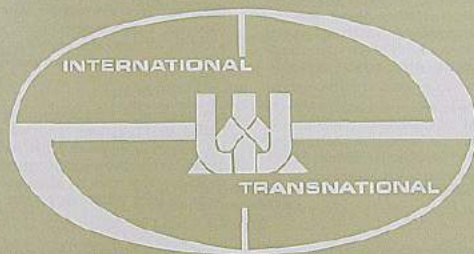


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The Changing World of
Northern NGO's

Les OING de jeunesse
et la Communauté européenne

1991 - n° 2

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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 a 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.

Son programme, conforme aux principes et aux méthodes de l'UAI, vise, en général, à éclairer les connaissances du grand public sur la vie associative dans la perspective des relations internationales et, en particulier, à informer les associations des divers aspects de leurs problèmes propres et d'intérêt commun.

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TRANSNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

1991 — N° 2

SOMMAIRE

CONTENTS

Rédaction/Editorial

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Anthony J.N. JUDGE

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The Changing World of Northern IMGO's,

by Thomas W. Dichter

66

Asian Development Bank Cooperation with IMGOs

71

Les OING de jeunesse et la Communauté européenne

75

The Global Integrity Ethics: defining global social change
organizations and the organizing principles which make
transnational organizing possible,

by Pamel C. Johnson and David N. Cooperrider

90

The Language of Networks, by Christian De Laet

110

Local NGOs and Regionalization : a Dual challenge for
International associations,

by Chadwick A. Alger

113

Vie associative

Association News

113

IAPCO Seminar

120

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The Changing World of Northern NGOs: Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities *

by Thomas W. Dichter

Throughout the diverse ranks of development professionals, there is a growing consensus about the importance of grassroots projects and of participation in them by non-governmental organizations. Not only are NGOs being given an ever greater role as project implementors, but mainstream development theorists have come to echo their views — a « first » in the short history of development.

Both NGOs and the major official development organizations now seem to agree that (for example) :

- Structural adjustments are necessary in the Third World;
- The involvement and participation of the poor in alleviating their poverty is essential;
- Indigenous and appropriate technology is key;
- «Trickle-down» is slower than we thought;
- The development project time-frame must be lengthened;
- Policy dialogue is necessary;
- Ignoring the political realities at the top is folly for those who would work at the bottom; and
- The formation of local organizations and the catalytic role of assisting organizations at the grassroots is a key to sustainability.

But NGOs, like other development organizations, do not always act on what they know. Worse, what is known is not based on much hard data, and NGOs increasingly face a dilemma: They are being asked to take on more and more although they are not, in truth, certain what will work over the long haul, or, even if they are certain, they remain woefully short of the skills needed to accomplish the tasks. They are also being joined (sometimes petitioned) by indigenous NGOs, which have grown rapidly, often filling in gaps left open by government. Altogether, this means new opportunities and a great challenge ahead. But the risks are also great, especially given the NGOs' tendency to shortchange reflection in favor of action.

To move ahead successfully, reflection is needed. NGOs must, in fact, not only look closely at the realities of their situation, but also face some different dilemmas - the

toughest being, perhaps, the public airing of their private doubts. Moreover, even while the NGOs' mainstream development partners — the U.N. Development Programme (UNDP), the African Development Bank, the World Bank, and USAID among them — call for a greater NGO role, they do harbor private doubts about the capacity, the seriousness, and the very mindset of NGOs. This « insider's » look at the (largely) Northern NGO sector raises a few such doubts itself. This is deliberate. We need a frank self-examination, and we also need the help, understanding, and constructive criticism of our partners in the larger development endeavor. Calling for such help is, of course, a risk. Not only is development now an industry, but it is also one under great pressure. And what industry wants a poor press?

As an industry, the development endeavor has come to have a life of its own — one that is to some degree independent of its market. A stake has arisen in maintaining the «profession». When, therefore, we see past efforts as too heavy-handed, too fast, or too massive, and when we recognize that what appears to work is often less involving of «us» as professionals and more of «them» as participants, there may be a certain discomfort with the implication that we, the professional practitioners, may not need to be as involved as we like to think. We face just this sort of conflict of interest when, for example, we begin to single out the «informal sector» within urban economies as a model of development, as is the current trend. Has not the informal sector, by definition, grown and prospered without our or anyone else's intervention?

Questions like these become more difficult as the industry grows. Right now, between 10 and 15 per cent of development assistance funds generated by the OECD member nations is channeled through the Northern NGOs. U.S. NGOs are growing and want to continue to grow. The stakes, too, grow; NGOs are now more supply-driven than demand-driven (1).

As a sub-industry within the greater development endeavor, NGOs are more conditioned than ever to see themselves as important. We get, and appreciate, some good marks for our ability to reach the poor, for our independence, for our smallness, flexibility, cost-effectiveness, and all-around ability to «deliver the goods» - whether

* Reprinted by permission from *Strengthening the poor: What have we learned?*, by John P. Lewis and contributors, U.S.-Third World Policy Perspectives, No. 10, Overseas Development Council, 1989, 177-188. The author is General Editor of *Technoserve*, R. & P.A. Publications, 148 East Ave Norwalk CT 06851, U.S.A.

actual goods, such as food, or moral and social goods, such as political empowerment and better nutrition. These claims, however, are not very well founded, as Tendler and others have said for at least six years (2). In almost all cases — even the best work of the most development-oriented NGOs — the reality is less rosy than reports indicate. Yet at a time when the development industry is under great pressure, realities are not always trumpeted. The facts about Africa have raised questions (however unfairly) of performance. Where did all that money go? What did it accomplish?

To answer the skeptics. Northern NGOs who struggle for growth, and in some cases for survival, look for successes. A few «stars» projects that show promise after a few short years of existence are cited. Even though there are thousands of NGO development projects now under way in the Third World, the same four or five «stars» are trotted out at conferences and seminars as proof of new paradigms of successful development. Worse yet, the best cases are brought to the public relations table far too soon. Most successes are pilot projects and have not stood the test of either time or replicability. And those who praise them, even those outsiders who seemingly have no stake in NGOs, frequently are too kind. More often than not, the evaluators of many promising projects are co-opted by the project designers, and their sharing of the myths and hopes is such that a willingness to suspend disbelief becomes significant. As a result, project evaluators often do not fulfill the promise of rigorous testing with which they enter the process.

Inside U.S. NGOs

This chapter presents one insider's view of where NGOs now stand — some trends and signs, along with what they suggest (given in no particular order).

U.S. development-oriented NGOs are worried. By means of staff retreats and through an increase in internal meetings and the use of outside consultants, we are trying to restructure and reshape ourselves. We are going through painful, and in some cases wrenching, processes of transition from, for example, food aid and relief to development, and from horizontal, and rather uniform, integrated rural development to a more vertical, sophisticated, and technically skilled approach that takes both «top» and «bottom» into account.

We have rushed to borrow terms and concepts « wholesale» from the corporate world. For the past two or three years, NGO staffers have suddenly begun talking about «positioning», «management information systems», «strategic planning», «product», and the like. We are trying to professionalize staff, grapple with governance issues, and restructure ourselves. Some large NGOs have discovered that they have no articulated statement of mission or purpose. Some are scrambling to clean up their accounting, and others, strikingly, are now doing budgeting and financial planning for the first time. But major weaknesses remain. On the accounting side, for example, few NGOs have a developed cost-accounting system.

This infusion of business practices is also leading to internal strife and confusion. Changes toward structured management, whether of the more hierarchical sort or of the more participatory sort, are not always going over well

in organizations that for years operated with a very loose management style, marked by collegiality and often consensual decision making — or, at the other end of the spectrum, marked by charismatic leaders who make all decisions. In some organizations, new executives are being recruited from the business world, and their way of running things are generally more exacting.

These things are taking place quietly as far as outsiders are concerned. But internally, there is tension because NGOs recognize that they do not always live up to their image and, more problematically, that some changes are taking place not because NGOs believe in them but because they amount to good public relations. Those who study the rise of different industrial sectors talk about the «growth maturity» stage as one marked by a growing attempt to differentiate within an industry, to position parts of an industry, and to engage increasingly in public relations activities and lobbying activities both directly and through trade associations. This is where the U.S. NGO community is now.

Within the Northern NGO community, however, our efforts to differentiate ourselves from one another are rather primitive. It is significant that many NGOs can talk about their «mission», yet do a very poor job of describing what they actually do to outsiders. This is not for lack of print. More and more is being written by NGOs to describe their work. But descriptions are often «boilerplate» and so much like what everyone else is saying that claims to being unique in the field are a bit naive. As happens in other industries in the growth maturity stage, a shakeout occurs when the «market» cannot absorb so many makers of the same type of product.

Unlike the corporate industries, however, NGOs are decidedly not in business to grow and achieve greater «market share», but to help others grow. Our commitment has been to ultimately drive ourselves out of business. Hence, to the extent that we strive to improve our management, as well as to professionalize and change the way we run our organizations, we should be doing so to improve our performance in the field and to have greater impact in alleviating poverty, rather than to improve our «donor base». Most important, these trends — entered into rapidly with half an eye on public relations and getting a larger piece of the pie — get seriously in the way of our learning.

How we learn is in fact highly problematic. At present we have no real data — no systems to measure our work. While studies are now being undertaken, they are largely not the work of NGOs themselves. Ironically, moreover, those NGOs who now do attempt to quantify and examine their own work still defend their right to maintain that what they do cannot be quantified.

We have made some methodological compromises as well. As we have grown, so has our tendency to follow fads — some of our own creation. For the 1980s, the best example is the rise of «enterprise development» — occasionally still called income generation. Now that it is fashionable and there is much money to be spent on it, many U.S. organizations are suddenly very involved in it. Another fad involves «smallness» in development, which has been so overdefined that now the trend is to see which approach can lay claim to being the smallest; hence the clamor over the micro sector. Ideologically, NGO purity is now defined as being able to say that one works definitively with the poorest of the poor.

Yet many U.S. NGOs who have been doing development-oriented work since the 1970s know by now that there really are no easy answers, and that most fads eventually fade. Indeed, most lessons learned by NGOs are of the « it depends » sort. Some agencies tacitly acknowledge that they are not really sure what method works, but that they do now know that competent and committed staff make a difference. Others recognize that we always underestimate the time a project takes. Also, we have come to see that no development, even grassroots development, works well in isolation. A «systems» approach is called for, as are well-run organizations. To effect these changes, middle range approaches, ones capable of leveraging impact, seem to work; but these kinds of lessons, because they are not the current fad, are little discussed.

