societies, for example, has over 230 million members worldwide concerned with health and humanitarian issues). Other NGOs exert influence because they represent the opinions of elite groups or selected technical specialists[24].

Mobilization of Public Opinion. Non-governmental organizations also exert influence through their ability to mobilize public opinion in support of positions and programs they support[25]. They are capable of generating popular support at the national level for the positions they advocate, thereby laying the foundation for influencing official positions. In 1974, for example, three Canadian-based NGOs - the Canadian Council for International Co-operation, the Gatt-Fly, and the United Nations Association in Canada - were able to mobilize public opinion in ten Canadian cities to pressure the Government of Canada to modify certain positions which it had initially taken at the World Food Conference in Rome[26]. Intergovernmental Organizations are well aware of this source of NGO influence and have sought to exercise it on their behalf. In this regard, former United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim once stated that

The United Nations needs the support of public opinion in all its efforts... The United Nations cannot enter the public relations business, but that is a role which the non-governmental organizations can assume. Cooperation between the non-governmental organizations and the mass media would be very helpful in creating the right image of the United Nations in the public mind[27].

Accordingly, the United Nations and other IGOs have passed many resolutions urging NGOs to inform the public on substantive matters and mobilize support for IGO activities[28].

Moral Authority. Non-governmental organizations have long exerted a considerable degree of moral authority in international affairs. Indeed, it can be asserted that their very existence embodies one of the basic rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association[29]. Some NGOs - such as Amnesty International and the International League of Human Rights - have been noticeably alert in calling attention to violations of human rights. They have frequently provided information to the United Nations Econ-

omic and Social Council's Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities[30]. One NGO supporter has even stated that

The moral weight alone which they exert has at times changed the policy of a government in regard to a minority group under its jurisdiction... [31]

Aid. It is often overlooked that the NGO community makes *a* very substantial contribution to the development of the Third World through financial and technical aid to underdeveloped countries. A 1971 study by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimated that aid resources handled by non-governmental organizations exceeded U.S. $ 1.0 billion[32]. A similar study conducted in 1985 estimated the development assistance provided by NGOs as over U.S. $ 2.8 billion[33]. In addition to this financial aid, many NGOs have specialized training programs for civil servants and technicians of Third World countries, and have dispatched volunteers to these countries to assist in development efforts. All of these activities have provided the NGOs with opportunities to influence not only the decision makers of the underdeveloped countries, but principal IGOs concerned with development as well.

NGO Access to the International Policy-Making Process

In order to promote their objectives, the NGOs must gain access to the international policy-making process. They have three genera! points of access to this process - national governments, intergovernmental organizations, and special international conferences.

National Governments. Non-governmental organizations frequently attempt to influence international affairs by influencing national governments. The means by which they can do this varies from country to country. In the industrialized western democratic states, NGOs can mold and mobilize public opinion in order to affect governmental decisions. A successful example of this is the previously mentioned effort of the Canadian-based NGOs effect a change in certain of the Canadian Government's positions at the Rome World Food Conference of 1974. The Western democracies also generally provide the NGOs with direct access to the machinery of national decision making through formal or informal channels. The Government of Sweden, for example, maintains an office of « Ambassador to the NGOs » in order to keep itself informed of NGO positions on various international issues[34]. The United States Government accomplishes the same thing informally, through a series of confidential exchanges between the Department of State and the various NGOs (35).

The decision making machinery of many Third World states is also readily accessible to the non-governmental organizations in an informal manner. The limited resources of many of these undeveloped states do not permit them to operate extensive bureaucracies. Accordingly, the proffered expertise of NGOs can have a substantial impact upon national decision making[36]. In the case of the law of the sea, for example, many underdeveloped states have only a few persons who represent the country on this matter. What they know and do is that country's position on the law of the sea. More often than not, they have had little training or experience in this area - particularly in its more technical aspects - and are highly susceptible to the influence of knowledgeable NGOs[37].

The ability of NGOs to influence the communist states is less certain. There are relatively few NGOs operating within these countries, and they have virtually no access to the decision making structures. Nevertheless. NGOs may be able to influence the policies of these states - as well as those of the western and Third World states - through their delegations to both intergovernmental organizations and international conferences. Although the positions which delegates take are generally determined by specific instructions, they frequently have some leeway and are usually quite prepared to transmit ideas and information submitted to them by NGOs back to their governments[38]. This informal channel to the machinery of national decision making provides the NGOs with at least one means by which to influence these states.

Intergovernmental Organizations. Non-governmental organizations also seek to influence international affairs by influencing intergovernmental organizations. Their ability to do so has been greatly facilitated by the decisions of the major IGOs to establish formal consultative arrangements with the NGOs. These arrangements include a number of special privileges afforded the NGOs which provide them with increased opportunities to affect the outcome of IGO deliberations.

In order to make the job of consultation manageable, some of the IGOs such as the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) have set up different categories of consultative status for the NGOs. The United Nations Economic and Social Council, for example, has three categories[39]:

1. Category I - for NGOs concerned with most of the activities of the Council.
2. Category II - for organizations with special competence in a few ECOSOC activities.
3. The Roster - for ad hoc consultations with other NGOs.

Similar tripartite categories have been established by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the United Nations Educational. Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The ILO and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), on the other hand, have only two categories - one for NGOs with a special or general interest in their activities, and one for NGOs with only a limited interest[40].

The consultative arrangements provide the NGOs with direct access to the policy-making process of the intergovernmental organizations, allowing them to exert influence for the attainment of their goals. These arrangements differ from IGO to IGO. They also vary according to which category an organization is placed in. The NGOs in ECOSOC's Category I, for example, have more privileges - and consequently more opportunities to influence — than those in Category II or the Roster. In general, the special privileges available to the NGOs in consultative status with IGOs include some combination of the following[41]:

Ley may send observers to the IGOs' regular and special sessions.

2. Representatives of the NGOs may present their views orally to the IGOs.
3. NGOs may submit written statements to the IGOs.
4. NGOs may propose items for inclusion in the IGOs' agenda.
5. Officials of the NGOs may consult with the leadership and staff of the IGO secretariats on matters of mutual concern.

Special International Conferences. Since the end of the Second World War and the founding of the United Nations, there has been a recurring resort to special international conferences to deal with problems which transcend national and regional interests. Some of the more notable of these conferences include the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, the 1974 Rome World Food Conference, the 1975 Mexico City International Women's Year conference, the 1976 Vancouver Conference on Human Settlements, the 1979 Vienna Conference on Science and Technology for Development, the 1981 Nairobi Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, and the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea which began late in 1973 and, through various sessions in different locations, continued until 1982. Not one of these conferences has been unattended by the NGO community. As one diplomat stated, there has not been one such conference

... at the international level without significant parallel activity on the part of the non-governmental organizations, interacting with governments and trying to contribute to the conferences process[42].

Special international conferences on particular topics generally provide the NGOs with the same opportunities to influence policy-making that are provided by intergovernmental organizations. NGOs are normally permitted to send observers to such conferences, and these observers are frequently allowed to speak before the various conference sessions, submit written statements for consideration, and sit in on committee meetings and the drafting of conference proposals[43].

International conferences also provide the NGOs with an opportunity to affect policy-making directly by influencing national delegations. At the 1974 Rome Food Conference, for example, American-based NGOs are said to have exerted considerable influence over members of the United States Congress who were serving on the American delegation to the Conference. According to one report, this influence led to the position taken by the United States on issues affecting underdeveloped countries being more favorable than it had been initially[44].

Conclusion

in summary, non-governmental organizations exist in sizeable numbers worldwide, and their activities encompass virtually every field of human endeavor. In order to advance their particular goals, NGOs have gained access to the international policy-making process through national governments, intergovernmental organizations, and special international conferences. How successful NGOs actually are in influencing the outcome of the international policy-making process, however, is uncertain. The outcomes of national and intergovernmental decisions are the result of many causes, and the preferences of NGOs is only one of these. As a consequence, the actual extent of NGO impact will always be difficult to determine. It is further complicated by the fact that NGO proposals are often incorporated in « official » national and intergovernmental texts without reference to their origin. Notwithstanding this lack of conclusive proof of NGO impact, the weight of evidence clearly suggests that NGOs are a positive force on the world scene, and that they are playing a major and continuing role in contemporary world affairs.

Notes

(1) Richard W. Mansbach, Yale H. Ferguson, and Donald E. Lampert; *The Web of World Politics: Nonstate Actors in the Global System* (Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976). pp. 25-25: and «Citizen Participation in World Affairs: Strengthening the Role of « Non-State Actors » in International Relations », *Transnational Associations,* (January-February 1977), p. 28.

(2) The number of NGOs in existence in 1860 was 5, while the number in being in 1972 was 2,470. This represents an increase of 99.8 percent. See Werner Feld: « Nongovernmental Entities and the International System : A Preliminary Quantitative Overview», *Orbis,* XV (Fall 1971), p, 885.

(3) Werner Feld and Roger A. Coate; *The Role of International Nongovernmental Organizations in World Politics* (New York: Learning Resources in International Studies, 1976), p. 13.

(4) Kjell Skjelsbaek; «The Growth of International Nongovernmental Organization in the Twentieth Century», in Robert 0. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, eds.; *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 77.

- Pitman B. Potter; «Non-Governmental International Organizations Viewed by a Political Scientist», *International Associations* (June 1962), p. 404.

Olle Dahien: « NGO Organizations for action», *Transnational Associations* (January 1978), p. 14.

James E. Knott; «International Organizations and Public Opinion: The Role of Non-governmental Organizations», *International Associations* (June 1965), p. 327.

Werner Feld; p. 895.

Ibid.

' Alexander Szalai; «The Future of International Organizations», *International Associations (May* 1972). p. 271.

(11) United Nations Economic and Social Council resolution 1782 (LIV).

(2) United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3154C (XXVIII).

(31) The importance of the NGO role for the implementation of the International Development Strategy, for example, was underlined both by the Economic and Social Council and by the Secretary General of the United Nations. See ECOSOC Resolution 1739 (LIV). and the report of the Secretary General in response to this Resolution and the recommendations of the Council's Committee on NGOs. E/C.2/768.

(14) Louis Kriesberg; « International Nongovernmental Organizations and Transnational Integration», *International Associations (November* 1972). p. 521.

(15) See David Mitrany, *A Working Peace System,* (Chicago: Quadrangle. 1966).

(16) Werner Feld and Roger A. Coate; p. 12.

(17) William M. Evan: «Transnational Forums for Peace», in Evan. Quincy Wright, and Morton Deutsch, eds.: *Preventing World War III: Some Proposals* (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1962), p. 398.

(18) Anthony J.N. Judge and Kjell Skjelsbaek; «Transnational Associations and their Functions », in A.J.R. Groom and Paul Taylor, eds.: *Functionalism: Theory and Practice In International Relations* (New York: Crane Russak and Co., 1975), p. 207.

(19) Darril Hudson; «Case study of an international pressure group». *International Associations* (June 1968). p. 406.

(20) Lyman C. White; *International Non-Governmental Organizations: Their Purpose, Methods, and Accomplishments (New* York: Greenwood Press, 1968). p. 12.

(21) Berhanykun Andemicael; « Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Economic and Social Develoment ». *International*

Studies Notes 4 (Spring 1977), p. 21. Examples of such papers include a report on environmental aspects of the law of the sea prepared by the International Institute for Environment and Development for consideration by UNCLOS III, and a series of recommendations on the prevention of the contamination of outer space presented by the Committee on Space Research to the United States and the Soviet Union.

(22) Georges Langrod: «Some reflections on the private sector of international co-operation ». *International Associations* (Marche 1965). p. 137; James N. Rosenau; *Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: An Operational Formulation,* (New York: Random House, 1961). p. 61; and James E. Knott; p. 322. See also Dwain Epps: «The Role of NGO Cooperation in Establishing A New World Order», *International Associations* (May 1967). p. 257.

(23) Bradford Morse, United Nations Undersecretary General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, as quoted in Anne Thompson Feraru; «Transnational Political Interests and the Global Environment», *International Organization, 28* (Winter 1974). p. 43.

(24) Lawrence Whetten; «The Relations of the International Atomic Energy Agency with Non-Governmental Organizations »? *International Associations* (July 1963), p. 409; and Anthony J.N. Judge; « Problems hindering action of international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) ». *Transnational Associations* (April 1980), p. 180. See also Robert C. Angell; *Peace On The March: Transnational Participation* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1969), p. 145 where he states that «We can... be quite confident that NGO participants are persons who are in a position to influence policy-makers ».