Finally, NGOs in the United States are struggling especially with their own dependency: fearful of being too tied to AID, yet afraid to wean ourselves (There are now over 200 U.S. NGOs registered with AID, or about one-third of all NGOs engaged in overseas development work). In the case of those who have not taken government money, there is erosion of the lines between what is and what is not public money. They few who remain « pure » are showing smaller incomes. A very few, largely those with more international donor bases and with a sponsorship type of appeal, are showing embarrassing surpluses of money and are literally not ready to use it effectively. Yet, in practical terms, it would be financial suicide to deliberately slow down or turn off the flow on the grounds that absorptive capacity is limited.

In a word, there is a gap between the NGOs' image and the new call for their larger role on the one hand, and their capacities on the other. We are understandably ambivalent about the course we are on. We are worried. We feel we are good, but we cannot prove it. We would like a chance to « upscale », to extend the benefits of our work, to have greater impact (our biggest failing of all is that even when we do demonstrably good work, it affects very few people), but are not sure we can, or should, handle it.

Recognizing our clout, we are for the first time aware of our numbers, and these are significant: At least 2,500 Northern NGOs with a Third World focus exist in the donor countries (3). Ten per cent of this total (about 200 organizations) have annual budgets of \$ 1,000,000 or more. And the sector is growing — with tens of thousands of people on our payrolls.

Northern NGOs in the Larger «Third Sector» Context

The above is an insider's description of the U.S., not the Canadian or the European, NGO scene. But recent research indicates that some of the tensions occurring in the U.S. context may eventually surface in some European NGOs (4). For the moment, however, European NGOs do not feel the pressure that we do. They enjoy more consistent partnerships with their donors, both official and individual, than do U.S. NGOs. These donors, moreover, are not yet inclined to be very critical and are listened to with great care. In the throes of its first postwar wave of charitable giving, the European middle class in countries like Holland

now has enough affluence so that a large market can be counted on by many organizations. Indeed, public advocacy and interest in development is greater in Europe than in the United States.

Finally, there are new entrants upon the scene, particularly from southern Europe (especially Italy) and Japan. These countries have large untapped reserves of public and private funding without a highly developed national NGO base to tie them to. Eager to carve out sectors, these new actors are positioning themselves to maximize their input and resources.

More broadly, the entire non-governmental «third sector» — from private voluntary organisations to universities, churches, research centers, and those in existence to work for poverty alleviation in the Third World — is increasingly fluid. The lines between public and private, between governmental and non-governmental, and even between the profit and the non-profit firm are becoming blurred.

Both functionally and structurally, many non-governmental and governmental organisations resemble each other. Voluntary organizations, in the United States at least, have been steadily moving toward professionalization and inevitably a degree of bureaucratization. Consequently, they are now less in service to the individual member and are catering more and more to three constituencies: 1) larger donors, sometimes the government, 2) «targeted» beneficiaries, and 3) the agenda of their own professional staffs. Many NGOs are now engaged in what has been called «government by contract», and a revolving-door phenomenon has become common whereby the staffs in government and the staffs in private agencies are often the same people, although they move back and forth from the one sector to the other in serial fashion. A term coined by Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation in 1967 had caught on to allude to this and has been widely used in Britain: QUANGO, the quasi-non-governmental organisation.

Southern NGOs

A major new player — the indigenous NGO — has entered the world of development endeavor. Various referred to as voluntary development organizations, grassroots support organizations, and indigenous or local NGOs, these Southern NGOs are a major new organizational phenomenon in development history.

Yet there are almost no reliable statistics on this movement. The few organizations that track NGO activity, such as the United Nations NGO Liaison Office and the UNDP Division for NGOs, do not have accurate information. The tracking is done through «umbrella» organizations, and many NGOs are not registered with them. Furthermore, definitions of NGOs differ: Many registered NGOs, formed for tax or other purposes, are not active. Finally, the number of organizations seems to be growing so rapidly that the information that is collected is out of date as soon as it is published. If local NGOs are considered as an undifferentiated lot, their numbers — perhaps upward of a million — are staggering. And even if we consider only indigenous NGOs that are devoted in their countries to a role analogous to that of the largest international (Northern) NGOs, it would seem not unreasonable to estimate that they number 20,000 to 30,000.

Instead of guessing at numbers, it may help to give a sample of NGO types and their numbers in a select group of countries (5). Among those organizations or entities that can be counted as development NGOs are:

Crafts co-ops (tens of thousands worldwide)
Agricultural co-ops (tens of thousands)
Indigenous irrigation organizations (the Philippines)
Village forestry associations (Korea)
Squatter neighborhood-improvement associations in Latin America (at least 20,000)
Small farmer development groups in Nepal (2,100)
Local Development Associations in Yemen (130)
Christian Base communities in Brazil (80,000)
Self-help housing groups in Colombia (700)
Non-governmental development organizations in Peru (450)
Non-governmental development organizations in India (24,000)
Non-governmental development organizations in Bangladesh (600)
«Technology institutions» in Africa (711)
Savings clubs in Zimbabwe (5,800)
Numbers aside, these NGOs can be roughly seen as a pyramid. The largest number of organized groups — those which are educational, religious, cultural, linguistic, age-related, or socially based — is at the broad base of the pyramid. In the next layer of the pyramid are economically based groups: co-ops, savings clubs, etc. Further up, in a still narrower slice of the pyramid, are the groups with an explicit welfare charity orientation. And finally, at the pyramid's top, is the smallest group: indigenous NGOs of relatively recent founding whose stated purpose is development at the local level (6).

Northern and Southern NGOs Working Together: Paradoxes and Possibilities

The future of indigenous NGOs cannot be predicted. But they are now riding a rising wave and have become increasingly articulate. At the March 1987 London conference sponsored by *World Development* and the Overseas Development Institute, Southern NGOs challenged Northern NGOs to, in effect, «back off» and help the Southerners establish themselves as the lead practitioners in the field. The challenge had a certain logic; we were asked to put our money where our rhetoric lies. If, as the Southerners observe, we claim that we are in business to «work ourselves out of a job», then why not get started? In fact, the very feeling that Southern NGOs have of being the outsiders (even though they are the people we are trying to help) suggests how closed a shop Northern NGOs have become: To give up aspects of control of our development process is to give up market share.

The rise of the Southern NGO is a positive phenomenon. Not only are development assistance-oriented Southern NGOs filling a gap in countries where the public sector has failed, but there is growing evidence that in many instances they may be a stabilizing influence. As such, they have the potential to foster change that will be sustainable - in contrast to the poor record of direct

implementors of assistance from the North in this regard (7).

Even when Northern NGOs are clear about the positive impact of indigenous NGOs, however, their own rapidly changing status makes it hard for them to know how to work with Southern partners. For example, the large bilateral agencies, the UNDP, the World Bank, and others want Northern NGOs to play a larger role in development - to play both a facilitating and an institution-building role, as well as to take on still heavier responsibility for actual delivery and practice. But Southern NGOs ask that we play a less direct role and spend more time as educators, advocates, and supporters of the Southern agenda — that we in effect be brokers, facilitators, catalysts, and, not least, funding channels.

Not only are Northern NGOs torn between these two different demands and definitions of their role — they have their own private demons as well. We are not sure, as acknowledged earlier in this discussion, that we have figured out how to be effective as deliverers of assistance, especially as promoters of sustainable, cost-effective poverty alleviation. Yet we are being asked to play a larger role in grassroots development — a craft we may have pioneered but are only just beginning to learn seriously. The ironies multiply: We now are asked to teach lessons that we are ourselves still in the process of learning. Given our newfound respectability and visibility, we are of course quite reluctant to get off center stage. As a result, we continue to try to set agendas and even to create a poverty-alleviation orthodoxy that our Southern brethren are encouraged, in the name of autonomy, to follow.

Obviously, we need to slow down. Before launching ourselves as teachers, we need time to assess what does and does not work and, not least, to review our own sub-culture.

Northern NGOs: Our Past Culture and Future Possibilities

Until about ten years ago, most Northern NGOs were made up of concerned amateurs, often from a religious background. Our organizations generally relied on volunteer or low-paid staff who worked hard at the grassroots and showed a populist, if not radical (even militant) political bent. Much of the time these staffs felt culturally uncomfortable with elites, whether from government or business, and to the extent that NGOs had ties with them, these ties (as ties with traditional power) were an embarrassment.

We were «do-gooders» but not afraid to work. We could stay in the field for long periods of time, learn the languages, and deliver limited services. Largely predisposed toward people-orientation, we were able to work well with small groups and communities; and we achieved some small successes, the impact of which may be greater than our detractors think.

We were out there, forced to compromise by the realities of the field. We very much played things by ear, often listening so fully with open heart to people's needs that we were overwhelmed with the massiveness of the task and tried to give away too much, too soon, and too readily. We wanted to solve all problems at once and thus became ena-

more of the idea of integrated rural development in the most horizontal sense.

We tried, moreover, to tackle empowerment as a *pre-requisite*, rather than as an outcome, of development. By doing so, we neglected the « nuts and bolts », and some of the unpleasant politics, of development. Politically, we sidestepped the job of linking policymakers at the top to data gleaned from the grassroots; and practically, we short-changed some old-fashioned bases of good management: leadership, vision, solid administrative and accounting systems, and rigor in data collection.

None of this should surprise us. We are a young profession and often did not see the forest for the trees. Nor were we sophisticated about foreign aid and development assistance, well versed in economics, or initially possessed of solid technical skills. Given our empowerment orientation, moreover, we often deliberately shunned structures that encouraged rigorous measurement, clear decision making, and even planning or budgeting. But now the habits of day-to-day crisis management and the ethos of the grassroots are not enough. Even as we undergo rapid change, and professionalization, we struggle with the legacy of our sub-culture's origins and biases. Part of that struggle, indeed, is recognizing how much we have been in the thick of things without the time (or, sometimes, the inclination) to look at our own history or the research and interdisciplinary work that — however in complet — is available.

During this decidedly transitional stage, we Northern NGOs need encouragement to to our own research in order to truly approach a « lessons learned » stage. We must also work to establish some norms and standards that are quantitative in nature. However difficult and distasteful this work proves, it will nonetheless allow us to better answer, first for ourselves, questions about how well we do. If, for example, we were to discover that 15 per cent of all our projects have been sustained for more than five years, or that 35 per cent of projects produced positive, but wholly unintended, results, we would be better able to accept that there is no «state of the art» in grassroots development. Such a combination of effort, research, reflection, and examination of performance would create an atmosphere in which, probably for the first time, learning lessons would be possible. We would then be in a much better position to give the kind of help for which Southern NGOs have asked us.