(25) C. Maxwell Stanley; *Managing Global Problems* (Muscatine, Iowa : The Stanley Foundation, 1979). pp. 226 and 229.

(26) Thomas C. Weiss and Robert S. Jordan; « The Role of NGOs In The World Food Conference», *International Associations* (May 1975), pp. 269-270: and Berhanykun Andemicael; p. 20.

(27) *Report of Annual Conference of the Non-Governmental Organizations Listed with the United Nations Office of Public Information* (United Nations, New York : United Nations Office of Public Information. 31 May and 1 June 1972), p. 10.

(28) Dwain Epps; «The Role of NGO Cooperation in Establishing A New World Order», *International Associations* (May 1976), p. 258.

(29) James E. Knott; p. 324. Article 20, Paragraph 1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Final Authorized Text) states that « Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association». For an interesting approach as to how this declaration could be made directly applicable to non-governmental organization, see Anthony J.N. Judge; «The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Human Organization - an experimental extension of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights», *International Associations* (January 1971), pp. 7-11, 13-26.

(30) Harry M. Scoble and Laurie S. Wiseberg; « Monitoring Human Rights Violations: The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations», in Donald P. Kornmers and Gilburt D. Loescher, eds.; *Human Rights and American Foreign Policy* (Notre Dame. Indiana : University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), p. 190; Walter R. Sharp; *The United Nations Economic and Social Council* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969). p. 40; and A. Le Roy Bennett; « Possible Contributions of International Organizations to Safeguarding Human Rights », Paper presented at the annual conference of the International Studies Association, Philadelphia, March 1981, pp. 9-10.

(31) Lyman C. White; p. 13.

(32) Anthony J.N. Judge and Kjell Skjelsbaek; p. 204.

(33) Borghese Elena, «Third World Development: the Role of Nongovernmental Organizations», *OECD Observer* (April-May 1987).

(34) Olle Dahlen; «The Relationship Between The UN and NGOs», *International Associations* (June-July 1976), p. 327.

(35) Virginia F Saurwein; « NGO's At The UN : A New Role? » *War/Peace Report,* 8 (June-July 1968), p. 16.

(36) Edward Miles; «Transnationalism in Space: Inner and Outer», in Robert 0. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, eds.: *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 273.

(37) William C. Lynch; «The Law of the Sea and the Developing countries: Corucopia or Castrophe?» in Don Walsh. ed.; *The Law Of The Sea : Issues In Ocean Resource Management* (New York: Preager, 1977). p. 119.

(38) Persia Campbell: «Do NGO's Have a Role?» *International Development Review,* XI (1969), p. 39.

(39) *Yearbook of the United Nations 1973* United Nations, New York: United Nations Office of Public Information, 1976), p. 599.

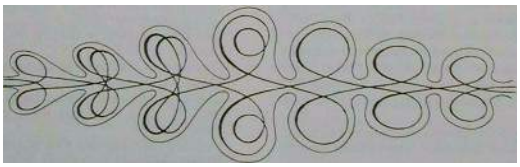
(40) Werner Feld and Roger A. Coate; p. 28.

(41) *Yearbook of the United Nations 1973,* p. 599; Lawrence Whetten; p. 411 ; and David A. Morse, forward: *Lasting Peace the I.L.O. Way: The Story of the International Labour Organization* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1951), p. 41.

(42) Ylter Turkmen; «The role of the non-governmental organizations within the United Nations system ». *Transnational Associations* (February 1978). p. 81.

(43) Berhanykun Andemical; p. 20.

(44) Olle Dahlen; « NGO Organizations for action », p. 9.



Harmonization of Studies and Statistics on Conferences

by Gian Carlo Fighiera*

Introduction

1. The aim of this study is to identify the main points of agreement and disagreement in the methodologies and definitions used throughout the world by the various sources of information, analysis and data on conferences and similar meetings.

2. This study has been completed through the comparative analysis of approximately fifty research and statistical works on meetings, conducted at the international, national and local level.

3. It is designed to constitute a point of departure for the future harmonization of methodologies and definitions in this field, a working document that will eventually permit the preparation of common definitions for use by researchers in preparing their statistics on conferences and the instances concerned.

Current Issues and Problems

4. The public and private bodies responsible for overseeing, equipping, promoting and ensuring the effective functioning of the conference market must base their political and commercial decisions on in-depth knowledge of this market and its trends, and more specifically, its dimensions and its qualitative and quantitative components.

5. For a number of years, these bodies have repeatedly questioned the reliability and comparability of data contained in the studies and statistics on conferences and similar meetings. The question is repeated regularly, both in meetings of international associations representing the various sectors in which the market operates - cities, conference centres, transport, hotels, professional organizers, etc. - and in the specialized press. It may be assumed that this question reflects doubt.

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6. Everyone agrees that the information currently available internationally, nationally and intranationally (departmentally, regionally, locally), is insufficient, fragmented, imprecise and often contradictory, threatening to spread confusion among users.

7. The available statistics are not based on standardized concepts, definitions and classifications, and are generally highly sporadic, making it impossible to verify if certain observations refer to contingent phenomena or to permanent situations. Finally, the studies refer to years long past, and most statistics are out of date.

8. Consequently, the need to harmonize the methodologies used to record and process statistical data on the basis of a uniform definition of research aims has been vigorously pointed out over the years.

9. The first step in achieving this aim is to establish an inventory of the main sources of information with a comparative analysis of each identifying their coinciding and diverging elements. This spade work could be the point of departure for finding common denominators acceptable to the majority of the bodies concerned.

The Territorial Character

10. Depending on the territorial competence attributed to them, meetings of all types are classified as *international* (world, régional, etc.), *national or intranational* (provincial, communal, etc.).

11. The main sources of statistical information on international *meetings* are as follows:

(a) The Union of International Associations (UIA) of Brussels has annually prepared world data, covering approximately 100 countries;

(b) « ad hoc » studies covering various geographic areas,

12. The sources for *national and intranational meetings,* are as follows:

(a) data recorded by countries and prepared and disseminated either by official institutions, such as the national tourism offices, or by other bodies, such as groups of conference cities or meeting promotion centres;
(b) Intranational data, in most cases municipal, published by a small number of local tourism offices.

13. Additional research of a more limited nature is also available: the observations of meeting host centres (universities, convention centres, etc.) and surveys of certain operators - for example, air transporters.

14. The national and intranational sectors are considered to be of marginal importance, and tend to be neglected by researchers. In many cases researchers do not even incorporate this secondary market in their work.

15. As shown further on, the methodologies used for the collection of information on meetings - whether they are international, national or intranational - are extremely divergent.

16. Systematic frontier surveys on travel motivation, which would at least make it possible to determine the number of conference participants attending meetings abroad, are only conducted exceptionally by the competent authorities.

17. The most commonly used method for preparing conference statistics is the survey of demand, by means of questionnaires distributed to meeting promoters (primarily international and national organizations) or service providers (accommodation establishments, centres hosting meetings, etc.). This system has one obvious weakness, in that comprehensive coverage of the phenomenon studied is possible only if the coefficient of responses to surveys is significant.

18. In other cases, the data refer only to meetings announced in the official calendar which, logically, are limited to the largest meetings. An Asian country has for a number of years even issued conference statistics based on press information.

19. We are unaware of household surveys on the participation of household members in meetings. On the other hand, sample surveys taken of participants at certain meetings are sometimes used in sociological research: the interested parties are requested to complete a questionnaire or response to a personal interview.

20. When information is extrapolated from partial elements rather than from true, thorough scientific observation, a psychological factor may influence the research. Studies are in fact rarely confided to outside institutions. On the contrary, research is quite frequently performed by the same body that requires the information. Furthermore, the methodology used for study is not always rigorously scientific and objective, but occasionaly contains a political and subjective component.

21. For example, a body requiring a survey may tend to justify the optimism of its management reports and trend forecasts by using somewhat biased data. Transporters occasionally use this method as a means to justify expansion of their fleets; tourism administrations do the same to encourage investment in conference facility construction or renovation, or to obtain larger loans for conference promotion. According to one researcher*, figures can be exaggerated by as much as 20 per cent.

7776 Elements of Research

22. A total of about forty elements are taken into consideration in this research, and may be roughly grouped in the following eight sections:

1. *Geography*
   1.1 Generating countries (demand)
   1.2 Receiving countries and destinations (supply)
   1.2.1 Country
   1.2.2 Destinations
   1.2.2.1 Capitals and large cities
   1.2.2.2 Provincial cities
   1.2.2.3 Spas or cure resorts
   1.2.2.4 Other destinations

2. *Characteristics*
   2.1 Number of conferences
   2.2 Seasonal breakdown
   2.3 Subject breakdown
   2.4 Frequency
   2.5 Official working languages

3. *Participants*
   3.1 Number of participants
   3.2 Number of accompanying persons
   3.3 Breakdown by sex
   3.4 Breakdown by age group
   3.5 Breakdown by profession
   3.6 Breakdown by income
   3.7 Breakdown by country of origin

4. *Means of transport*
   4.1 Breakdown of participants by means of transport used to travel to the meeting site.

5. *The sites*
   5.1 Distribution of meetings by site (hotels, convention centres, universities and others)

6. *Accommodation*
   6.1 Distribution of delegates by type of accommodation (hotels, pensions, apartments, etc.)
   6.2 Distribution of participants by category of hotel chosen

7. *Duration*
   7.1 Distribution of meetings by duration in days
   7.2 Distribution of participants by length of stay in days in the destination
   7.3 Distribution of participants by duration of their travel in days (travel and stay)

8. *Expenditure*
   (From 8.1 to 8.5 inclusive, each item may be expressed in absolute figures and in relative figures).
   8.1 Expenditure by the organization sponsoring the meeting
   8.2 Expenditure by the organizing committee

* Helmut Schwägermann, Sales Director of the Berlin Conference in « More transparency in congress statistics » : *Tagungs Wirtschaft*, January/February 1987.

8.3 Expenditure by the official bodies of the host country and city
8.4 Expenditure by delegations
8.5 Expenditure by participants
8.5.1 Arrival expenses (travel)
8.5.2 Registration fee
8.5.3 Expenses for the stay (total or per day)
8.5.3.1 Accommodation
8.5.3.2 Food
8.5.3.3 local transport
8.5.3.4 Excursions
8.5.3.5 Cultural pursuits
8.5.3.6 Sports
8.5.3.7 Entertainment
8.5.3.8 Purchases and souvenirs
8.5.3.9 Small personal expenditure
8.6 Allowances received by the delegates
8.7 Direct and indirect economic effect of the expenses on:
8.7.1 the host country
8.7.2 the host cities
8.7.3 the convention centres
8.7.4 hotels and other accommodation establishments
8.7.5 restaurants
8.7.6 various service providers
8.7.7. local employment

23. Many of the items listed above are mutually complementary and thus create a series of interrelationships that increase the number of areas for research.

24. For example, the data concerning item 1. (conference geograhy) can be subdivided first according to the territorial nature of the meetings (international, national, and intranational); subsequently by dividing each subdivision into subject groups (scientific, professional, ideological, etc.): and finally, by analysing each group according to the overall amount and structure of its expenditure, the type of accommodation and so on. Theoretically, this exercise would yield several hundreds of statistical series, which proves that an excessive penchant for detail is as counterproductive as a lack of method. In practice, no study has ever encompassed all forty of the research elements and sub-elements listed above.

The Moin Distortions

(a) The term «meeting»

25. Although a universally acceptable definition of the term « meeting » has still to be formulated, this term may be construed as referring, as it does in everyday parlance, to any encounter of persons sharing common interests, scheduled in advance, for the purpose of exchanging information and knowledge, imparting or receiving instruction, or deciding on a group policy.

26. Depending on its purpose, nature, structure and format, a meeting may be called a « conference », « congress », « seminar», « symposium », « colloquium », «round table», «study day or cycle», «commission», «committee», «working party», etc.

(The special dimension of meetings have already been analysed at the beginning of this study. The categories of meeting sponsors — international organizations, enterprises, etc. - and subjects are not covered in this document).

27. In its statistical application, the notion of «meeting» gives rise to a spectrum of options and interpretations that differ depending on the type of research. While most information sources use the term « meeting » only to refer to conferences and similar encounters, others group very heterogeneous events under the same title.

28. In Asia, for example, most countries are members of the Asian Association of Conference and visitors Bureaus (AACVB) and have replaced the term « meeting » with « event ». What this association means by « event » has not been precisely defined, but AACVB regional statistics explicitly include exhibitions, which alone account for over 84 per cent of all participants at all events covered by the statistics for 1980-1985. Within the same geographic area, the Philippines also keeps track of governmental meetings (454 with 19,000 participants in 1984), incentive travel (fifty-two in 1984) and even lectures given in the country (fifty-four lectures heard by 6,700 persons).

29. Incentive travel enters into more than one conference statistic. It appears together with exhibitions in the research on foreseeable trends in the conference market conducted in 1983 by the European Federation of Conference Towns. This combination of meetings, exhibitions and incentive travel is found in the surveys for 1984, 1985 and 1986 conducted by the specialized British review *Conferences and Exhibitions International.* Incentive travel is also combined with conferences in the definition given by the Blue Plan for its activities between now and the years 2000 and 2025, and in certain local statistics, such as those of Puerto Rico and Madrid. Madrid uses the term «event» rather than «meeting».

30. Furthermore, incentive travel only constitutes a subclassification (approximately 39 per cent) of the more general item «company meetings» which has its place in the aforementioned statistics of *Conferences and Exhibitions International:* steering committee meetings, stockholders' meetings, staff training semi-mars, presentation of new products, etc, are listed here. This is not an exception, since the monthly North American review *World Convention Data* is dedicated to the publication of data concerning steering committee meetings, and because it adds data to those for general exhibitions and meetings, excluding incentive travel from the calculation.

31. Moreover, as early as 1984 the North American publication *Meetings and Conventions* affirmed that, based on its survey, the meaning of the word « meeting » varied from city to city: some included commercial sales meetings and similar activities in the figures for meetings.

32. Finally, some programmes, such as the Koch Project of the University of Munich, place meetings and business travel in the same category. The official statistics on frontier arrivals formulated by some countries and territories (including Hong Kong and Singapore) follow the same principle. The statistics of the World Tourism Organization, it must be recalled, group conferences and missions in the same category.

(b) The geography of meetings

33. The territorial character of a meeting is often indicated by the organizers in the title of the meeting.

34. A considerable number of researchers distinguish between national and international conferences and note the results of their studies separately for each of the two categories.

35. Nonetheless, in addition to this dualistic distribution, a third category has been added in the Asian countries of the AACVB: national conferences with foreign participation that are accounted for separately. In this case, it is the origin of the participants and not the meeting's site that determines its geographic denomination.

36. According to this concept, when foreign participation reaches 10 per cent, a national meeting may be classified as international. Pakistan fully supports this concept.

37. The meaning of the terms «national» and «international » - which seem very clear - must now be considered.

38. In reality, « international » is not a synonym for « world ». Some research at the world level is developed on the basis of an intentional sample limited to selected national markets. For example, the now defunct USTS chose western Europe, the United States of America, Canada, Japan and southeast Asia as the areas for study in their 1974 study. The Blue Plan refers only to countries belonging to the Mediterranean Basin for the benefit of which this Plan operates.

39. World statistics do not group countries in the same way. The Union of International Associations classifies them by continent. Others, such as Alkjaer, distinguished between North America (United States and Canada) and Latin America, thus obtaining six areas instead of five continents. A study published by the Centre for Advanced Tourism Studies uses a variation on the Alkjaer scheme, dividing Europe into two parts (east and west), according to a geopolitical concept, and does the same for Asia (southern, eastern and Pacific); this brings the number of areas to be studied to eight.

40. International meetings are occasionally subclassified regionally. The AACVB, for example, separates Asian events from others. Fortin and Ritchie(*) are inclined toward a breakdown by continent classifying the conference market (in terms of sponsoring organizations) into four groups; international, continental (i.e. United States and Canada), national and regional, and provincial.

41. There are two types of situations in which the boundary between international and national meetings disappears. In the first case, research is explicitly intended only for the international market: it deliberately ignores the national market. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is the survey conducted in 1986, by the International Association of Conference Centres (AIPC), on the statistics of Israel, Japan, Singapore, Vancouver and the Netherlands. The second type of situation, by far the more troublesome, is when the data on national and international conferences are not separated. This method is followed, by, among others, the British Association of Conference Towns (BACT), by the American Society of Association Executives (ASAE), as well as by the International Association of Convention and Visitors Bureaus (IACVB).

(•) Paul A. Fortin and J.R. Brent Ritchie in *«Le Choix d'un site de congrès»*. Office de planification et de développement du Québec. Montréal, 1976.

42. Having seen the meanings given to the term «international », let us now analyse those associated with the concept of «national».

43. The meaning of « national » is subject to the constraints of administrative treatment of territories within each state. One need only cite the case of the United States, where in addition to federal statistics there are state, regional (east, northeast, etc. of the United States) and urban statistics. The conclusions of each surveyor are not comparable with those of the others, because they result from different methodologies, because they relate to dissimilar territories or because, given the sporadic nature of the research, they refer to different periods of time.

(c) The minimum number of conference participants

44. While some sources include in their statistics all conferences and similar meetings known to the sources, without restriction, others establish criteria for the inclusion of conferences and meetings in their calculations.

45. The most common criterion for inclusion concerns a meeting's minimum quantitative dimensions. The unit used to measure a meeting's dimension is the number of registered conference participants.

46. Registration for a conference and actual participation are two different things, but so as not to be overty pedantic, we will simply mention that the disparity between registration and actual participation is normally 10 to 15 per cent or more.

47. It would be preferable instead to focus on the following problem : for many meetings there is no distinction between conference participant and accompanying person. When the two categories are combined in the same calculation, they skew the statistical results: the difference could be about 15 per cent.

48. We will turn now from the definitions of «conference participants » currently used for statistical purposes to examine the principle of « minimum number of participants » as a criterion for including meetings in the statistics. There are about ten different interpretations of this concept.

49. At the low end of the scale is the Japanese Tourism Office, whose lowest statistical category is «less than ten foreign participants» without mention of an absolute minimum. IACVB includes a category of «less» than twenty participants in its conference statistics. The twenty-participant figure is also used by the « Officiel des congrès » and the «Tourisme d'affaires» of Paris. The British Tourist Authority has a category of more than twenty-five participants.

50. Sources excluding meetings with less than approximately 100 participants from their statistics include Alkjaer, with its somewhat vague category of «less than 100». Until recently, the German Convention Bureau (GCB) only included meetings of «more» than 100 persons, 50 per cent of whom had to be of foreign origin, but as of 1987, it cosponsors the national survey of the Cybernetics Institute of Munich, which includes all meetings of more than 100 participants, regardless of origin. The International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA) applies the same principle.

51. The department of Tourism of British Colombia in Canada is the only source using 200 participants - or more imprecisely « less than 200 participants » - as a starting point.

52. The English Tourist Board (ETB), is concerned only with meetings of more than 500 delegates. The same is true for the study presented by the International Association of Conference Centres to its Havana Conference in 1986. while similar research by the Palais des Congrès de Paris places the lower limit at 800 participants.

53. It would be tempting to believe that, having selected the meetings to be covered in their statistics, researchers merely published the final figures obtained, faithfully and consistently.

54. This is not, however, always the case, since some surveyors attempt to assign arithmetic values to elements that, because of their very insubstantiality, are not subject to numerical quantification: non-responses by part of the survey,subjects. Acknowledging that non-response to a survey cannot be interpreted as an absence of meetings, these researchers, including Alkjaer, apply a corrective coefficient - obviously, a subjective estimate - to the figures obtained. For the now defunct United States Travel Service (USTS), this coefficient was 5 per cent for Eastern Europe, Japan and Africa; 10 per cent for Asia (excluding Japan), Australia and Israel, 15 per cent for North America and 20 per cent for Western Europe and Latin America. The danger of this method is that extrapolations will be advanced as statistical figures.

(d) Distribution by subject

55. Repeated attempts have been made to classify international and national meetings according to subject, but in the absence of commonly accepted principles, the subject groups vary from one author to another and are not mutually comparable.

56. The following cases are useful examples:
- *The Singapore Tourist Promotion Board* divides its meetings into five groups (medicine, professions, science and technology, finance, trade);
- *Italcongressi* uses six categories (culture, medicine and science, politics and labour unions, professions, sports and tourism, others);
- The *USTS* also classified meetings into six categories, although denominated differently (professions, pure sciences, moral sciences, social services, industry and trade, travel and tourism);
- *Meetings and Conventions* uses eleven categories (professions, business, business ownership, trade, education, religion, friendship, hobby, labour unions, culture, others};
- The *IACVB* also classifies meetings into eleven categories, though different from those cited above (education, science, friendship, labour unions, officials and employees, professions, religion, business, social services, business ownership, veterans).

(e) Duration

57. Minimum duration is rarely used by researchers as a criterion for the inclusion of meetings in statistical series.

58. The only exceptions are British Tourist Authority (BTA) and the German Convention Bureau (GCB). BTA indicates that it includes half-day meetings while GCB only includes meetings involving more than two overnight stays.

59. Most of the surveys analyse the duration of the meetings and develop statistical overviews of the various cases of duration. The problem is that the concept of duration is interpreted in different ways.

60. Most statistics express the duration of meetings in «days», but some sources, influenced by hotel terminology, use the concept of «night» or «overnight stay» as a unit for calculating not the duration of the meeting, but the length of stay by participants in the accommodation establishments.

61. It must be recalled that the terms «days» and «overnight stays» do not apply to the same period of time. Indeed, a night spent in a hotel may correspond to two days of meetings. This is probably why some studies, such as the BTA's use a dual system of calculation, determining both the number of days of meetings and the number of overnight stays by participants.

62. In practice, the duration of a meeting and the length of time participants stay in the host city are rarely the same. A number of participants usually arrive after the meeting opens or leave the city before it closes. Some will stay for a shorter period of time than that allotted for the meeting, while others will stay for all of it or even extend their stay beyond the opening or closing dates. The duration of a meeting, may be defined simply as the period between its first and last days.

63. This gives rise to the controversial question as to when a meeting begins and whether there may be some discrepancy between the official dates announced for a conference and its actual duration.

64. Some organizers include the delegates' arrival date as part of the meeting. Traditionally, this day ends with an evening reception, and the official opening occurs the following day. Most organizers, however, consider the first day to be that of the opening ceremony. Duration will thus be calculated as one day longer or shorter, depending on which of these two approaches is taken.

65. In general, research on the question of meeting duration has been aimed to determine the average duration of the meetings or to develop statistical series on the breakdown of meetings according to duration (2-3 days; 4-5 days; 6-7 days; more than one week), but mixing the two concepts of meeting duration and length of stay by participants.

66. Only two studies directly address the question of length of stay by conference participants in hotels : the survey conducted by the review *Conferences and Exhibitions* and the research of M.C. Tideman on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

67. Only the Berlin International Conference Centre is concerned with determining to what extent conference participants prolong their stay in the host city beyond the close of the event they have attended.

68. Noteworthy in this regard is the following definition of the term « Foreign conference participants » used in Pakistan : *«Person participating in a conference and staying in Pakistan for more than twenty-four hours and less than six months »*.

(f) *Expenditure*

69. Of all the aspects of the conference market, economic volume is by far the most important.

70. Expenditure for meeting preparation and conduct, as well as participation, have been the subject of extensive research. Unfortunately, the nature of expenses to be studied has also been subject to disagreement. Expenditure has been classified in four categories:

i. Expenditure by the organization convening the meeting;
ii. Expenditure by the organizing committee;
iii. Expenditure by public and private bodies in the host country and city;
iv. Expenditure by participants.

71. The most common approach is to consider expenditure by conference participants, but not the others.

72. Another subject of disagreement concerns the subject of the research itself : total expenditure by conference participants throughout the meeting or related expenditure per day?

73. Israel, Singapore and Berlin are concerned only with expenditure by foreign conference participants, while the other sources make no geographic distinction among meeting participants. The difference between the two methodologies is important, because the amount and nature of expenditure by a foreign delegate certainly differs from that of his local counterpart.

74. Some sources, such as the State of Florida in the United States, and to a certain extent the IACBV, record per-household rather than per-person (by the conference participant plus accompanying person(s)) arguing that certain shared expenses - such as the rental of a room with two beds - could not be attributed separately to each party concerned.

75. Another point requiring clarification is the meaning of «expenditure by conference participants»; local expenditure only or also other expenditure resulting from travel to and participation in the meeting?