Effective, self-aware help is our goal. To meet this goal — returning to a key point made at the start of this chapter — Northern NGOs need to use their major multilateral and bilateral supporters as rigorous sounding boards for their work. Those who talk now about a larger role for NGOs must learn to be tough on us.

What, finally, does the future of the Northern NGO look like? It seems that, in time, a sorting out will occur and the sector will mature. If, hopefully, a division of labor is recognized as sound, then two kinds of Northern NGOs may survive intact in the next decade: 1) the small or medium-size, sector-focused NGO that has solid technical skills and a track record of success, and 2) the larger NGO that is able to catalyze, to wholesale rather than retail development in various forms, and to play a policy dialogue and development education role.

The first type would be akin to a «development boutique » and might specialize in unorthodox approaches, «surgical» interventions, pilot and experimental projects, and regional concentration. Such an organization might

deliberately practice what has been called «*unbalanced development*» and make an asset out of the regrettable historical fact that not all problems can be — or are — solved in integrated ways. Usually there is progress on one aspect of a related set of problems first — and then, later, on others. It would have international funding, but a national staff, and be very businesslike in its approach — being, among other things, selective and able to say «no».

The second type, the broker NGO, would play a multitude of roles: a policy role, a data-gathering role, a facilitation role. It would be committed to research and to the documentation of learning, as well as to policy analysis. Such NGOs would function as « connective tissue » between institutions in society that are related to development. This complex set of tasks will require new kinds of leadership and new kinds of donor relationships.

At the same time it is possible that the old relief and food aid NGOs may revert back to their original roles. In a development industry where the division of labor is the hallmark, their role would again make sense.

For the most part, all the necessary ingredients for an effective aggregation of the players in development are present, perhaps for the first time. In the whole of the development industry, as well as in the developing world, there is nothing missing. Everything needed is present. Perhaps what is needed now is a balancing — an articulation of the parts. That will take time.

Notes

- (1) In Europe also growth is apparent. On growth and competitiveness among European NGOs, see Nigei Twose, «European NGOs: Growth or Partnership?», in *World Development*, Vol. 15 (Autumn 1987), pp. 7-10.
- (2) See Judith Tendler, «Turning Private Voluntary Organizations into Development Agencies: Questions for Evaluation», AID Program Evaluation Discussion Paper No. 12 (Washington, D.C.: USAID, April 1982).
- (3) The Northern countries that are members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
- (4) See Anne Gordon Drabek, ed., «Development Alternatives: The Challenge for NGOs», special issue of *World Development*, Vol. 15 (Autumn 1987).
- (5) The author is indebted to Dr. Julie Fisher. Technoserve consultant, for compiling these data.
- (6) Certain preconditions must exist for the development of some of these sectors; and the whole pyramid will be found in only a few countries — India being one of them.
- (7) See Julie Fisher. *The Alternative Revolution: Development Organizations of the Third World*, forthcoming; and Willard R. and Vivian R. Johnson, *Relations Between Governments and Volunteer Development Organizations in Selected West African Countries* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT, Center for International Studies, 1988).

Cooperation between Asian Development Bank and NGOs

New Approaches in Development Thinking

As the awareness grows that development is a participatory exercise — be it the alleviation of poverty, the provision of social services, the development of local institutions and self-help groups, the improvement of the natural environment or policy discussion on development issues — and that project benefits are not always easily sustainable without involving beneficiaries, the Bank as well as other development financing institutions have been searching for new mechanisms to deliver their services.

One such mechanism is to involve non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in project design, implementation and evaluation. It reflects the general belief that such organizations have, for certain types of projects, a comparative advantage over government aid agencies. For their part, NGOs, which are private, voluntary and non-profit organizations that aim to improve the quality of life and the standards of living of the people, recognize that there are certain areas in which they can cooperate with government aid agencies and provide their special know-how and experience without giving up their independence.

The 1980s saw a trend toward participatory approaches among a number of developing member countries (DMCs). This was partly in response to implementation problems that crept into official programs designed without consultation with beneficiaries. Also, because of the financial constraints that cropped up in the 1980s, governments nowadays often expect communities to help pay for services. That makes more obvious the need to ask communities what they want. The Bank has contributed to this worldwide change in development thinking, arguing that continued efforts to promote growth should be complemented by focused efforts to reduce poverty. Thus, there is now an increasing emphasis on targeting project benefits to well-defined groups which are actively involved in project design, implementation and evaluation. Popular participation in development decision-making has become a desirable objective.

Some DMCs have attempted to improve the direct distribution of benefits to the poor by specifically targeting programs at them, by decentralizing rural administration

and by according high priority to sectors and activities which can offer immediate productivity gains or essential services to the poor. However, many of these initiatives have been beset with difficulties. As the Bank's Sector Paper on Rural Development points out, although several DMCs have decentralized their rural development planning procedures in order to establish closer links with local communities, manpower constraints have inhibited their efforts (1). Government agencies often do not have people with enough motivation, training and ability to assist local communities to articulate their needs and develop a coherent focus for a rural development program. Besides, as the Bank's Sector Paper also notes, the poor are not represented on local planning bodies and, therefore, DMCs have particular difficulties in involving the poorest communities in rural development planning. Motivated as they are and being closer to the communities they serve, NGOs can be a useful link in the development process. A coherent and systematic approach to involve intermediaries like NGOs between the government and self-help groups is, therefore, essential if the poor are to take advantage of government programs.

Comparative Advantages and Limitations of NGOs

It is, however, difficult to make a comprehensive assessment of the overall role and contribution of NGOs to socio-economic development. For another, there are not enough relevant data on their activities. Still, within these limitations, there are major comparative advantages to be derived from working with NGOs. Mostly, they derive their success not from their association with any political grouping but from the vision of their individual leaders and the dedication of their self-motivated staff. They are involved at the grassroots level and are familiar with the specific needs of the poor. They are committed to the betterment of the neediest, the protection of the environment, the welfare of the community. They emphasize self-help and self-reliance. In their operations, they have no bureaucracy to contend with and so can be flexible and innovative. They work directly to develop skills through training and other technical assistance programs; support institution-building, and

* Reprinted from *Asia Development Bank Annual Report*, 1989.

help design, prepare and implement development activities.

It is important to note that NGOs have their limitations, too. They are small in size and scope, and, thus, can have only a limited impact. Frequently, they lack a broader economic and social perspective. Their financial and technical resources are not large either. They are loosely structured, sometimes without real accountability. And they are often weak (or excessively flexible) in management and planning. To achieve the optimum balance between, for example, flexibility and planning capacity requires a high level of experience and maturity. It is thus not surprising that the number of efficient and effective development NGOs is still relatively small.

Government Policies and Relations with NGOs

At times, the relationship between NGOs and DMC governments poses legal and administrative problems. While some NGOs have a legal status, others are less formally organized. In the absence of specific policies or guidelines, their cooperation with governments depends on the relationship they have with particular government ministries and agencies. It is also recognized that a close embrace of NGOs by governments would be detrimental to some of their comparative advantages.

Occasionally, there could be NGOs who would take their concern for particular causes almost to the point of being biased, ignoring the broader socio-economic considerations of the government. When such a conflict of purpose and priority arises, cooperation with NGOs is not going to be easy.

Nevertheless, NGO involvement in government projects has increased in recent years. Sometimes, governments use them as sources for information on local conditions and as vehicles to deliver inputs, offer extension services and provide training. Likewise, NGOs in some DMCs have sought to coordinate their activities in consultation with governments so as to avoid fragmentation and duplication of effort.

A few DMC governments, in cooperation with NGOs, have themselves directly sought to develop self-help groups to improve the distribution of inputs and services. Some have acted to boost manpower and strengthen skills at the grassroots level. Others, such as the Philippines, have recognized the need to actively encourage the development of NGOs and use them as the final link between government services and beneficiaries, either formally or informally.

In general, the degree to which a DMC is concerned about increasing beneficiary participation in rural development projects and poverty alleviation will influence the degree to which the Government is prepared to encourage the development of NGOs and collaborate with them. This, in turn, will affect the degree to which the Bank can look to NGOs to address the question of increased beneficiary participation in development projects. This will also, naturally, influence the nature of Bank loans and technical assistance projects to improve such participation.

Status of Bank's Efforts

Between 1987 and 1989, the Bank participated in various symposia/conferences which were organized by NGOs or which addressed NGO issues. These symposia and conferences presented an excellent opportunity for the Bank to explain its new policy measures to a large number of NGOs and DMC governments. The Bank also kept in close contact with the newly-created NGO Division at UNDP as well as with the World Bank's NGO team.

Besides, the Bank commissioned a study on cooperation with NGOs in agriculture and rural development, which identified, assessed and suggested working arrangements with specific NGOs in seven DMCs (Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines and Sri Lanka) (2).

Since the policy framework for cooperation with NGOs became effective in 1987 (see box story on opposite page), a number of loans and technical assistance projects involving NGOs have been approved. The Chitral Area Development Project in Pakistan, approved in 1987, was designed on the basis of close collaboration and cooperation with the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme, an NGO with considerable expertise in the project area. Another example of Bank-NGO cooperation is provided by a technical assistance grant to Indonesia, which seeks to study how to improve the efficiency of irrigation and management systems in selected areas of West Java and West Sumatra. The Bank has joined the Ford Foundation and the International Irrigation Management Institute (IIMI) in sharing the cost of the study. In the Philippines, in conjunction with the Sorsogon Integrated Area Development Project, the Bank agreed in 1988 to provide an advisory technical assistance grant for establishing a pilot community organization program. Through an NGO, the program will mobilize community groups in Sorsogon engaged in economic activities in key sectors, namely, non-irrigated food crops, tree crops, fisheries, small-scale agro-processing and general services. In 1988, the Bank extended a loan to the Philippines for the NGO-Microcredit Project, which is currently being implemented. This was the Bank's first practical step in directly involving NGOs to support beneficiary groups at the grassroots level. This pilot project will finance micro-enterprises and cottage industries using NGOs as credit intermediaries as well as providers of technical assistance. Along with the loan, the Bank provided an advisory technical assistance to strengthen about 30 NGOs expected to be accredited under the project. The Fisheries Sector Program loan to the Philippines supports a community-based coastal zone management program to be implemented in 12 major areas of the country, with NGOs serving as field-level project managers. In 1989, the Bank approved the Low-Income Upland Communities Project in the Philippines, in which NGOs have also been given an important role in community-based resource regeneration activities associated with a watershed management project in Mindoro.