76. Singapore, the Swiss researcher Staher, the specialized review *Congress and Seminar* and Alkjaer, among others, group meeting registration fees paid by participants with local expenditure by the participant. (In reality, the aforementioned fees are included in the budget of the organizing committee and, thus, in the final analysis, are spent by the committee).

77. Studies on the amounts of registration fees, grouped according to category, are abundant: the International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA) and the European Society of Association Executives (ESAE) both conduct such studies.

78. The inclusion or non-inclusion of the registration fees under conference participants expenditure obviously affect the breakdown of expenditure into sub-accounts.

79. This breakdown is performed according to highly varied concepts. For the Federation of International Associations established in Belgium (FAIS), all the expenditures can be reduced to two categories :

i. Expenditure for accommodation and meals (two items that are also combined by Franic);
ii. Other expenses.

80. Most studies separate accommodation expenses, but some (Alkjaer, Tideman, IACVB) go still further : they divide the meal item into two parts, statistically distinguishing meals taken in hotel restaurants from those taken in other establishments.

81. The composition of the hotel expense item is not uniform either. In some countries, the price for renting a room includes continental breakfast; in others it is excluded or billed separately. Consequently, in some studies the cost of breakfast is incorporated in the price of accommodation, while in others it appears under restaurant expenses.

82. These shifts from one account to another do not modify the overall amount of the expense, but hinder comparative study of the breakdown of conference participant expenditure during their stay.

83. We have now examined the various concepts applied to the analysis of individual expenditure by meeting participants.

84. Expenditure by three other groups must still be analysed: the organization sponsoring the meetings, the committees organizing the meetings and the host countries and cities.

85. It is well known that while some organizations profit economically from their conferences and similar meetings, others subsidize such events.

86. The amounts of these subsidies have been the subjects of two research efforts : one by the IACVB, to determine the amount of contributions per delegate and per day, and the other by the Philippines Convention Bureau, which after breaking down expenditure per delegate per day, sought to determine overall rather than per-delegate association spending.

87. Expenditure by organizing committees has been studied only by the Berlin Convention Centre, which calculates the amount per day.

88. Financing by host countries and cities has proven so infrequent (with the exception of the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Netherlands), that no one has attempted to study it.

89. Private industry supports scientific meetings rather generously insofar as they contribute to research or indirectly promote certain industrial products, but the confidentiality surrounding such operations makes information impossible to obtain.

90. Urban and national communities tend, rather, to be the beneficiaries of economic activity generated by the conferences held in their midst.

91. The total receipts are analysed by the British Association of Conference Towns (BACT), by Thaer and by Berlin. Berlin, as well as Tideman, also determine the indirect profits brought by meetings in the form of job creation, taxes and use of public services.

92. The purely financial aspects of the conference market, such as its place among invisible exports, the volume of foreign currency generated for host countries, etc. are covered by other studies.

93. Before concluding this segment of the study, it should be noted that confusion has resulted from the imprecise indication of the currency used by some researchers in their calculations. This confusion results from the use of the symbol « $ », which is shared by a great number of currencies and which must be accompanied by a national in dicator: « US$» for dollars of the United States of America, « A$ » for Australian dollars, « CAN$ » for Canadian dollars, « S$ » for Singapore dolars, « HK$ » for Hong Kong dollars.

94. In omitting this indicator, some sources, mainly the specialized press, cause errors in research: for example, when Singapore announces an average on-site expenditure, per conference participant, per day of «$600», this must of course be interpreted as 600 Singapore dollars.

Areas for Harmonization

95. The foregoing shows the incomparability of data provided by the various studies, surveys and statistics on meetings.

96. For example, if two or three sources are systematically examined it can be observed that the number of meetings indicated for certain countries deviates by as much as 1 :6 to 1:7. Specific cases are indicated below:

Number of meetings in 1985
Conferences and Exhibitions

	UAI		AACVB
Hong Kong	44	165	–
Indonesia	21	56	-
Japan	93	438	-
Philippines	62	111	135
Singapore	74	429	186
Thailand	41	285	

97. The reason for this deviation is that each study, survey and statistic is based on completely different criteria and data collection and processing methods. Furthermore, the research work often has a fragmentary and unrepetitive nature: credibility is often undermined by a lack of rigour, a non-professional approach and a poorly disguised promotional aim.

98. To ensure the reliability and comparability of conference studies, surveys and statistics priority must be given to establishing common definitions and methodology and promoting cooperation and coordination of research among all interested bodies.

99. The harmonization effort should provide a concerted response to the following questions :
- what characteristics must conferences and similar meetings possess to be included in the statistics?
  - nature
  - minimum number of participants
  - minimum duration
  - other elements
- how must meetings be defined geographically, for example: national, regional, international, world?
- how should the term «duration» be defined? How long should the conferences and other meetings be?
- how should meeting participants be defined?
- for what categories of participants should the amount of expenditure be determined?
- what elements must be taken into consideration in determining expenditure by meeting participants?
- under what items should participant expenditure be broken down ?
- what methodologies must be applied to obtain the maximum transparency, objectivity and comparability of statistics on conferences and similar meetings?

100. The list of questions thus formulated is not intended to be exhaustive. At the most, it many constitute the point of departure for an orderly discussion between the responsible parties of the various sectors of the market, with a view to defining consistent research criteria for an in-depth analysis of the conference market, its dimensions, its quantitative and qualitative profile, its development over previous decades and trends for the future.

101. Finally, this information should provide meeting promotors, service providers (transporters and audio-visual firms, hotels, convention centres), investors and public and private bodies with a basis for formulating a coherent policy with respect to prospection and reception of conferences and similar meetings.

ANNEX I

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT

The types of meetings covered in the studies and statistics

- meetings *per se,* which may be assimilated with conferences and seminars;
- meetings *per se,* plus exhibitions;
- meetings *per se,* plus government meetings plus incentive travel and factures;
- meetings *per se* plus incentive travel plus exhibitions;
- meetings *per se* plus incentive travel;
- meetings *per se* plus company meetings (including incentive travel);
- meetings *per se* plus company meetings (excluding incentive travel);
- meetings *per se* plus commercial sales meetings and similar activities;
- meetings *per se* plus business travel;
- meeting per se plus missions.

The geography of meetings

- two categories: international conferences and national conferences;
- three categories: international, national, national with (extensive) foreign participation;
- two categories: international conferences (including national conferences with foreign participation), national conferences;
- one category: international conferences in certain selected markets;
- one category and five sub-categories : international conferences divided according to continent;
- one category and six or eight ad hoc sub-categories;
- three categories: international, regional and national conferences;
- one category: international conferences;
- one category: international and national conferences combined;
- two categories :
  (a) international and national conferences combined,
  (b) provincial and local conferences combined.

Minimum number of participants

- number of registrants (with or without accompanying person(s)) :
- number of participants (with or without accompanying person(s));
- less than 10;
- less than 20;
- 20;
- 25;
- lees than 100;
- 100;
- less than 200;
- 500;
- 800.

Breakdown by subject

- 5 groups;
- 6 groups;
- 11 groups.

Duration

- duration of the meeting from the time of arrival of the delegates until closure of the event;
- length of stay by delegates, in days;
- length of stay by delegates, in overnight stays;
- average duration of a group of meetings;
- breakdown of leetings according to duration.

Expenditure

- the following expenses are analysed alternatively : expenses by the organization convening the meeting, by the organizing committee, by the bodies of the host country and city, by the participants;
- the aforementioned expenses are indicated as a total;
- the aforementioned expenses are indicated by conference participant for the entire duration of the meeting;
- the aforementioned expenses are broken down by day and by conference participant;
- expenditure by conference participants is indicated for all the participants in a meeting;
- expenditure by conference participants is indicated only for foreign participants;
- expenditure by conference participants is grouped by family unit;
- expenditure is indicated per person;
- the aforementioned expenses incorporate transport expenses;
- the aforementioned expenses incorporate the conference registration fee;
- the aforementioned expenses are limited to expenditure at the conference site;
- in the breakdown of expenses by conference participants:
  - accommodation and restaurant expenses are combined in the same account;
  - accomodation and restaurant expenses appear separately;
  - breakfast is included under accommodation;
  - meals taken in the hotel restaurant are recorded separately from those taken in outside restaurants;
  - orders from the bar are included in the food item;
  - bar orders are included in the restaurant item;
  - bar orders are recorded as a separate item;
  - leisure activities are calculated overall and include, for example, entertainment, nightclubs, excursions, cultural activities, etc.;
  - receipts from entérinement, nightclubs, excursions, cultural activities, etc. are detailed individually in a particular account or are combined in various ways;
  - local transport, postal, telephone and telegraph communications, tobacco, etc. are grouped together in various ways;
  - local transport, postal, telephone and telegraph communications, tobacco, etc. are included in the «miscellaneous» item;
  - the elements included in the item «miscellaneous» are indicated in their breakdown;
- the item «miscellaneous» does not provide any information on its data.

ANNEX II

THE MAIN SOURCES OF STATISTICAL RESEARCH ON MEETINGS

A. INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

1. E. Alkjaer

In 1965, Professor E. Alkjaer, of the Institute of transport of Copenhagen, conducted a survey by means of questionnaires distributed to 400 participants at an international conference. This survey has since become a model of methodology.

In this study, conducted in 1975, delegates were divided into three groups - Danes, other Europeans, and non-Europeans - and the study was intended to determine within each group:

- the length of stay;
- travel expenses;
- expenses in Copenhagen, overall and person, in absolute and relative figures.

Further research was conducted by the same author on the average duration of conferences announced by the UIA, as well as the conference centres (convention centres) of twenty-three cities. In this last analysis, the author attempted to establish the number of national and international conferences held in the world between 1954 and 1964, as well as their breakdown per month.

2. Asian Association of Convention and Visitors Bureaus (AACVB)

The data collected in the AACVB member countries by the Information Exchange Programme and Data Bank, and accounted in 1985, cover the five-year period 1980-1984.

These data consider the « reportable events » broken down geographically into the following categories: international, regional (Asian), nationals abroad and non-classified events. Under the term « event » AACVB also includes exhibitions and other events :

a. organized by a recognized association or enterprise;
b. that take place regularly;
c. that use at least twenty-five hotel rooms;
d. that are international, regional or national and could be held abroad.

The data from various countries printed in *Travel and Tourism Analyst* (September 1986) are limited to the number and location of the events taken into consideration.

This survey tends to confuse « international » with « regional » and leads to ambiguous conclusions.

3. Blue Plan

In 1986, it was announced that it had been decided to undertake a prospective study under the Blue Plan on the possible distribution of holiday-makers through the years 2000 and 2025.

Tourists are classified by the Blue Plan into six categories, including conference participants, which in turn includes participants in meetings, conferences, seminars and incentive travel.

4. Conferences and Exhibitions International (C & E)

Three surveys were conducted by this British review, in 1984 (34 per cent response rate), 1985 (46 per cent response rate) and 1986 (54 per cent response rate) in nineteen European, Asian, North African, Middle East and Latin American countries.

The areas of research were conferences, exhibitions and incentive travel, without distinction as to the national or international nature of these events.

The survey questionnaires sent to fifty national tourism administrations and conference promoting offices covered :

- the number of conference participants from within the country or abroad;
- the number of accompanying persons;
- the length of stay (overnight stays in hotels);
- average expenditure per participant per day;
- assistance provided to the meeting organizers.

For unknown reasons, the findings of this research were strikingly incongruous; for example, the length of stay calculated for one region was 2.84 days for Japan, 6 for Singapore and 10 for India, while per-day expenditure was twenty-five dollars for Sri Lanka, 217 for Hong Kong, 350 for Norway and 611 for Singapore.

5. European Society of Associations Executives (ESAE)

In January 1983, ESAE conducted a survey of European non-governmental international organizations.

The questions concerning their meetings related to :

- the number of participants in the assembly or annual conference;
- the amount of the registration fee;
- the services covered by the registration fee (meals in particular);
- the organization of an exhibition in liason with the meeting;
- the body responsible for organizing the meeting.

6. Horwath and Horwath

In 1984, the North American review *Worldwide Lodging Industry* published the conclusions of a series of annual surveys conducted by Horwath and Horwath, a research institution established in the United States of America and Great Britain.

Six hundred superior-class hotels from several countries, representing a total of 300,000 rooms, participated in this survey.

The objective of the research was to determine the percentage of clientele that had come to the accommodation establishments in order to participate in the meetings in 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983 respectively.

7. International Association of Convention Centres (IACC)

In 1986. IACC published the results of a survey of 1,596 organizers of international conferences with more than 500 participants (thirty-five countries) : the sampie was chosen from the commercial files of the convention centres of Paris and Angers.

There were 215 responses from nineteen countries.

The questions asked of the recipients of the survey concern the following areas :

- procedures for the selection of the meeting city;
- the type of room preferred;
- needs in terms of offices and exhibition space;
- portion of the budget devoted to the rental of meeting rooms;
- use of simultaneous interpretation and any subsidies received to cover its cost;
- use of various types of audio-visual facilities;
- typology of the preferred means of accommodation;
- the types of restaurants preferred and the time accorded for meals;
- excursions before and after the conference.

The list of questions above shows that the study concerns the technical and logistical means necessary for holding international conferences.

8. International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA)

Since the early 1980s, the ICCA has established a computerized system for data processing on conferences, which will be completely operational in 1987.

Information is collected by means of a series of questionnaires and reminders sent to about 400 companies and institutions that are Members of ICCA as well as to international organizations, meeting organization committees, transporters, municipalities, travel agencies, hotels, etc.

The Management and Multinational Information System (MMIS) permits the publication of an information bulletin on more than 2,000 international conferences per year, each involving more than 100 participants from at least four countries.

Furthermore, the MMIS can provide, on a commercial basis, 135 classifications of events as well as the profile of each meeting based on the following elements :

- nature of the meeting (assembly, conference, seminar, etc.);
- subject;
- geographic distribution of delegates ;
- amount of the registration fee;
- possible exhibition (number of exhibitors, space required, number of visitors);
- previous meetings (places, dates, number of participants);
- forthcoming conferences;
- frequency of the meeting;
- mechanism for site selection;
- duration of the meeting;
- month preferred;
- expenditure by delegates per day;
- meeting rooms requested;
- information on the organizing committee;
- information on the Secretariat.

9. Metropoll 1

In 1984, the Federal Government of Canada retained two consulting firms, to conduct a study entitled « Metropoll 1 », on factors entering into the selection of conference destinations in North America.

The study is based on 1,650 responses by decision-makers in interviews conducted in seventy-five cities in Canada, the United States of America and the Caribbean. The questions concerned the requirements of meeting organizers with respect to :

- quality of facilities and equipment;
- type of accommodation;
- prices;
- communications with the site;
- popularity of the site.

Metropoll 1 established a classification of cities according to the elements cited above.

10. Union of International Associations (UIA)

For thirty-seven years, on the basis of consistent criteria, UIA has established a series of statistics on international meetings.

The surveys are conducted by means of questionnaires, completed through direct research with international governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in more than 100 countries.

The field of research consists of the main international meetings of NGOs, other world and regional meetings, symposia and study group meetings. The UIA does not take into consideration events that are essentially of a religous, didactic, political, commercial, or sports-related nature, very limited or specific meetings (steering committee sessions, expert groups, etc.) and national or local meetings. On the other hand, it regards certain national meetings «with sufficiently broad international participation » as similar to international meetings.

UIA statistics only take into consideration meetings of at least twenty-five participants from at least four countries.

The aim of the research is to establish annual statistics on:

- the number of international conferences and their breakdown according to continent, country and city;
- the breakdown of these conferences by month;
- the number of participants at these conferences;
- the number of exhibitions organized on the occasion of these conferences.

11. United States Travel Service (USTS)

In 1974, the USTS «the forerunner to USTTA», conducted analytical research in three geographic areas; (1) Europe, (2) the United States and canada, and (3) Japan and South East Asia, based on 300 interviews conducted with users and providers of conference services, international and national organizations, tourism offices, hoteliers, travel agencies, air transporters, conference organizers and experts.

The research concerned the qualitative and quantitive aspects of conferences.

Among the data prepared by the USTS, it is useful to note:

- a statistic on the breakdown by State of international meetings held in the United States and Canada in 1973 and 1974 and meetings announced for 1975 and 1976 with a calculation of the average number of participants;
- the same statistic but by city, for eleven countries in Western Europe, as well as Israel. Japan and Australia;
- a comparative statistic on the average number of participants in international meetings held in 1973 and 1974 in Europe and eight other non-European countries : the United States, Canada, Israel, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Australia and Mexico;
- a statistic on company meetings and other small meetings organized in 1973 and 1974 in Western Europe, Canada, Mexico, Japan, Australia, South East Asia and the Caribbean;
- statistics on the structure of

expenditure by participants and the organizing committee;
- a statistic on the breakdown of international conferences by month.

12. United States Travel and Tourism Association (USTTA)
USTTA, the national tourism administration of the United States, conducted a survey, through the International Air travellers, of persons travelling by air between octobre and December 1982.

The objective was to determine the profile of conference participants in the United States with respect to:
- duration of the meeting;
- percentage of accompanying persons;
- expenditure by conference participants;
- country of origin;
- secondary motivation for travel (holidays, etc.);
- places visited in the United States;
- class (first, second, business).

B. NATIONAL STUDIES

13. American Society of Associations Executives (ASAE) (United States)

Since 1970, ASAE has regularly published the findings of surveys of representative samplings of its membership conducted by an indepentent company.

This research is jointly sponsored by the ASAE and the International Association of Convention and Visitors Bureaus (IACVB) and includes five types of meeting : conferences, exhibitions, training seminars, board of directors meetings and committee meetings.

The 1986 survey was sent to 686 association directors and 448 valid responses were received (65 per cent). The questions raised concerned primarily:
- the average number of participants;
- the expenditure and receipts of the associations;
- the months and days of the week preferred;
- the frequency of repetitive meetings;
- the number of exhibitions organized in conjunction with conferences;
- factors determining the choice of site;
- factors determing the choice of the building for the meeting;
- meeting site in the United States and Canada.

In 1974, ASAE, with the assistance of a research firm, conducted a survey of 234 North American associations with a view to formulating forecasts on trends that could develop between then and 1985. This work dealt with the same points listed above and encompassed meetings and exhibitions. The quantitative data on meetings were broken down into three groups :
a. international and national meetings;
b. federal, state and regional meetings;
c. local meetings.

14. British Association of Conference Towns (BACT)
In order to determine the benefit derived from meetings, the eight cities belonging to this association (Bournemouth, Brighton, Harrogate, Eastburne, Scarborough, Sheffield, South Glamorgan, Torbay) have, since 1978, supported joint annual research by an independent firm. The points studied are:
- the number of meetings
- the breakdown of meetings by type of building chosen for the meeing (municipal buildings, hotels, universities, other);
- duration of the meeting;
- the total number of participants;
- the average duration of the meetings;
- total expenditure and daily expenditure by participants;
- the structure of expenditure;
- the expenditure of organizers in absolute and relative figures per participant;
- the direct benefit provided to the cities by meetings.

The study, published under the title *Survey on Conference Business* is intended to determine the total economic value represented by the meeting market in the United Kingdom. The data that appears in this publication does not distinguish between international and national meetings.

15. British Tourist Authority (BTA) (United Kingdom)

This entity has produced several studies on the conference market in Great Britain.

1. Research conducted in 1969-1970 on meetings organized in universities provided the following information :
   - the type of meetings;
   - the number of participants;
   - the origin of the participants (national and international);
   - the duration of the meeting;
   - breakdown of the meetings by month.
2. A joint research effort with the Association for publicity staff for spa cities conducted in 1970 concern the following points:
   - the type of meetings;
   - the duration of the meeting;
   - breakdown of the meetings by month.
3. A survey on the demand for meetings in Great Britain launched in association with the Trust House Forte and conducted by an independent firm covered the following points :
   - the number of association meetings;
   - the number of participants;
   - the duration of the meetings;
   - the site of the meetings;
   - the buildings used for the meetings (hotels, convention centres, etc.);
   - the breakdown of meetings by month.
4. A market study, conducted in 1984, on the economic scope and the dimensions of the convention and exhibition market in the United Kingdom.

16. The Centre for Economic Observation of the Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry (France)

In anticipation of its opening, the Paris Convention Centre conducted two surveys in 1974, one of professional meeting organizers in the private and semi-public sectors, the other of a relatively large number of entities generating meetings.

Il may be considered that the findings of the survey are considered confidential.

17. Congress and Seminar
(Federal Republic of Germany)
The poll conducted in 1981 by a specialized firm at the request of the West German review *Congress and Seminar,* was sent to the managers of 42,500 commercial industrial enterprises, banks, and services, as well

as to *2.800* associations and organizations. The central subject of the research was the habits of enterprises, particularly with respect to spending, and trends in the field of business meetings. This study is noteworthy for its representative nature and the rigour of its methodology

18. Department of Tourism of British Colombia (Canada)

In anticipation of the UN Conference on Human Establishments (Habitat), which was to be held at Vancouver in 1976, this Department retained a research firm to conduct a survey of the organizers of conferences that had taken place in the country during the preceding four years.

Sixty-nine per cent of the 335 organizers surveyed by the questionnaire gave responses to the following points, among others:

- the number of participants;
- the factors determining the choice of the host city;
- the factors determining the choice of the building for the meeting.

19. English Tourist Board (ETB) (United Kingdom)

The ETB retained a consulting firm in 1984 to conduct research on the conference market in the United Kingdom. The findings were published in the book *The Un Conference Market: Providing for the Future.*

The research was conducted by means of a survey of 619 national associations in the country (505 responses), each with more than 1,000 members, chosen as a sample from 6,000 associations, unions and political groups. The data collected were supplemented by information provided by the meeting centres and by other statistical sources. ETB analyzed meetings with more than 500 participants.

The aim of the research was to define the characteristics of the meeting market, its future potential and its needs in reception facilities in the years ahead. The method used included an analysis of demand (national and international associations, enterprises) and supply (convention centres, meeting halls, accommodation).

The questions related to the following points :

- typology of the meetings;
- frequency of meetings convened by an association;
- average number of participants;
- number of foreign conference participants;
- duration.

The final report also analyses trends in the market for company meetings, including meetings to launch new products, and discusses the influence of technological changes and of the increase in free time on demand in the conference market. The last part of the document provides an inventory of meeting rooms with more than 500 places and forecasts trends in demand.

20. A. Franic (Yugoslavia)

In preparing his doctoral thesis, Dr. A. Franic studied conferences held at Dubrovnik for fifteen years. This information covers the period extending from the beginning of the century until 1978 and was the subject of eighteen publications.

The author of these studies analysed, by means of surveys, six international conferences and one national conference and for each prepared statistics concerning the following points:

- means of transport;
- a breakdown of delegates according to income;
- total expenditure by participants;
- the structure of expenditure.

With respect of the city of Dubrovnik, Franic gave the following information for each year:

- the number of national and international conferences for the period 1918-1977 (excluding the years 1942-1949);
- the breakdown of conferences by subject (same period);
- the breakdown of conferences by month (1950-1977);
- the average length of stay (1955-1977).

21. German Convention Bureau (GCB)

(Federal Republic of Germany)

In its annual reports, the GCB only accounts for meetings that are international, that involve more than 100 participants, with at least 50 per cent of the delegates coming from abroad, and that last more than two nights.

22. The Institute for Tourism Forecasting (Federal Republic of Germany)

In 1983, this institute published a study on the German conference market. The points taken into consideration were :

- geographic distribution of international conferences in the world (UIA statistics);
- the place of the Federal republic of Germany in the European meeting market;
- the influence of variations in the DM exchange rate on market trends.

23. Institute of Planned Cybernetics (Munich, Federal Republic of Germany)

In 1987, four institutions and German organizations (National Office of Tourism, German Office of Conferences, Association of Municipal Sports and Multipurpose Centres, German Association of Hotels and Restaurants) commissioned the Institute to conduct a survey, based on approximately 1,800 interviews, on the state of the German conference market. The projected cost will be more than 100,000 DM.

This work will consider conferences of more than 100 participante distributed in sixty selected localities and will cover hotels, convention centres, universities, etc.

The points covered will be:

- the number of meetings;
- the number of German and foreign participants;
- the economic dimensions of the conference market: annual sales, value in foreign currency, contribution of exports',
- the economic consequences for the hotels, restaurants and meeting centres.

This survey will be repeated every two years at the expense of the Federal Ministry of the Economy.