Cooperation of environmental NGOs is of particular importance to the Bank. In 1988, in a pioneering initiative, the senior management of the Bank held an informal meeting with representatives of selected environmental NGOs to exchange views on the Bank's environmental policies and programs and discuss how environmental NGOs could help address environmental and natural resources concerns in the DMCs. During the ninth meeting of the Com-

Main objectives of the Banks's policy

The main objectives of the Bank's cooperation with NGOs in its operational activities are to assist the poor in improving their living standards effectively, and to support improved natural resource management and conservation in the DMCs. In July 1987, a policy framework for cooperation with NGOs was established and approved by the Board of Directors. In August 1988, a task force on the Bank's role in poverty alleviation recognized that, for the Bank to be effective in implementing its objective, it would be necessary to utilize channels and mechanisms for transferring resources and technical assistance directly to the poor.

Within this policy framework, the Bank cooperates selectively with NGOs which are well established and have experience in socio-economic activities. Such cooperation is based on the merits of individual cases, with prior concurrence of DMC governments.

There are a number of sectors and subsectors where the Bank can work together with NGOs. Among them are agriculture and rural development; social infrastructure; urban development; water supply and sanitation; health and population; education and training; small-scale industry and, of course, environmental protection in specific geographical regions, which has become a major concern

for the Bank. So far, on the project level, the Bank's cooperation with NGOs had concentrated on agriculture/rural development, irrigation, health, micro/cottage industries and environmental protection.

There are several ways the Bank can cooperate with NGOs. It can work with them as sources of information, as consultants or contractors, as executing or operating agencies or as co-financiers.

Where NGOs have been active at the grassroots and have gained development experience, the Bank can draw on their knowledge and expertise to identify, prepare and appraise its projects; monitor and evaluate benefits; and facilitate its post-evaluation work.

Applying the usual Bank procedures, NGOs can also be recruited as consultants, either directly or in collaboration with other consultants and executing agencies because of their particular familiarity with local conditions. Moreover, with the governments' concurrence, they can be used as executing agencies for certain components of Bank-financed loan and technical assistance projects.

NGOs may also be co-financiers of Bank-financed loan and technical assistance projects, though amounts would generally be modest. NGO financing

could certainly complement and enhance the effectiveness of the Bank's assistance. They can either put up cash or, which is mostly the case, provide the necessary training and advisory assistance. However, since the development approach of NGOs and their criteria and procedures for procurement of goods and services could differ from those of the Bank, parallel financing arrangements would normally be the most appropriate involvement for NGOs.

The Bank continues to identify NGOs which might be interested in cooperating with it. It maintains proper records and information about such NGOs and their activities. In order to enhance NGO's understanding of the Bank's operational policies, strategies and procedures, it keeps NGOs regularly informed on projects under consideration in the various DMCs. It also discusses with executing agencies possible areas of cooperation with NGOs and encourages contacts between them. It consults and, where appropriate, coordinates with other major bilateral and multilateral aid agencies (especially the World Bank) on how to cooperate more closely with NGOs. In addition, it organizes symposia/conferences where NGOs and DMC governments exchange views on development and environmental issues.

mittee of International Development Institutions on the Environment (CIDIE) in Washington, D.C., also in 1988, a presentation was made on the ADB study on cooperative arrangements with environmental NGOs. The presentation dealt with the overall context of such collaboration, the opportunities for getting DMC governments to agree with these new arrangements and various ideas on how to broaden the basis of cooperation. The country-by-country assessment was undertaken in close collaboration with recognized national NGO network bodies and in consultation with donor country governments. Its results were further discussed at the ADB-NGO consultative meeting in 1989, held in conjunction with the tenth meeting of the CIDIE in Manila.

Subsequently, the services of environmental NGOs were built into several projects, including urban infrastructure development in Dhaka, Bangladesh; institution-building for environmental management in Nepal and the forestry and fishery sector program loans and the low-income upland communities project in the Philippines. The Bank's concern was also reflected in the technical assistance it

provided for an environmental improvement study in the Manila metropolitan region.

The Bank will continue to pay increasing attention to improving formal and informal links with NGOs, particularly indigenous NGOs in DMCs, to address environmental concerns in Bank-supported activities. In this regard, results of an ongoing study on institutional strengthening of indigenous NGOs, in connection with the tenth meeting of CIDIE, will provide the modalities for future cooperation.

Outlook

Although substantial progress has been made so far in intensifying the Bank's cooperation with NGOs, much remains to be done. The effort to promote a better understanding between the Bank and NGOs through symposia and conferences could be further intensified at the DMC level, since NGOs can perform a useful role as development and environment educators. The Bank has benefited from its 1988 meetings with selected environmental NGOs

in Washington, D.C., and the 1989 Bank-NGO Consultative Meeting in Manila, which provided an excellent forum to further improve the Bank's understanding of environmental issues. Simultaneously, contacts with NGOs in the donor countries could be expanded. In spite of the recognition that such NGOs could help educate public opinion in their countries about the problems of the DMC's, little effort was made in the past to foster relationships with them.

Experience has also shown that the participation of NGOs on the project level has so far been rather limited and only in a few countries, such as Indonesia, Pakistan and Philippines. Also, the involvement has been largely confined to the agriculture and rural development sector, which raises a question of geographical and sectoral balance. However, with the emphasis shifting to poverty alleviation and the related need to design and implement beneficiary-oriented, grassroot-level projects, a substantial expansion in the role of NGOs can be expected.

The experience gained by the Bank in cooperating with NGOs points to some other issues which are likely to

emerge in the near future. By expanding its operations cooperation with NGOs, the Bank has realized more clearly the need to proceed in conformity with relevant government policies on the matter. In this context, the Bank will seek to play a catalytic role in promoting the relationship between NGOs and DMC governments and facilitating a more intensive dialogue between them on issues such as poverty alleviation, popular participation, environment and women in development.

The Bank's cooperation with NGOs is still in the early stages of development and some more experience needs to be gained before the effectiveness of this strategy can be properly evaluated.

(1) Asian Development Bank, *Sector Paper on Rural Development* (1988).

(2) Asian Development Bank, *Cooperation with NGOs in Agriculture and Rural Development* (1989).

Les OING, la jeunesse et la Communauté européenne

Enquête et analyse réalisées en janvier 1991 par le Bureau européen de coordination des organisations internationales de jeunesse *

INTRODUCTION

La publication en octobre dernier du *Mémorandum* de la Commission et la décision de tenir le premier Conseil formel de la jeunesse sous la présidence luxembourgeoise ont donné une impulsion décisive au projet de création d'une politique de jeunesse globale et plus rationnelle au sein de la CE. Suite aux bouleversements qui ont récemment eu lieu en Europe centrale et orientale, le besoin d'une réadaptation des programmes communautaires et d'une réforme des compétences et du cadre institutionnel de la Communauté européenne s'est fait plus évident. Cette réforme a d'ailleurs démarré avec l'ouverture en décembre dernier des conférences intergouvernementales sur l'Union économique et monétaire et l'Union politique.

Les organisations internationales de jeunesse veulent apporter leur contributions à ce débat. Par l'intermédiaire de leurs plates-formes de coordination au niveau européen, elles se livrent depuis quelques temps déjà à une intense réflexion quant à la politique jeunesse qu'elles souhaitent au niveau européen.

Quelles propositions concrètes pouvons-nous faire, en nous basant sur notre expérience collective, aussi bien en ce qui concerne nos activités quotidiennes avec des jeunes et en tant que jeunes que nos rapports parfois difficiles avec les institutions européennes?

Ce processus est un processus à moyen terme qui est directement lié au débat actuellement en cours au sein des institutions communautaires et en particulier au sein de la Commission et de la Commission jeunesse du Parlement européen. Les pages qui suivent fournissent des éléments de réflexion en vue d'une plus grande intégration des OING de jeunesse (OINGJ) dans ce processus. Elles constituent un premier pas dans la tentative des OINGJ de définir leurs sentiments et leurs attentes à l'égard de la Communauté européenne, leur perception de son évolution, mais aussi leurs craintes et leurs problèmes quotidiens.

Mais ce document n'a pas uniquement l'intention d'être un «cahier de doléances». Il se veut également contribution au processus actuel de réforme et (nous l'espérons) de renforcement des instruments permettant de mener une véritable politique jeunesse au niveau de la CE.

Il est divisé en 4 parties:

1. Résultats et éléments d'analyse du questionnaire sur les OINGJ et la CE

Ce questionnaire, distribué peu après la publication du *Mémorandum* de la CE, se veut une «instance» des relations entre les OINGJ et la CE, en même temps qu'une vision d'ensemble des conceptions du rôle que devrait jouer la CE dans un contexte européen profondément bouleversé. En fait, la portée de certaines questions dépasse de loin le cadre des «Douze».

Les OINGJ ne font habituellement pas la distinction entre leurs membres «communautaires» et «non communautaires» et, comme l'indiquent les résultats de l'enquête, ont donc une longue expérience de la dimension «pan-européenne».

Grâce au nombre de réponses (22 organisations sur les 29 membres du BEC), on peut estimer que cette enquête constitue un tableau représentatif de la façon dont les responsables jeunesse et les jeunes associés européens voient la CE.

Bien sûr, cet exercice ne doit pas être surestimé. Les questionnaires constituent parfois un instrument d'analyse sommaire et ambigu et les mêmes réponses peuvent cacher des motivations opposées. Il ne faut pas non plus oublier que ceux qui ont rédigé ce questionnaire et en ont analysé les résultats ne sont pas des experts en la matière et que leur évaluation a certainement été influencée par leur propre expérience.

2. Note sur le *Mémorandum* «Les Jeunes dans la CE» publié par la Commission de la CE le 15 octobre 1990.

Cette brève note n'a pas la prétention d'étudier dans le détail l'impact des différents programmes de la CE sur le travail des OINGJ ou de faire des propositions concrètes

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dans ce sens. Elle considère simplement certains des éléments de ce Mémoire sous l'angle des OING et doit être mise en rapport avec l'enquête sur les relations des OING avec la CE.

Elle doit être lue en rapport direct avec le texte du Mémoire et ne constitue en aucun cas une analyse globale et réfléchie de la politique communautaire.

3. La CE et les OING: un monde de différence?

A l'heure, actuelle, la plupart des OING ont des contacts avec les institutions de la CE, et en particulier avec la Commission.

Ces contacts sont souvent vitaux pour elles puisque la CE assure à la plupart d'entre elles un soutien financier et administratif.

RESULTATS ET ELEMENTS D'ANALYSE DU QUESTIONNAIRE SUR LES OING ET LA CE.

1.1 Les résultats

A. QUELLES INSTITUTIONS POUR QUELLE EUROPE?

1. Etant donné la nouvelle conjoncture européenne et en relation avec le débat en cours sur l'intégration de l'Europe, laquelle parmi ces institutions européennes vous semble la plus apte (éventuellement moyennant quelques modifications) à s'occuper des domaines suivants (une seule réponse possible):

CULTUREL/ EDUCATIF	POLITIQUE	ECONOMIQUE	SOCIAL	SECURITE/DEFENSE	
Communauté européenne (CE) 7,14%	19,04%	38,09%	33,33%	2,3%	- > 100%
Conseil de l'Europe 45,94%	32,43%		21,63%		
Association européenne de libre échange (AELE) 10%	10%	60%	20%		
COMECON	16,66%	50%	16,6%	16,6%	
Organisation pour la coopération et le développement économique (OCDE) 9,1%	18,18%	36,36%	36,36%		
Conférence pour la Sécurité et la coopération en Europe (CSCE) 5,26%	5,26%	5,26%	5,26%	68,42	
OTAN	25%			75%	
Pacte de Varsovie 33,3%		-		66,7%	

	CULTUREL/EDUCATIF	POLITIQUE	ECONOMIQUE	SOCIAL	SECURITE/DEFENSE
Communauté européenne (CE)	12,5%	30,76%	53,34%	46,66%	4,5%
Conseil de l'Europe	70,86%	46,15%		26,66%	
Association européenne de Libre Echange (AELE)	4,16%	3,85%	20%	6,66%	
COMECON		3,85%	10%	3,3%	4,5%
Organisation pour la coopération et le développement économique (OCDE)	4,16%	7,69%	13,33%	13,36%	
Conférence pour la sécurité et la coopération en Europe (CSCE)	4,16%	3,85%	3,33%	3,36%	59,9
OTAN	-	3,85%			13,36
Pacte de Varsovie	4,16%				9,09%
	1 100%				

Mais cela ne va pas toujours sans mal. Au contraire, la majorité des OINGJ se déclarent insatisfaites ou frustrées, et pas seulement «parce qu'il y a pas assez d'argent», mais à cause de toute une série de facteurs administratifs, organisationnels, politiques, etc qui peuvent avoir de lourdes conséquences sur leur fonctionnement.

Ne croyez pas que nous éprouvions un plaisir pervers à pousser des grands cris de protestation ou à nous acharner sur nos partenaires au sein de la CE.

Nous pensons au contraire que des améliorations seraient profitables à tous et c'est pourquoi nous présentons ci-après quelques propositions à cet égard.

4. Une politique jeunesse au niveau communautaire: quelques lignes d'action pour une contribution effective des OINGJ

Il est bien entendu que le rôle des OINGJ n'est pas d'élaborer directement une politique jeunesse au niveau européen. Cette tâche relève des institutions existantes et nous ne prétendons pas parler au nom de tous les jeunes européens. Cependant, nous affirmons que par la variété de leurs centres d'intérêt, des opinions et des valeurs qu'elles représentent et dont la portée dépasse de loin le nombre de leurs affiliés, les OINGJ reflètent la jeunesse d'aujourd'hui.

Nous présentons ci-dessous quatre éléments que nous jugeons particulièrement importants pour l'avenir de la politique jeunesse en Europe. Nous ne manquerons pas de nous investir dans le débat au fur et à mesure que celui-ci évolue et de présenter des propositions plus détaillées.

2. Pensez-vous qu'une seule parmi ces organisations pourra élargir sa compétence à l'ensemble de ces domaines?		
Oui 68,19%	Non 27,27%	Pas de réponse 4,54%
3. «1992» A. Qu'est ce que cette date signifie pour vous?		5. La création d'un club réservé aux pays riches 22,5%
1. La création d'un grand marché 40%		6. Autres (précisez):
2. Le premier pas vers une intégration pan-européenne 15%		— Création de nouvelles frontières 7,5%
3. Un instrument de solidarité internationale 5%		— Premier pas vers les Etats Unis d'Europe 2,5%
4. Un coup fourré des compagnies multinationales 5%		Pas de réponse: 2,5%
B. ON DIT SOUVENT QUE LA REALISATION DU MARCHE UNIQUE REPRESENTE UNE CHANCE INESPEREE POUR LA JEUNESSE. PARTAGEZ-VOUS CETTE OPINION?		
Oui 40,91%	Non 45,45%	Pas de réponse 13,64%
Quels effets positifs/négatifs prévoyez-vous?		
	POSITIFS	NEGATIFS
Plus grandes possibilités de mobilité	25,3%	
Renforcement des frontières CE — pays extra communautaires	1,2%	24%
Une éventuelle solution au chômage	14,45%	6,67%
Absence d'une véritable dimension jeunesse		21,33%
Effets positifs uniquement pour les jeunes déjà privilégiés	1,2%	20%
Plus grandes possibilités d'apprentissage et de formation	21,68%	-
Augmentation du chômage		16%
Immigration	8,47%	8%
Equivalence des diplômes	22,89%	-
Autres (spécifiez)	4,81%	4%

4. Si vous deviez élaborer une politique jeunesse au niveau européen le plus large possible quelles seraient vos priorités? (3 réponses possibles)

* promouvoir la mobilité des jeunes	22,73%	* favoriser l'apprentissage linguistique	
* lutter contre le chômage	18,18%	* développer une éducation interculturelle	27,27%
* améliorer la formation	9,09%	* lutter contre la drogue	4,54%
* soutenir la vie associative jeunesse	36,36%	* élaborer un statut juridique européen pour les objecteurs de conscience	
* développer une politique santé adéquate		* développer l'information des jeunes	
* développer l'esprit européen		* élaborer une charte sociale	4,54
* lutter pour l'égalité des chances	27,27%	* élaborer un statut juridique européen pour les OINGJ	13,64
* favoriser la solidarité internationale	36,36%	* développer les droits des jeunes	9,09
* mener une politique du logement	4,54%	* favoriser une politique culturelle de la jeunesse	9,09
* élaborer une équivalence des diplômes	4,54%	* autres (spécifiez)	
* lutter contre la marginalisation économique, sociale et culturelle des jeunes (notamment du quart monde)	36,36%	* Pas de réponse	4,54%
* favoriser la participation des jeunes à la vie politique	22,73%		

B. LA C.E ET LES QUESTIONS JEUNESSE.

5. Selon vous, est-ce qu'il existe une véritable politique jeunesse au sein de la CE?

Oui	13,64%	Non	72,73%	Pas de réponse	9,09%	Oui et non	4,54%
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6. Est-ce que vous pensez que l'action de la CE est efficace dans les domaines suivants:

	Oui	Non	Ne savent pas	
a. Promotion de la mobilité des jeunes	33,35%	57,15%	9,5%	- > 100%
b. Promotion de la mobilité des travailleurs	28,57%	66,66%	4,77%	
c. Promotion de la mobilité des étudiants	71,4%	23,8%	4,8%	
d. Formation (+ apprentissage linguistique)	30%	60%	10%	
e. Promotion des initiatives de jeunes	25%	65%	10%	
f. Promotion de la vie associative et éducation à la participation démocratique	14,28%	80,95%	4,77%	
g. Lutte contre le chômage	10%	70%	20%	
h. Egalité des chances	25%	60%	15%	
i. Lutte contre la marginalité	4,8%	85,7%	9,5%	
j. Politique santé (drogues, etc...)	19%	62%	19%	
Pour celles où vous avez répondu non : Si non, pourquoi?				- > 100%
Moyens financiers Ma insuffisants de	Manque de clarté des orientations politiques	Difficultés administratives	Manque de compétences spécifiques (résistances des administrations nationales)	Autres (spécifiez) :
Promotion de la mobilité des jeunes 34,38%	12,5%	25%	18,75%	9,37%
Promotion de la mobilité des travailleurs 29,7%	25,9%	37%	3,7%	3,7%

Promotion de la mobilité des étudiants	35,71%	14,3%	28,57%	21,42%	
Formation (+ apprentissage linguistique)	32%	20%	24%	20%	4%
Promotion des initiatives de jeunes	42,85%	21,42%	10,71%	21,42%	3,6%
Promotion de la vie associative et éducation à la participation démocratique	26,31%	28,94%	17,15%	22,68%	4,92%
Lutte contre le chômage	44,44%	25,94%	11,11%	18,51%	
Egalité des chances	12,5%	43,75%	37,5%	6,25%	
Lutte contre la marginalité	25,80%	25,80%	19,35%	22,6%	6,45%
Politique santé (drogues, etc...)	20%	30%	15%	35%	
Reprise globale	31%	24,4%	20,2%	19,37%	5,03%

7. Connaissez-vous les programmes de la C.E., leurs objectifs et leurs moyens?

	Oui	Non			
* ERASMUS	95,24%	4,76%	a. Si non, pourquoi? (Total supérieur à 100%, plusieurs réponses possibles)		
* COMETT	80,95%	19,05%	* manque d'intérêt spécifique	31,82%	
* PETRA .	85,71%	14,29%	* manque d'information	59,09%	
* LINGUA	85,71%	14,29%	* difficultés d'accès à l'information	18,18%	
* TEMPUS	85,71%	14,29%	* manque de clarté de l'information	18,18%	
* JEUNESSE POUR L'EUROPE	95,24%	4,76%	* pas de réponse	9,09%	
* JEUNES TRAVAILLEURS	95,24%	4,76%	b. Si oui, d'où avez-vous reçu l'information? (Total supérieure 100%, plusieurs réponses possibles).		
* EURYDICE	57,14%	42,86%			
* ARION	4,76%	95,24%	Structures jeunesse		68,18%
* EUROTENET	28,57%	71,43%	Média		18,18%
* IRIS	42,86%	57,14%	C.E.		54,54%
			Séminaires		9,09%
			BEJCE		13,63%
			Université		4,54%
			Recherche propre		4,54%
			Pas de réponse		4,54%

8. Est-ce que vous pensez que ces programmes répondent à des attentes des jeunes européens?

Oui	27,28%	Non	45,46%	Oui et Non	13,63%	Pas de réponse:	13,63%
Justifiez vos réponses							
Manque d'information	18,18%						
Accès limité	36,36%						