24. The Institute of Tourism Economics of Munich

(Federal Republic of Germany)

The area studied by this body is not limited to meetings alone, but extends to the entire tourism market. It periodically conducts user surveys (approximately 5,000 persons interviewed in 1979), processed by computer, concerning :

- expenditure by conference participants and businessmen per person, per day;
- the breakdown of expenditure in absolute figures and percentages in five categories (accommodation, food, other expenses connected

with the stay, purchases, entertainment);
- the means of accommodation chosen;
- the conference site and its characteristics;
- motivations for choosing the site;
- the breakdown by month.

25. International Association of Convention and Visitors Bureaus (IACVB) (United States)

At intervals of between eight and ten years, the IACVB (which, despite its denomination, is practically exclusively a North American organization) has conducted surveys throught its member cities. Such research was conducted in 1948, 1956, 1966. 1973, 1979 and 1985. By way of example, the 1979 survey cost 250,000 US dollars.

The conference offices of fifty cities in the United States and of two foreign cities contributed to the 1979 survey. Using a methodology developed by the US Travel Data Center, each office selected thirty conferences held in its city over a twelve-month period.

The 1,402 conference studies were grouped into two categories ;
a. national and international;
b. state (federal); regional.
The data related to :
- totaf expenditure per delegate;
- expenditure per delegate per day;
- length of stay;
- the number of persons per family unit;
- the means of transport used;
- total expenditure by the association per delegate;
- daily expenditure per delegate of the association;
- organization in conjunction with an exhibition.

26. Federation of International Associations established in Belgium (FAIB, Belgium)

A group of researchers specializing in sociology with the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium, conducted a survey on behalf of FAIB in 1984 on the activities of 896 international associations established in Belgium: the number of responses was approximately 30 per cent. The survey covered :
- the terminology of meetings (eighteen types divided into four groups : (a) general meetings of members: (b) meetings of directors; (c) meetings of experts; (d) ad hoc meetings);
- the frequency of repetitive meetings;
- the average number of participants;
- the percentage of accompanying persons;
- the average duration;
- the months preferred;
- the meeting centre chosen;
- exhibitions held in conjunction with a meeting;
- destinations choses (Western Europe, Belgium, other areas);
- the number of years in advance that the conference site is chosen;
- the procedure for inviting conference participants;
- the body deciding on the conference site;
- the distribution of responsibilities for conference organization.

27. Italcongressi (Italy)

This Italian organization of meeting promoters and organizers has completed a survey, with the assistance of ENIT and Alitalia, on conferences taking place in the Italian peninsula in 1984.

The purpose of the research was to determine:
- the subject of the conferences;
- the number of conferences;
- the number of Italian and foreign participants;
- the duration of the meetings;
- the breakdown of the meetings by month.

28. Meetings and Conventions (M&C) (United States of America)

This specialized American review has over the years conducted a variety of research in the conference field.

In 1974 it retained an independent research firm to conduct a sample survey of its readers, who include organizing officials for more than 10,000 conferences involving a total of 7 million participants per year.

The number of responses received to the 3,000 questionnaires was approximately 55 per cent in the business sector and 68 per cent in the association sector.

The purpose of the research was first of all to study the work of professional conference organizers, and second, to provide a quantitative analysis of meetings, in particular with respect to the following points :
- the number of members of the association analysed;
- the frequency of the meetings;
- the total number of participants;
- the average number of participants;
- type of building preferred for the meetings (hotel, convention centre, etc.);
- organizational expenses;
- expenditure by participants;
- number of exhibitors;
- area used for the exhibition;
- destinations preferred outside of the United States.

In a special part of the survey, trends in conference traffic in twenty-five American cities were examined; more particularly, the number of meetings and registered participants and total expenditure by participants in 1971. 1972 and 1973.

In 1983, M&C prepared a new analysis of the United States market, also covering the market for American conferences and meetings held abroad.

The study, conducted by means of a survey of association and business meeting organizers, was designed to determine the factors - with respect to governments, people and local customs - that encourage the choice of a foreign country as site for a North American meeting.

At the same time, the study examined the total volume of expenditure and costs to the organizers in the American market and overseas.

29. Ministry of Tourism of Israel

The annual statistics prepared since 1970 by the Ministry of Tourism of Israel relate primarily to three subjects :
- the number of conferences;
- the number of foreign participants;
- the breakdown of conferences by subject.

30. Philippines Convention Bureau (PCB)

This promotional office for conferences in the Philippines annually publishes an activity report containing information on the number of « events », the number of participants, the geographic breakdown within national territory (capital and provincial towns) and the breakdown by month and subject.

The events are classified as international, regional and national: they

include government meetings, incentive travel and lectures of discussions.

In 1982. 1983 and 1984, the PCB retained a consulting firm to conduct surveys of a limited number of national and international meetings (thirty in 1982, totalling 911 delegates), in order to determine:

- the average length of stay by conference participants;
- the number of persons per family unit;
- overall expenditure by the organizers;
- expenditure by the organizers per person per day.

A second part of the survey was designed to determine the degree of satisfaction of conference participants (facilities, organization and programme as well as the image of the Philippines in the eyes of the people surveyed.

31. The Quebec Planning Office (Canada)

Two university professors from Canada were entrusted in 1975 by the Planning and Development Office of Quebec with conducting a study on the factors affecting the choice of conference sites.

The field of study includes conferences, colloquia and association seminars, with explicit exclusion of company meetings. Meetings are classified as:

a. international;
b. continental;
c. national;
d. regional.

32. Singapore Tourist Promotion Board

In 1973 and 1978, the Singapore Tourist Promotion Board conducted research on a number of selected international conferences.

More than 400 participants responded to questions on the following points:

- the type of the meeting;
- the number of participants and accompanying persons;
- the duration of the meeting;
- the length of stay;
- the duration of travel;
- the category of hotel chosen;
- the breakdown of participants by income;
- the breakdown of participants by age group;
- the breakdown of participants by country of origin;
- total and daily spending by participants ;
- the structure of this expenditure;
- participation allowances paid to the participants by the entities they represent.

Also noteworthy are the surveys conducted by the office of Tourism of Vienna in 1977 and by the Chamber of Commerce of the US State of Florida in 1976.

33. Successful Meetings (United States of America)

This is a specialized US review periodically conducting research on the conference market of 25,000 North American entities kept on computer file. These surveys, conducted in 1970, 1974, 1979 and 1981, classified conferences as national, regional and state (federal). They cover the following points:

- the day of the week the meeting begins;
- the categories of destinations chosen (large cities), tourist sites, spa cities, etc.;
- the criteria applied in selecting the conference site;
- the dimension of the main hall requested by the meeting.

34. Tideman (Netherlands)

On behalf of the Municipality of The Hague, the Tideman consulting firm conducted two surveys in 1972 and 1973 on the economic impact of meetings on the Dutch capital.

The 1973 research analysed sixteen national and international conferences held at the Convention Centre in The Hague. The research elements were :

- the number of overnight stays in hotels by participants;
- the categories of hotels chosen by the participants;
- expenditure by participants in national and international conferences;
- the structure of expenditure by participants in these two types of conferences;
- the amount of registration fees collected by the organizing committee;
- expenditure by the organizers.

Eight years later, in 1981, the same firm performed more research, this time at the request of the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs. The points of interest were:

- the number of foreign conference participants participating in meetings held in the Nederlands;
- the number of accompanying persons;
- the number of Dutch citizens participating in international and national meetings;
- the number of accompanying persons;
- the number of overnight stays spent by conference participants in hotels;
- the economic value of the conferences for the Netherlands;
- the number of jobs created, directly of indirectly, by conferences.

35. The Tourism Division of Pakistan

Since 1979, the Tourism Division of the Government of Pakistan has published an annual report on conference tourism in that country.

Based on information from the press and other sources, this document provides statistical data on :

- the number of meetings, grouped into two categories:
  a. international and regional;
  b. national.
- the duration of international and national meetings (separately) and the respective number of participants;
- the number of meetings broken down into six categories (conferences, congresses, conventions, seminars, symposia, workshops);
- the subject of meeting, in six categories (religion, social sciences, agriculture, technology, medicine, education, politics, culture and tourism, art and literature, others);
- geographic distribution of meetings in twenty-one localities of the country;
- interrelationship between localities and subject;
- interrelationship between participants per country and per subject.

These data are based on a particular definition of the notion «tourist participating in a foreign conference» («person coming from another country to participate in a meeting and whose stay exceeds twenty-four hours, but does not exceed six months») and that of «national participant in a meeting» («any person, regardless of nationality, who resides

in Pakistan, and who participates in a meeting in Pakistan in a locality other than his usual place of residence and who stays in the locality of the meeting for more than twenty-four hours, but less than six months»),

36. Tourism office of Puerto Rico

A branch of this office, *Puerto Rico News*, periodically announces the number of meetings held during the previous year and the number of persons who attended them.

The figures for the meetings refer overaal to : meetings, conferences and incentive travel.

37. U.S. Data Center

(United States of America)

In its quarterly reports this public body provides a quantified breakdown in percentages, by motivation of travel, to different states in the United States of America.

One of the items covered in the tables refers to business and conference travel, taken together. On the other hand, the aforementioned reports to not consider the number of persons but the number of journeys.

38. World Convention Data (WCD)

(United States of America)

WCD is a monthly publication providing data on :

a. conferences, meetings and exhibitions;

b. seminars, board of director's meetings and other meetings of lesser importance occurring in the United States.

This information refers to the length of stay and the average participation recorded for the various types of meetings.

C. LOCAL STUDIES

39. AMK Berlin

(Federal Republic of Germany)

At the request of the Berlin Society of Exhibitions, Salons and Conferences (AMK), outside institutions have conducted three studies, respectively in 1978, 1979 and 1984.

In 1978, for example, 2,383 non-Berlin participants at twenty-five conferences were questioned along with the organizers of these conferences.

The objectives of the study were to establish :

- the origin of the participants, classified in two categories (Federal Republic of Germany and other countries);
- average age;
- breakdown by sex;
- breakdown by profession;
- frequency of participation in meetings;
- means of transport used for travel;
- the number of accompanying persons;
- average length of stay;
- extensions of stay and reasons;
- categories of hotels chosen;
- average expenditure per day by foreign conference participants;
- breakdown of expenditure according to age, sex, profession, length of stay and type of hotel;
- allowances paid to participants by the entities they represent;
- expenditure by the organizers of the meeting;
- breakdown of this expenditure;
- local expenditure of conferences convened at Berlin.

The 1984 study also co sidered:

- extension of the length of stay after closure of the meeting;
- the number of jobs directly or indirectly depending on the conference market in Berlin;
- the indirect profitability of conferences (in relation to losses incurred by the city's convention centre).

40. Liège Convention Centre

(Belgium)

Every year, the Convention Centre of this Belgian city issues statistics on the meetings it has hosted. The data concerns :

- the number of conferences and other events;
- their breakdown by category (social events, conferences, colloquia and seminars);
- average expenditure per conference participant per day;
- the breakdown of conferences by month;
- the number of days the Convention Centre is occupied.

41. London Convention Bureau

(United Kingdom)

In 1979, the London Convention Bureau and the Britisch Authority retained a research firm to conduct a survey of participants at twenty national and international conferences that had been held at London.

Sixty-four per cent of the 950 persons receiving the questionnaire responded. The study covered the following points :

- the origin of the delegates classified in five categories: local, non-local British, European, North American, other:
- the number of accompanying persons;
- expenditure by the organizers;
- expenditure according to category or participants;
- structure of expenditure per day;
- means of transport;
- length of stay by category of participants.

42. Madrid Convention Bureau

(MCB) (Spain)

The annual statistical reports by this body give the number of «events» divided into international, European and national events and classified as:

- congresses;
- conferences;
- workshops;
- other (meetings, seminars, colloquia. symposia, incentive travel).

MCB's data also covers the number of delegates and their companions.

43. Paris Convention Centre

(France)

A sample was taken of 554 organizers (31 countries) of international conferences with more than 800 participants, by means of a survey conducted in 1986 by Regina May on behalf of this convention centre. There were approximately 130 responses (24 per cent) from 15 countries.

The following points were covered :

- geographic rotation of meetings held by the same body;
- the subject of the meetings;
- trends in participation during the last ten years (assessment of the trend and the factors explaining it);
- the frequency of repetitive meetings;
- duration of the meetings;
- seasonal distribution of the meetings;
- the type of meeting centre preferred (convention centre, hotel, university, other);
- the organization of a joint exhibition;

- the choice of the site (provisional calculation of the decision, mechanism for selection).