C. VOUS ET LA C.E.					
9. Votre organisation/vos membres profitent-ils de ces programmes?					
	Oui	Non		Oui	Non
* ERASMUS	40%	60%	* JEUNESSE POUR L'EUROPE	75%	25%
* COMETT	28,5%	71,5%	* JEUNES TRAVAILLEURS	60%	40%
* PETRA	35,7%	64,3%	* EURYDICE	23%	77%
* LINGUA	30,7%	69,3%	* ARION	9%	91%
* TEMPUS	46,7%	53,3%	* EUROTECNET	16,7%	83,3%
			* IRIS	23%	77%
10. Quel type de rapports /contacts avez-vous avec les institutions de la CE?					
* Exclusivement financiers	4,54%		* Rapports politiques, financiers et infos	59,1%	
* Rapports financiers-infos	31,82%		* Pas de réponse	4,54%	
11. Par rapport aux questions jeunesse, quelle est selon vous l'institution de la CE qui a le plus de poids et de pouvoir:					
	dans la détermination des orientations des politiques	dans la détermination des objectifs budgétaires	dans la détermination de la distribution des fonds	les 3 aspects confondus	
La Cour de justice	11,5%		-	4,8%	
Comité économique et social	8,5%	7,7%	4,9%	7,22%	
COREPER		3,8%		2,4%	
La Commission	22,8%	38,6%	66,6	38,6%	
Le Conseil des ministres	37,2%	19,2%	19%	26,5%	
Le Parlement européen	20%	30,7%	9,5%	20,48%	
	1 100%				

12. Quels sont vos partenaires/contacts au sein de la CE?
note de 1 à 5; exemple 1 : prioritaire, 5 le moins important)

a	1	2	3	4	5
La Commission	15,7	5,7%			2,85%
Le Parlement européen	11,92%	10%	1,42%		1,42%
Le Conseil des ministres	1,42%	-	8,57%	2,85%	8,57%
Le Comité économique et social	1,42%	1,42%	1,42%	2,85%	8,57%
Cour de justice	1,42%		1,42%		15,7%

Au sein de la Commission, vous avez plus particulièrement des rapports avec... (note de 1 à 8)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
a. Secrétariat général	5%	3,75%	1,25%		3,75%	1,25%			15%
b. DG I.C.C. (DG X)	6,25%	5%	2,5%	1,25%	1,25%				2,5% 18,75%
c. DG VIII	5%	1,25%	3,75%			2,5%	1,25%		13,75%
d. DG V	3,75%	5%	2,5%	1,25%		1,25%			13,75%
e. DG XI	-	3,75%	1,25%	2,5%	1,25%				8,75%
f. Task force	3,75%	3,75%	-		2,5%	2,5%	1,25%		13,75%
g. Bureaux spécialisés liés aux différents programmes	3,75%	1,25%	2,5%	2,5%	1,25%	1,25%	1,25%		13,75%
h. Autres (spécifiez) : - DGVI	1,25%	-							1,25%
- DGXIII			-	1,25%					1,25%

Au sein du Parlement, vous avez plus particulièrement des rapports avec... (note de 1 à 3)

	1	2	3	Total
a. Commission jeunesse	9,3%	16,3%	2,3%	27,9%
b. Députés individuels	30,2%	9,3%	2,3%	41,8%
c. Secrétariat général		2,3%	23,3%	25,6%
Aucun	-		-	4,7%

Au sein du Conseil, vous avez plus particulièrement des rapports avec... (note de 1 à 2)

	1	2	Total
a. Administration		11,5%	15,4%
b. Représentants des Etats membres		3,8%	15,4%
Aucun		-	15,4%
Pas de réponse		-	38,5%

13. Quelle est la nature de vos relations/contacts avec les institutions de la CE?
(Plusieurs réponses possibles)

	La Commission	Le Parlement	Le Conseil
financière	22,3%	3,52%	1,76%
politique	7%	16,06%	5,88%
consultative	11,76%	4,7%	5,88%
service d'information	12,94%	5,88%	2,35%
TOTAL	54%	30,13%	15,87%

14. Quelle évaluation portez-vous sur ces relations?

En général, quels sont les éléments qui qualifient vos relations avec les institutions de la CE? (par ordre d'importance maximum 4 réponses; exemple: 1 prioritaire, 4 le moins)
(Total % par élément)

partenariat satisfaisant	1,58%
bonne qualité de l'information	6,33%
soutien du travail en général	4,76%
facilité de contacts	3,17%
soutien financier	14,28%
mauvaise qualité de l'information	3,17%
non soutien financier	1,58%
problèmes bureaucratiques (non réponse au courrier, retard du courrier)	20,63%
manque de clarté des possibilités de coopération	11,11%
manque de clarté des possibilités d'aide financière	3,17%
manque de clarté des critères d'introduction des demandes de soutien financier	14,28%
manque de clarté des procédures de sélection des projets introduits	12,69%
autres :	4,74%

D. QUO VADISC.E.?

15. Pensez-vous que dans son état actuel, la CE est en mesure de mener une politique de jeunesse efficace?

Oui	14,3%	Non	85,7%			
Si non, que conviendrait-il de faire? (liste prioritaire avec un maximum de 4 choix; 1 : prioritaire, 4 le moins)						
	1	2	3	4	Pas spécifié	Total
* Augmenter le budget disponible	6,15%	6,15%	6,15%	3,1%	1,5%	23,05%
* Rendre plus transparent et contrôlable le fonctionnement de la Commission	4,6%	3,1%	1,5%	3,1%		12,3%
* Elargir et clarifier les compétences communautaires et donner un cadre politique global en matière de jeunesse	12,3%	7,7%	3,1%		1,5%	24,6%
* Limiter les compétences communautaires dans les questions jeunesse	-	1,5%		-		1,5%
* Faire pression sur les gouvernements nationaux pour qu'ils définissent une politique de jeunesse à leur niveau	1,5%	1,5%	4,6%	3,1%	1,5%	12,2%
* Améliorer le lobbying des OINGJ vis-à-vis des institutions communautaires	3,1%	3,1%	6,15%	6,15%	1,5%	20%
* Autres (spécifiez) : - Cogestion avec les OINGJ	1,5%			1,5%	-	3%
— Améliorer le rôle du Parlement	-	1,5%	-			1,5%
— autre		-	-		1,5%	1,5%

16. Si dans un proche futur la CE développait une politique jeunesse...			
Souhaiteriez-vous que celle-ci soit étendue aux pays européens non membres?			
Oui	81,82%	Non	15,64%
		Pas de réponse	2,54%
Souhaiteriez-vous que la CE soit le moteur d'une politique au sein de l'Europe la plus large possible?			
Oui	36,36%	Non	40,90%
Oui et non	16,64%	Pas de réponse	6,1%

1.2 Eléments d'analyse

Introduction

Ce questionnaire voulait donner un état des lieux, faire un instantané des relations que les OINGJ entretiennent avec la Communauté européenne. Grâce au nombre important de réponses (22 organisations), on peut penser que cela a réussi. Au delà des OINGJ, les réponses peuvent indiquer comment des jeunes responsables, associés perçoivent la Communauté. Les OINGJ vivent quotidiennement l'Europe, quotidiennement elles sont en contact avec leurs membres qui ne sont jamais uniquement résidents des Douze. A ce titre, les réponses ont bien un caractère plus large.

Quelles institutions pour quelle Europe?

Les deux institutions les plus clairement cernées sont le Conseil et la Communauté, le premier pour les aspects culturels/éducatifs et politiques, la seconde pour les aspects économiques et sociaux. On peut noter l'écart énorme entre les 70% qui pensent que le Conseil est le plus apte à s'occuper des problèmes liés à la culture et l'éducation et les 12,5% qui pensent que pour cette tâche c'est la Communauté; différence qui se retrouve inversée pour le domaine économique puisqu'aucune OINGJ ne cite le Conseil dans cette aire alors que 53% citent ici la C.E. qui a bien du mal à faire oublier qu'elle a d'abord été C.E.E. Pour ce qui est des domaines social et politique (Social : 26% pour le Conseil, 46% pour la CE - Politique: 46% pour le Conseil, 30% pour la Communauté) les réponses sont plus balancées et il serait sans doute intéressant de voir si dans le futur cette balance sera remise en cause.

Pour ce qui concerne la défense, c'est la CSCE qui est perçue comme la plus apte à jouer un rôle (60% des réponses sur l'axe sécurité-défense) et cela au détriment du Pacte de Varsovie (9% des réponses) et de l'OTAN (13% sur l'axe sécurité-défense). Ces deux dernières institutions ainsi que le COMECON sont d'ailleurs très peu citées dans les différents domaines, trop liées sans doute à un monde qui tel quel (deux blocs) n'existe plus. Enfin l'AELE et l'OCDE se voient encore confier un rôle minime dans les domaines économique (20% pour l'AELE sur cet axe et 13% pour l'OCDE — à noter, 10% de réponses pour le COMECON) et social (13% pour l'OCDE).

Cependant à plus des deux tiers, les OINGJ ne pensent pas qu'une seule de ces institutions sera à même d'élargir sa compétence à l'ensemble de ces domaines. Il y a là sans nul doute une reconnaissance que la diversité européenne doit se refléter dans une diversité d'institutions, chacune ayant ses tâches propres, économiques et sociales pour la CE, culturelles/éducatives et politiques pour le Conseil, sécurité pour la CSCE.

1992

1992, c'est pour les OINGJ d'abord la création d'un grand marché (40% des réponses), voire même la création d'un club réservé aux pays riches (22,5% des réponses). Cette date n'est synonyme d'intégration pan-européenne que pour 15% d'entre elles et il n'y en a qu'une seule à penser que 1992 est le premier pas vers les Etats-Unis d'Europe.

Vis-à-vis de la jeunesse et de la chance que 92 va représenter pour celle-ci, les avis sont très partagés puisque 41% pensent qu'effectivement ce sera une chance, 45% pensent le contraire et 14% ne se prononcent pas. Comme si 92 était aussi pour les jeunes et les OINGJ une très grande incertitude.

En ce qui concerne les effets positifs ou négatifs possibles (tableau A3b), du côté positif ce sont les aspects mobilité, équivalence des diplômes et possibilités d'apprentissage ou de formation plus grandes qui sont soulignés alors que le renforcement des frontières CE/non-CE, l'absence d'une véritable dimension jeunesse et la crainte que les effets positifs ne privilégient que des jeunes déjà privilégiés sont perçus comme autant d'éléments négatifs. En ce qui concerne le chômage, les réponses peuvent être perçues de manière contradictoire, peut être d'ailleurs en relation entre le court et le moyen terme: 16% des OINGJ craignent une augmentation du chômage et 14% pensent que 92 sera éventuellement une solution à ce problème. Ici encore le questionnaire semble refléter de la part des OINGJ une certaine incertitude vis-à-vis de 92 qui contraste avec certains discours euphoriques autour de cette date, incertitude qui se retrouve aussi concernant l'immigration puisqu'à part égale les OINGJ prévoient des effets positifs ou négatifs.

Priorités pour l'élaboration d'une politique jeunesse au niveau européen le plus large possible

Si les OINGJ devaient élaborer une politique au niveau européen le plus large possible, leurs priorités seraient d'abord dans un tiers de tête : lutter contre la marginalisation économique, sociale et culturelle des jeunes (notamment du quart-monde), favoriser la solidarité internationale et soutenir la vie associative jeunesse (pour chaque 12,5% des réponses), puis développer l'éducation interculturelle et lutter pour l'égalité des chances (9,5% des réponses) et enfin promouvoir la mobilité des jeunes et favoriser leur participation à la vie politique (8% des réponses).

On peut noter que les OINGJ ont préféré les formulations plus larges à des formulations plus spécifiques telles que lutte contre le chômage, politique du logement ou amélioration de la formation. De plus, elles ne semblent guère être intéressées par des réponses plus techniques de politique jeunesse tel l'apprentissage linguistique, le

le statut juridique pour les objecteurs ou l'information des jeunes qui ne sont jamais cités. Plus curieusement, elles sont peu sensibles à la politique santé (aucune réponse) ou à la politique culturelle vis-à-vis des jeunes. A l'heure du SIDA et de la drogue cette constatation pourra interroger comme d'ailleurs à l'heure de la construction européenne on pourra s'interroger sur le fait qu'aucune n'inclut le développement de l'esprit européen dans ces possibles priorités.

Mais, comme vous le pensez sans doute, avec des si...

La CE et les Questions jeunesse
(questions 5 et 6 pour les aspects plus larges de politique jeunesse; questions 7-8-9 pour les programmes spécifiques).

Une véritable politique jeunesse au sein de la CE?

Le point d'interrogation est plus que nécessaire au regard des réponses puisque 76% des OINGJ répondent NON alors qu'elles ne sont que 14% à répondre OUI. Par ailleurs, 5% répondent OUI et NON et 5% ne savent pas. Dans le détail (tableau B6a) le non est légèrement infléchi à 63% et le oui augmente à 26%. Ce n'est que dans le domaine de la mobilité des étudiants que l'action de la CE est jugée comme efficace. Dans tous les autres domaines cette action est jugée inefficace et plus spécialement dans les domaines de lutte contre la marginalité (86% de non) et dans celui de la promotion de la vie associative et éducation à la participation démocratique (81% de non). Il y a là au regard des OINGJ un véritable manque à gagner participatif.

Lorsqu'on leur demande d'expliquer pourquoi elles pensent que l'action de la CE n'est pas efficace (tableau B6b et B6c), ce sont les moyens financiers insuffisants qui sont les premiers pointés. Pour les deux aspects jugés le plus durement (promotion de la vie associative et lutte contre la marginalisation) on peut lire dans certains questionnaires des explications telles que, pour le premier, l'approche non démocratique de la CE, le manque de cogestion ou encore que tel aspect n'est pas couvert par le Traité de Rome et, pour le second, un manque d'intérêt de la part de la CE vis-à-vis de la lutte contre la marginalité.

Dans le détail on peut signaler qu'en ce qui concerne la mobilité, les difficultés administratives sont soulignées, difficultés qui sont perçues aussi comme très importantes pour expliquer la non-efficacité en ce qui concerne l'égalité des opportunités. C'est d'ailleurs à ce niveau que le manque d'orientations politiques claires est le plus perçu.

Les programmes de la CE

Si la politique jeunesse de la CE est jugée durement, ce n'est pas dû à une méconnaissance des programmes puisque ceux-ci sont bien connus. 70% des OINGJ répondent qu'elles les connaissent et 30% déclarent le contraire. Les trois programmes les moins connus sont Arion, Euronecnet et Iris. On peut noter que le bureau d'information Eurydice est déclaré connu par une petite majorité (57%), chose qui ne saurait étonner si l'on connaît les déboires que les OINGJ ont pu avoir avec ce bureau qui ne communique ses résultats qu'aux responsables politiques !

Cependant, même connus, ces programmes ne sont pas perçus comme répondant à des attentes des jeunes européens (50% répondent non à la question, 8,28 oui et 22% oui et non). Dans la justification de leurs réponses, les OINGJ soulignent le fait que l'accès à ces programmes

est trop restrictif et qu'ils ne s'adressent qu'à des jeunes déjà bien informés et formés.

L'information est bien un noeud central de la relation que les OINGJ peuvent entretenir avec ces programmes. En effet, lorsqu'elles répondent non à la question 7, c'est le manque d'information qui est largement cité comme cause de leur méconnaissance, manque d'information plus que manque de clarté de celle-ci ou difficultés d'accès à celle-ci. Leurs accès prioritaires à cette information sont les structures jeunesse (BEC et Forum Jeunesse) et la CE elle-même, soit à travers ses publications ou directement à travers chaque DG.

Enfin même connus, à la question (tableau B9) les OINGJ sont 62% à répondre non et 38% oui, taux qui, si on retranche Jeunesse pour l'Europe et Jeunes travailleurs (les deux programmes où les oui l'emportent sur les non) sont respectivement 71% non et 29% oui.

Les OINGJ et la CE

Regard sur le fonctionnement institutionnel dans le domaine des questions de jeunesse.

Vis-à-vis du fonctionnement institutionnel en rapport avec les questions de jeunesse, c'est la Commission qui est perçue comme ayant le plus de pouvoir (39%), spécialement dans la détermination de la distribution des fonds. Le Conseil des ministres (26,5%) ne précède la Commission que dans la détermination des orientations politiques et le Parlement ne précède jamais en importance les deux autres organes. On peut aussi noter le peu de poids reconnu au COREPER, explicable partiellement par le fait que cet organe est peu connu. Les réponses au questionnaire placent donc pour les questions jeunesse l'exécutif communautaire au centre du pouvoir et à plus de 19 points avant le législatif. Ceci peut peut-être se comprendre à travers deux éléments:

— même si la Commission et le Parlement sont les deux partenaires prioritaires des OINGJ (cf tableau 12), dans leur quotidien de rapports, notamment pour l'aspect financier (domaine dans lequel 66% des réponses citent la Commission comme ayant le plus de poids), c'est avec la Commission que les OINGJ doivent travailler. Face à des fonctionnaires dont les choix et les priorités ne sont pas toujours très clairs, on ne s'étonnera pas que les OINGJ puissent surestimer le pouvoir de la Commission.

— Enfin il y a sans doute là une perception d'un dysfonctionnement institutionnel, d'un déséquilibre démocratique que puisque l'organe élu au suffrage universel est perçu comme de peu de poids tant vis-à-vis du Conseil que de la Commission. Il serait intéressant de voir si cela est vrai pour les OINGJ uniquement dans le domaine des questions jeunesse ou si elles ont la même analyse pour le fonctionnement institutionnel de la CE en général.

Leurs partenaires et l'évaluation de ces relations.

Cela ne surprendra personne, les deux partenaires privilégiés des OINGJ sont le Parlement et la Commission. Au sein de celle-ci la DG ICC et le Secrétariat général sont les plus souvent cités comme partenaires. Dans le cas du Parlement, ce partenariat joue pour 42% d'entre elles à travers des contacts avec des députés individuels. Enfin les contacts avec le Conseil ne semblent pas être très développés puisque 15% des OINGJ déclarent ne pas en avoir et que 38% ne répondent pas à cette question.

La nature de ces contacts n'est pas exclusive, en effet 57% des OINGJ répondent à la question 10 avoir des rapports à la fois politiques, financiers et d'information et 35% des rapports financiers et d'information. Ceci est cependant corrigé par la question 13 qui place les rapports financiers avec la Commission comme le premier type de relation (54%) suivis des contacts politiques avec le Parlement (30,5%).

Lorsqu'on leur demande d'évaluer ces relations, le constat est dur et sans appel : problèmes bureaucratiques, manque de clarté des critères d'introduction des demandes financières et des procédures de sélection de projets ainsi qu'un manque de clarté des priorités de coopération. Cela n'appelle pas nécessairement une perestroïka, mais bien une glasnost qui permette une amélioration de ces contacts qui, au regard des réponses, apparaissent tout simplement mauvais.

Quo vadis CE?

Les OINGJ ne croient pas que dans son état actuel la CE soit en mesure de mener une politique jeunesse efficace. Elles sont en effet 86% à répondre non à la première partie de la question 15. Dans ce cadre, à leurs yeux, 3 priorités :

1. Elargir et clarifier les compétences communautaires et donner un cadre politique global en matière de jeunesse
2. Augmenter le budget disponible
3. Améliorer leur propre lobby.

H n'y a qu'une seule organisation qui souhaite limiter les compétences communautaires dans les questions jeunesse.

NOTE SUR LE MEMORANDUM «LES JEUNES DANS LA CE»

Publié par la Commission des CE le 15 octobre 1990.

1. Le mémorandum fait à plusieurs reprises référence à des notions assez ésotériques, telles que «la construction de la Communauté» (pp. 4, 6 et 15), «le rôle des jeunes dans le développement de la Communauté» (p. 7), «les liens entre les jeunes et la CE» (p. 8).

Cela semblerait impliquer que la Commission (sinon la CE) a une vision globale du rôle de la CE dans le contexte européen, un «projet», un ensemble de valeurs, un programme, etc auxquels elle désire associer les jeunes. Elle semble également se considérer, sinon comme le seul, au moins comme le principal acteur de la création d'une politique jeunesse au niveau européen.

Cette «politique jeunesse européenne» apparaît parfois comme la «somme arithmétique» de l'expérience des différents Etats membres (pp. 6,7) que la CE devrait simplement coordonner. De même, elle apparaît également comme un élément d'une citoyenneté européenne intégrée encore indéfinie (pp. 6, 7, etc...).

Malheureusement, le contenu de ce projet européen n'apparaît pas aussi clairement, ce qui nous laisse un certain nombre de questions sans réponses.