44. Roland Staher (Switserland)

This Swiss researcher distributed questionnaires to 4,296 participants at 14 conferences held at Zurich in 1983 and obtained 654 valid responses (15.2 per cent).

This questionnaire was based, with improvements, on a previous form by P. Anderau and related to :

- the country of origin of the participant;
- the means of transport used;
- the percentage of accompanying persons;
- the duration of the meetings;
- the means of accommodation;
- expenses per day per delegate and per accompanying person;
- breakdown of expenses (including registration fees);
- coverage of expenses by conference participants (contributions, subsidies, reimbursements, etc.).

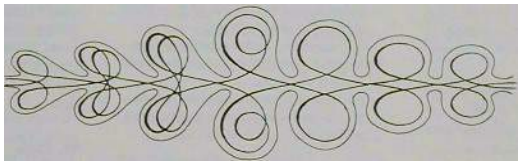
Using a computer, Staher established numerous interrelationships, for example between the age or origin of the conference participants and the level of spending.

The author of this research also calculates the direct receipts that Zurich collected from conference tourism in 1983.

45. Saint-Galles (Switzerland)

Like Davos, Saint-Galles, another small Swiss town, conducted a survey on the occasion of the first international colloquium on enterprise management in 1970- The participants at this colloquium agreed to respond to the questionnaire of this survey: the number of responses was sixty-six.

To supplement the information sources that we have just cited, which are based on methodical research, it might be appropriate to consider data that are found dispersed in the specialized tourism press and the origin of which remains unknown.



Les réunions internationales en 1987

par Ghislaine de Coninck(*)

Introduction

Depuis 39 ans, l'Union des associations internationales (UAI) établit à l'intention de ses membres, un relevé statistique des réunions internationales tenues à travers le monde dans l'année écoulée. Le relevé détaillé pour l'année 1987 vient de leur être adressé et voici quelques commentaires complémentaires.

Sont prises en considération les réunions organisées et/ou patronnées par les organisations internationales reprises dans te « *Yearbook of International Organizations* » et dans l'*« International Congress Calendar»*, c'est-à-dire les assises de leurs principaux organes, congrès, sessions régionales (groupant plusieurs pays), symposiums, colloques, etc., ainsi que certaines réunions d'organisations nationales à très large participation internationale, ce que nous avons intitulé «ass. nat. » dans les tableaux ci-dessous.

Sont exclues des statistiques: les réunions nationales, les cérémonies/manifestations internationales à caractère essentiellement religieux, didactique (cours), politique, commercial (foires, salons), sportifs (compétition, tournois...) ainsi que les réunions spécifiques ou dont la participation est très limitée: sessions régulières de comités, groupes d'experts etc., particulièrement nombreux au niveau intergouvernemental; ces réunions se tiennent généralement au siège même des grandes organisations intergouvernementales à New York, Genève, Bruxelles, Rome, Vienne...

Perspective générale

Le nombre de réunions internationales relevé en 1987 indique, par rapport aux années précédentes, une augmentation constante au niveau mondial. Les différents tableaux font la distinction entre réunions organisées ou patronnées par des associations internationales et réunions nationales avec participation internationale. Le tableau 1 indique la répartition par continent de l'augmentation enregistrée en 1987: + 9.3%, soit une augmentation de 3.5% des réunions d'organisations internationales et 5.8% des réunions nationales :

Tableau 1. Répartition de l'augmentation enregistrée en 1987

Continent	Total	Réunions d'ass. int.	Réunions nat. + partie, int.
	%	%	%
Europe	+ 3.20	+ 0.95	+ 2.25
Amérique du Nord	+ 2.65	+ 1.60	+ 1.05
Asie	+ 1.80	+ 0.25	+ 1.55
Amérique du Sud	+ 1.05	+ 0.50	+ 0.55
Afrique	+ 0.55	+ 0.50	+ 0.05
Océanie	+ 0.10	-0.30	+ 0.40
Total	+ 9.35	+ 3.50	+ 5.85

!*) Chef du département Congrès de l'UAI.

Le tableau 2 indique la répartition au niveau mondial du nombre de réunions internationales en 1987:

Tableau 2. Répartition mondiale du nombre total de réunions internationales en 1987

Continent	Total	Réunions d'ass. int.	Réunions nat.
	%	%	%
Europe	60.20	39.20	21.00
Amérique du Nord	14.90	11.50	3.40
Asie	12.80	8.30	4.50
Amérique du Sud	5.45	4.10	1.35
Afrique	4.35	4.10	0.35
Océanie	2.30	1.50	0.70
Total	+ 100.00	68.70	31.30

Tableau 3. Augmentation (en %) 1987 versus 1986 - Continent par continent

Continent	Total	Réunions d'ass. int.	Réunions nat. + partie, int.
	%	%	%
Europe	5.10	1.05	3.60
Amérique du Nord	19.60	11.80	7.80
Asie	14.40	2.00	12.40
Amérique du Sud	21.30	9.50	11.80
Afrique	13.60	12.20	1 .40
Océanie	1.30	15.70	17.00

L' analyse par pays donne les résultats suivants, en ce qui concerne les principaux pays hôtes de réunions internationales:

Tableau 4. Principaux pays hôtes de réunions internationales en 1987: du total mondial

Pays	Réunions d'ass. int.	Réunions d'ass. nat.	Total
	%	%	
Etats-Unis	8.00	2.60	10.60
Royaume-Uni	5.20	4.40	9.60
France	4.30	3.60	7.90
RFA	3.50	2.60	6.10
Italie	3.50	1.00	4.50
Suisse	3.20	0.50	3.70
Canada	3.10	0.80	3.90
Belgique	2.50	1.10	3.60
Pays-Bas	2.20	1.90	4.10
Espagne	2.00	1.70	3.70
Autriche	1.70	0,50	2.20
Finlande	1.30	0.60	1.90
Japon	1.10	1.30	2.40
Danemark	1.00	0.60	1.60

Au niveau mondial le classement des villes hôtes de réunions internationales est le suivant:

Tableau 5. Principales villes hôtes des réunions d'organisations internationales; % du total mondial

Ville	Réunions d'ass. int.	Réunions nat.	Total
	%	%	%
Paris	2.40	2.404.80	
Londres	2.20	1.40	3.60
Genève	1.80	0.20	2.00
Bruxelles	1.80	0.40	2.20
Vancouver	1.10	0.20	1.30
Rome	1.10	0.20	1.30
New York	1.00	0.10	1.10
Vienne	1.00	0.20	1.20
Strasbourg	0.90	0.20	1.10
Bangkok	0.80	0.30	1.10
Washington	0.80	0.10	0.90
Amsterdam	0.70	0.60	1.30
Madrid	0.70	1.30	2.00
Berlin Ouest	0.70	1.10	1.80

Répartition par continent et pays.

AFRIQUE

En Afrique le Kenya occupe la part la plus importante du marché avec, comme en 1986,11 % du total africain; viennent ensuite l'Egypte avec 7.5%, le Sénégal 7%. le Zimbabwe 7%, le Maroc 6% et la Tunisie 6%.

Le Sénégal et le Maroc sont les deux pays africains qui ont enregistré l'augmentation la plus importante par rapport à 1986. Parmi les autres pays en hausse figurent la Côte d'Ivoire, l'Ethiopie et le Nigeria.

AMERIQUE DU NORD

En Amérique du Nord (Etats-Unis, Canada, Mexique) on enregistre une hausse importante avec quelque 2.65% de l'augmentation mondiale. I! y a lieu de noter que les réunions reprises dans l'étude sont en majeure partie des réunions d'organisations internationales; il est bien entendu que le nombre de réunions nationales est beaucoup plus élevé que celui indiqué dans les différents tableaux; l'étude de ce marché spécifique dépasse le champ d'activité de l'UAI.

Au niveau mondial les Etats-Unis arrivent, comme les années précédentes, en tête avec 10.6% du total mondial.L'augmentation importante enregistrée au Canada est due entre autres à l'organisation à Vancouver d'un important congrès scientifique qui a occasionné l'organisation de nombreuses réunions satellites. Le Canada occupe donc en 1987 la 7ème place au niveau mondial.

AMERIQUE DU SUD

En Amérique du Sud l'augmentation est enregistrée principalement au Brésil qui devient le pays de Congrès le plus important de la région, avec quelque 33% du marché sud-américain; vient ensuite l'Argentine avec 11 % de ce marché.

Parmi les pays en hausse figurent dans l'ordre : l'Equateur, la Colombie, le Chili, le Venezuela, le Pérou et l'Uruguay.

ASIE

En 1987 l'augmentation enregistrée est inférieure à celle de l'année précédente; le nombre de réunions d'associations internationales est à peu près statu quo; l'augmentation enregistrée est surtout due à un nombre plus important de réunions nationales à participation internationale.

Le Japon vient en tête dans cette région du monde, avec 19% du total régional; viennent ensuite la Thaïlande 10.5%, l'Inde 10%, Singapour 9.7%, Corée du Sud 8%, Israël 8%, les Philippines 6.7%, Hong Kong 5.5%, la Chine 5.5%, laMalaysie4%.

Au niveau mondial le Japon occupe maintenant la 13ème place.

OCEANIE

Dans cette partie du monde, les chiffres qui avaient fort augmenté en 1986 semblent se consolider; les chiffres ne varient que très légèrement d'une année à l'autre.

EUROPE

1987 a enregistré une hausse importante, aussi bien des réunions d'organisations internationales que des réunions nationales. Au total 3.2% de l'augmentation mondiale (voir Tableau 1).

Le Royaume-Uni est en tête du classement des pays européens avec respectivement 0,6% du total mondial et près de 16% du total européen. Viennent ensuite la France avec 13 % du marché européen, la République fédérale d'Allemagne avec 10% et l'Italie avec 7,5%.

Sont en hausse par rapport à 1986: Finlande, Pays-Bas, Pologne, Portugal, URSS, Norvège, Tchécoslovaquie, Hongrie. Statu quo: Belgique, Danemark, Luxembourg, Islande, Espagne; les autres pays enregistrent certains tassements.

REPARTITION PAR VILLES

Le tableau 5 reprend la liste des principales villes hôtes de réunions internationales avec à leur tête surtout des villes européennes.

En ce qui concerne les seules réunions d'organisations internationales, le classement des villes à l'intérieur de chaque continent s'établit de la façon suivante:
Afrique: Nairobi, Le Caire, Harare, Tunis.
Amérique du Nord: New York, Vancouver, Washington, Montréal.
Amérique du Sud : Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Quito, Caracas, Mexico, Sao Paulo.
Asie : Bangkok, Singapour, Manille, New Delhi, Tokyo, Séoul, Beijing, Jérusalem, Kuala Lumpur.
Océanie: Brisbane, Sydney, Auckland.
Europe: Paris, Londres, Genève, Bruxelles, Rome, Vienne, Strasbourg, Amsterdam, Madrid, Berlin Ouest.

Les participations

L'étude des informations relatives au nombre de participants indique une très faible augmentation du nombre de participants.

Tableau 6. Répartition des participants

Moins de 100 participants	= 16,60%
100 à 500 participants	= 56.40%
500 à 1000 participants	= 14.20%
1000 à 3000 participants	= 9.60%
3000 à 5000 participants	= 1.60%
5000 à 7000 participants	= 0.60%
7000 participants et plus	= 1.00%

Expositions

Dans 10% des cas, une exposition a été organisé conjointement aux réunions internationales.

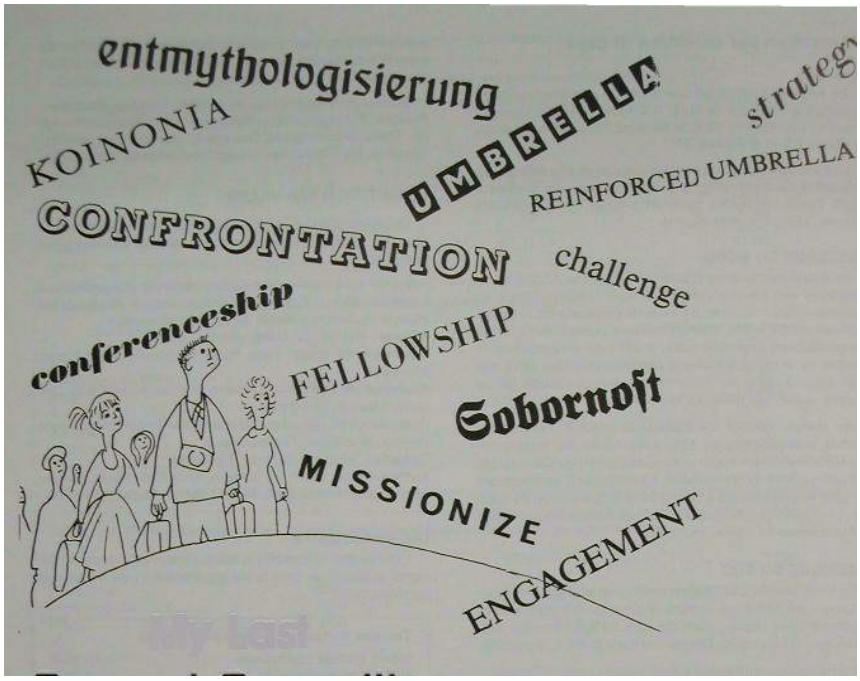
CONCLUSION

Il apparaît donc à l'analyse des résultats de notre étude, que le marché des réunions internationales continue de se développer; le nombre de participants est en légère augmentation de même que le nombre d'expositions organisées parallèlement aux congrès.

Il y a lieu de noter que certains pays/villes enregistrent soit une forte augmentation, soit une baisse sensible, du fait de circonstances exceptionnelles (anniversaires, événements spéciaux, etc.). Lorsque ces circonstances se sont produites pendant l'année en cours les résultats sont positifs; au contraire ils sont négatifs si ceux-ci se sont déroulés l'année précédente ou sont prévus l'année suivante.

A ce jour, les perspectives pour 1988 semblent poursuivre la courbe montante de ces dernières années.

Bruxelles, mars 1988



My Last General Committee

(or Confessions of a Conference Addict)

My dear Successor, Stu Movement:

As the shadows lengthen and dusk dims on a long and happy SCM career, I would like to pass on to you some advice in preparation for your trip to Tutzing this summer. At my advanced age (I will be twenty-four next month, you know), I felt that I could no longer stand the rigours of another General Committee.

Here, then, are some words of wisdom from one who has spent some of the best forty-hour days of his life at Federation meetings:

1. *Preparatory documents.* There are two schools of thought in regard to the cloud of blue, pink, yellow and white papers which will descend on you. One school believes that you should read the preparatory materials. The other school believes that you should not. In fact, neither does. For those, like yourself, living in remote areas, the whole point is irrelevant because they will not reach you until you return home after the conference. Even at the General Committee it is probably wise not to read the documentation too carefully, since it may be an embarassment for the WSCF secretaries who theoretically prepare them but actually have them done by their office secretaries (who know more about the various concerns than anyone else in any case). Besides, as one leading Federation personality holds, reading preparatory documents tends to prejudice one's mind.

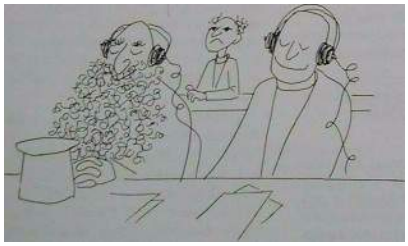
2. *Travel instructions.* Your contribution may be nullified by not attending the righ meeting. It is, therefore, advisable to read the travel instructions. There is an unconfirmed report of one delegate (following the usual abstemious practice outlined under point one) arriving three days late in New York for a meeting which was actually taking place in Paris. There is also a story (again unconfirmed) of a delegate spending a week at an « SCM » conference before discovering that it stood for « Society for care of Marsupials »; he said later he thought the worship services of the meeting somewhat eccentric, but his ecumenical training had stretched his liturgical tolerance to almost superhuman limits. The point is that all international meetings are deceptively similar. (N.B. The instructions should not be taken *too* literally. A chap turned up at one conference equipped only with a towel, a bar of soap and a notebook because, as he put it, «that wuz all I wuz asked to bring », It is also worth mentioning that the train and bus schedules in such instruction sheets are invariably wrong, and the addresses and telephone numbers as well; the statistics on those who fail to show up at all as a result of these aberrations are still incomplete).

3. *Committee work.* Don't attend too many of the plenary sessions at the General Committee. For one thing, they will tire you; the Federation has not attained the technical refinement of the senior ecumenical bodies with their multilingual earphones, on which, with some minor adjustments, one can tune in football games or symphonic concerts during long-winded speeches. For another thing, most important decisions are made either: *a)* months before; *b)* in the sub-committees; *c)* or in the back rooms of local cafés in the hours immediately preceding and following midnight. Furthermore, listening to all of the speeches may confuse you and may even, though this is unlikely, cause you to rethink your position.

4. *Other delegates.* There is an old saying, « Don't judge an ecumaniac by his covers». One can hardly stress too strongly. I remember vividly the sad story of two General Committee delegates who shared a room for two weeks without speaking to each other. The one was a dark, exotic figure with long black robes and a full beard; the other was a tall, ascetic Nordic type. They got along tolerably well with sign language until the last day of the General Committee. Then, to the surprise of his roommate, the black-robed man let out an unmistakable Anglo-Saxon expletive when his beard caught fire while he was lighting a cigarette. It turned out they were both Americans. The man with the singed beard was an All-American football player from Ohio State studying on a Fulbright scholarship in Athens, and he had assumed that his blonde roommate was a Swedish bishop, having mistaken the photographic light-meter hanging around his neck for an ecclesiastical adornment.

Of course, this may also work in the opposite way. There is always the chance at a Federation conference that the young fellow in shorts, whose toothpaste you habitually pinch in the morning and whose theology you habitually correct in the discussion groups, may turn out to be a bishop of the Church of Ceylon. In later years, these are what they call «non-theological factors» in unity negotiations (e.g. «his ecclesiology is all right but he's a toothpaste snatcher»). In general it has been found wise by experienced conferees to avoid backslapping and practical jokes until the delegates list is well memorized and faces matched.

5. *Conferenceship.* As you are well aware, SCM gatherings offer unparalleled matrimonial prospects to the unattached. This has given rise to the fundamental principle : *Be*



..., The technical refinement of the senior ecumencial bodies with their multi-lingual earphones...
(Any resemblance to any person, living or dead, is purely coincidental).

Kind To Other delegates. The girl sitting next to you in the Bible study group may be your future wife; matrimonial prospects are often dimmed by rude remarks about her exegesis or aspersions on her intelligence. There is another fundamental principle which should be heeded : *Be Discreet.* The attractive young lady whom you invite out for a walk to discuss the morrow's agenda may turn out to be the wife of a General Secretary who: *a)* is insanely jealous; *b)* was trained as a Commando during the war to strangle people with his bare hands. The possibilities for confusion on this delicate subject are complicated by the informal habit in Federation meetings of using only first names and of the recent practice of some well-known SCM figures of maintaining their maiden names after marriage. Some legislation may have to be enacted on this thorny issue at the next General Committee.

Speaking of names, another pitfall for the uninitiated is nicknames. The chap sitting at the end of the table whom everyone calls «Vim » may be cracking jokes, and the fellow called «Charley» may be wearing a T-shirt, but before you start improving their theology or pulling them on their ecumenical history, it is probably just as well to know that they may be the General Secretaries of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council. Once again, let me remind you, memorizing the name list has saved many a budding ecumenical career from premature withering.

6. *Communication.* One of the charming things about the Federation is that you can use any known language in the discussions and will almost certainly be misunderstood. And if you hear your own language, you will probably not recognize it. This is only partly a question of linguistics; any confirmed ecumenist sprinkles at least three foreign words in every sentence he utters. This gives everyone the *feeling* that he understands what has been said, without ever being able to pin down controversial points. A basic vocabulary of twenty-five foreign words will probably keep your head above water for the fist week and by then you will have picked up enough new ones to sustain you until the end.

Then there is the skilful use of jargon. At the present. the «umbrella», first raised at Bièvres in 1950, reigns supreme, though some of the *cognoscenti* now favour «reinforced umbrella». «Confrontation» and «relevance» have had long and useful lives, but a new threat is looming on the horizon in the form of « missionize" - it may sound too much like a car polishing wax to gain universal acceptance. «Fellowship» used as a verb is doing well in America, but there are hopes that this monstrosity may not have the vitality to bridge the Atlantic or Pacific. *Raison d'être* persists in spite of all the efforts of the French delegates to retire it to decent obscurity. And «secular anthropology» was destined for unprecedented overuse until it almost wrecked a political consultation in Paris; there it caused hopeless deadlock in which half the delegates thought the discussion which centred on it was about Barthian eschatology and the other half about the Folies Bergères. After that it was abolished by a fiat of the Executive Committee. In brief, when you have mastered «entmythologisierung» (to be practised in private at least twenty times before use), «challenge», «strategy», «koinonia», «engagement» (failure to distinguish between the French and English forms can be catastrophic and may lead to public ridicule by the General Secretary) and «sobornost» (not to be confused with « goulash »), you are prepared to enter the Federation arena. Confidence is of the essence. Even misused and mispronounced, a foreign word is always more effective in a General Committee discussion than a plain, ordinary one that everyone knows. Your own countrymen won't know what it means and the man whose language you have mangled won't recognize it, so you are perfectly safe. But don't overdo this. While confidence is essential, persistence is disastrous; enlarge your foreign vocabulary or perish, as the old saying goes. Or as another ecumencial scribe has it, jargon is golden. Silence should be resorted to only *in extremis*. And never forget : *ad astra per aspera.*

7. Reports. These are the duplicated materials which fill up the space in your baggage left by the shirts, towels, socks and handkerchiefs which you have left strewn in hotels, trains, friends' homes and conference laundries since leaving home. Reports are also useful for providing materials for speeches when you return to your SCM; however, some have found them disturbing since they seldom show any relation to the actual General Committee discussions and decisions. As one Federation veteran has said, « I don't care who reports as long as I write the reports».

Let your conscience be your guide. May your first General Committee not be the last, as it was mine; wide is the gate that leads to the Executive Committee.

Existentially yours,
Senior FRIEND.
(World Secretarial of Churches) Federation.

New... Creations... Plans... New... Creations... Plans

MIGREUROPE, is an initiative which was launched in Brussels on 23 November 1987 with the aim of establishing a European platform for immigrant, refugee and foreign student associations as well as other organisations working in defence of their rights and against racism.

The European forum published its first information bulletin in March and it is available in French and English. *Contact: Migreurope, Secretariat of the Preparatory Committee - CCME, 23 Avenue d'Auderghem, B — 1040 Bruxelles, tel: 32/2/230.20.11.*

A week-long workshop on neuroscience held in Nairobi, Kenya, this winter has ended in the formation of the **Society of Neuroscientists in Africa.** Among the twenty presentations were a keynote address on *«Autonomie neuroeffector systems: recent developments»* by Professor G. Burnstock of the University of London: *a* paper on *«Multiple immunostaining procedures in neuroanatomy»* and an introduction to immunocytochemical techniques.

The meeting was sponsored by IBRO, the International Brain Research Organization, in conjunction with the African Academy of Sciences and the University of Nairobi. The new Society of Neuroscientists in Africa, which received a boost from UNESCO, The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, will be based in Nairobi, where Dr. P.G. Kiay was elected chairman and professor AJ. Kaduri of Zimbabwe was elected vice chairman.

Africa has been the only continent without its own organization of neuroscientists.

Contact: c/o ICSU ~ 51. Bd. de Montmorency 75016 PARIS, France.

Les directeurs généraux des télécommunications de la Conférence européenne des administrations des postes et des télécommunications ont décidé de créer un Institut européen des normes de télécommunications autonome, avec la participation de l'industrie et des utilisateurs. Cet institut assumera progressivement les études techniques préliminaires et les travaux de normalisation jusqu'ici effectués par la CEPT.

Il s'agit là d'un grand pas vers la création de normes européennes de télécommunication; cela permettra une meilleure concentration des efforts avec la pleine participation de l'industrie et des utilisateurs.

Cette décision fait suite à une proposition présentée dans le Livre vert de la CEE sur le développement du marché commun des services et équipements de télécommunications concernant la création d'un tel institut et la consultation d'autres institutions.

L'institut aura son siège à Sofia Antipolis (Nice, France).

Des invitations à la première Assemblée générale de l'institut seront adressées aux fabricants, aux usagers ainsi qu'à d'autres participants éventiels, après consultation avec les grandes institutions qui se sont intéressées à cette proposition.

L'Assemble générale désignera le directeur de l'Institut. - *CEPT.*