- Les jeunes devraient-ils participer à un grand marché ou à une «union» européenne globalement intégrée?
 - Ce «projet communautaire» doit-il encore suivre un processus de renforcement progressif des institutions et des compétences de la CE ou bien existe-t-il déjà?
 - De quelle Europe parle-t-on? Celle des 12, des 24, des 31, des 33, d'une Europe encore à venir?
- Le manque de clarté en ce qui concerne la «valeur de base» de ce «projet communautaire» est un point crucial

Pourtant, pour le futur, elles sont 82% à souhaiter qu'une telle politique soit étendue aux pays non membres. Enthousiasme tempéré car lorsqu'on leur demande si elles souhaitent que la CE soit le moteur d'une politique jeunesse au sein de l'Europe la plus large possible, elles sont 36% à répondre oui et 45,5% non, 9% ne se prononcent pas et 9% répondent oui et non. Pour justifier les oui, deux types d'arguments sont employés:

1. La CE est au centre de l'intégration européenne, il y a donc dans ce contexte une obligation à clarifier les orientations politiques vis-à-vis de la jeunesse
2. Même si les OINGJ souhaitent que la CE joue un rôle moteur, elles veulent le voir en synergie avec les autres institutions européennes, notamment le Conseil.
Pour le non, plusieurs arguments sont donnés:
1. Le Conseil de l'Europe est perçu comme plus à même de mener cette politique.
2. En évitant notamment la problématique de l'opposition CE/non communautaires. La CE est dans ce domaine aussi perçue comme un club fermé.
3. Il est donc souhaitable qu'avant tout la CE négocie des accords avec les pays non communautaires ou d'autres institutions, notamment vis-à-vis de la mobilité des jeunes ou des question Nord-Sud.
4. Vu leur mauvaise expérience de partenariat, les OINGJ ne souhaitent pas que la CE joue un rôle moteur.
5. Enfin, la CE est encore ressentie comme trop économi-

que.
Les avis sont donc partagés et parfois même contradictoires, même si les questions liées aux rapports CE/non CE et au partenariat sont des transversales sensibles.

pour les OINGJ, surtout au vu des réponses qu'elles ont donné à la première question de l'enquête (A1, 2; B1, 2) et qui semblent indiquer que la plupart d'entre elles considèrent que le rôle principal de la CE se situe dans la sphère économique et qu'elle n'est pas compétente pour élaborer une politique jeunesse.

Un fossé sépare donc les conceptions réciproques de la CE et des OINGJ, et il ne faut pas le sous-estimer:

- d'une part, la Commission considère qu'il sera possible de satisfaire la «demande» croissante des jeunes pour l'Europe au niveau de la CE et grâce à ses institutions.
 - d'autre part, les OINGJ considèrent que la contribution de la CE se limitera à l'aspect économique, et on constate une certaine méfiance quant à sa capacité d'élaborer un projet d'intégration européenne.
2. Le point précédent nous amène à nous pencher sur la nature des relations entre la CE et les OINGJ telles qu'elles apparaissent au vu du mémorandum de la CE, et particulièrement l'axe CE/Forum Jeunesse/OINGJ (p. 14, point E: «le Forum Jeunesse et les mouvements et associations de jeunesse»).

Le Forum Jeunesse n'est pas seulement considéré par la Commission comme une plate-forme composée d'organisations de jeunesse, afin d'organiser leur lobby auprès de la Communauté, mais comme un canal par lequel la CE elle-même, et surtout la Commission diffuse ses programmes. Aux yeux de la Commission, le Forum Jeunesse devrait devenir de plus en plus une sorte d'agence de la CE, comprenant un «Carrefour européen d'information concernant les jeunes» (le Centre Erik Eudeline?), en

somme une sorte de bureau de promotion de la CE. Telle semble être la logique sous-jacente au débat actuel sur l'efficacité et le « professionnalisme » du Forum Jeunesse. Cela implique un changement progressif dans la nature du Forum Jeunesse, qui, de l'instrument de lobby « pour et par les jeunes » qu'il était, deviendrait un hybride de « syndicat de jeunesse » (dont l'indépendance serait d'autant plus limitée qu'il est entièrement financé par la CE) et d'agence gouvernementale.

Cette logique est encore plus claire si l'on considère la nette différenciation que la Commission fait entre le Forum Jeunesse et ses organisations membres, alors que ceux-ci ne devraient être considérés que comme deux faces d'un même phénomène.

Les conséquences possibles de cette évolution doivent faire l'objet d'une analyse minutieuse de la part des organisations membres du BEC. Il se pourrait que le Forum Jeunesse acquière progressivement un statut autonome qui pourrait déboucher sur une compétition entre celui-ci et ses organisations membres (surtout les OING) en ce qui concerne le soutien financier et la reconnaissance politique.

Bien sûr, il ne s'agit pas de freiner ce processus en déclarant la guerre ouverte au Forum. Celle-ci ne pourrait avoir pour conséquence que de délégitimer les deux « adversaires » aux yeux de la CE et ne ferait que confirmer une opinion trop souvent répandue selon laquelle les organisations de jeunesse ne représentent pas les besoins ou les motivations des jeunes, mais ne sont qu'une poignée de « fonctionnaires » qui passent d'une réunion à l'autre. Au contraire, nous ne pouvons que nous réjouir que le Forum soit reconnu par la CE comme il le mérite. Mais il est de notre devoir, en tant que membres du Forum jeunesse, d'orienter son travail et ses options politiques, de manière à ce qu'il ne nous échappe pas et qu'il continue à représenter nos intérêts auprès de la CE... et non pas le contraire. Les OING sont plus ou moins convaincues que le combat pour la reconnaissance de la valeur de leur travail pour l'élaboration d'une politique jeunesse plus efficace et plus démocratique au niveau européen passe par le Forum Jeunesse. Pourtant, elles sont également conscientes que la Commission conçoit de plus en plus ses contacts avec elles uniquement au niveau du soutien financier et structurel (p. 15) et que cette situation est frustrante. Conscientes également que ce soutien est insuffisant et loin d'être « désintéressé ». Au contraire, il s'accompagne implicitement de l'acceptation, entre autres choses, du rôle de « transmission de l'information concernant la Communauté » (p. 16). On pourrait objecter à cet égard que, si le « projet » communautaire était clairement défini et compréhensible, sa promotion ne poserait aucun problème particulier.

3. On trouve ensuite un autre « écart » dans ce mémorandum.

Dans les sections III (Répondre aux besoins des jeunes) et Vc. (Aide à la formation d'animateurs de jeunesse), on trouve un émouvant plaidoyer en faveur de la participation des jeunes aux associations et mouvements afin de promouvoir l'auto-détermination, du besoin « d'encourager la responsabilité, l'initiative et la créativité » et de permettre aux jeunes « d'exprimer leur avis en ce qui concerne l'organisation de la société ». On y souligne également le rôle crucial des animateurs de jeunesse dans la promotion « d'une citoyenneté active ».

Mais, assez curieusement, la CE se fonde sur « une volonté générale des divers Etats membres de soutenir ces objectifs » pour encourager leur mise en place, mais surtout en coordonnant l'action des agences nationales, en qui constitue une justification du programme de la CE qui consiste à initier les « animateurs de jeunesse » aux vertus de la CE, sans tenir compte du fait que ceux-ci se situent souvent au sein de mouvements/organisations/clubs qui ont leur propre vision et dimension européennes qui pourraient être d'un certain intérêt pour la CE elle-même.

4. Ainsi, une fois de plus, la Commission semble avoir quelques difficultés à considérer les OING comme des partenaires adéquats pour la réalisation de ses programmes et activités.

On ne peut que le déplorer, et pour deux raisons:

— en premier lieu, les OING éprouvent une certaine méfiance, voire une certaine crainte devant le « mur impénétrable » que semble parfois constituer la Commission. Voilà qui n'est pas vraiment positif pour une institution qui se targue d'élaborer une politique jeunesse globale de la CE. Cela n'est probablement pas exact ni justifié, mais c'est un fait, et l'enquête le prouve. Les organisations de jeunesse n'ont pas l'impression que la CE puisse leur apporter des ouvertures, pas plus qu'aux jeunes en général, car il leur semble que leur travail et leur expérience ne sont pas reconnus. Cela est d'autant plus frappant lorsqu'on pense qu'alors que les OING voient des coupes sombres pratiquées dans les subsides qui leur sont alloués, une augmentation substantielle du budget du FJ traverse sans problèmes le parcours du combattant de la procédure budgétaire communautaire. Ces deux faits sont peut-être sans rapport aucun, mais il sera malaisé de le prouver.

— en second lieu, la CE développe des programmes et des initiatives tels que le « Carrefour européen d'information concernant les jeunes » ou le renforcement d'agences nationales de service ou encore des séminaires de formation pour les « animateurs de jeunesse », etc. Tous ces projets risquent fort de ne bénéficier qu'à quelques « euro-bureau crates de jeunesse » et de n'avoir que peu d'impacts sur les millions de jeunes que la CE veut « associer » à son « développement ». C'est bien le lot habituel des projets qui sont basés sur les considérations de l'élite plutôt que sur les besoins de la base.

5. Finalement, nous voudrions aborder un élément qui n'est jamais cité par la Commission dans son mémorandum et qui n'a aucune raison particulière de l'être, bien qu'il soit sous-jacent à l'ensemble de ce débat. Le budget de la CE s'élève actuellement à 46 milliards d'ECU par an. 65% de ce budget est alloué à la Politique agricole commune. La Communauté en tant que telle n'a aucune compétence dans nombre de domaines qui font partie d'une politique de jeunesse globale.

On voit mal comment la CE pourra atteindre ses buts, tout ambitieux et légitimes qu'ils soient, sans envisager une transformation en profondeur en termes de ressources financières, de compétences, de gestion et de contrôle démocratique...

En résumé, le Mémorandum de la Commission soulève au moins autant de questions qu'il ne tente d'apporter de réponses.

Il a néanmoins l'avantage d'exister et de permettre l'ouverture d'un débat, comme la Commission elle-même le souligne. Les OING doivent profiter de l'occasion pour faire part de leurs observations et propositions.

LA CE ET LES OINGJ: UN MONDE DE DIFFERENCE?

A l'occasion d'une récente réunion du BEC qui traitait de l'avenir des relations avec la CE et considérait les modifications éventuelles à apporter à ces relations, les organisations membres ont fourni quelques exemples concrets de blocages dans leurs contacts avec les structures communautaires.

Ces exemples ont été classés en quatre chapitres, selon le domaine spécifique de travail dont ils relèvent.

Information

A la lecture du Mémoire de la CE, il apparaît clairement que l'information est l'une des priorités de la politique jeunesse de la CE.

On peut cependant se demander de quel genre d'information il s'agit. On peut à proprement parler d'information jeunes lorsqu'il s'agit «d'informer» les jeunes sur la CE ou sur la dimension européenne en général. Dans ce cas, les jeunes sont des «récepteurs» et la CE utilise toute une série d'instruments et de réseaux (y compris les organisations de jeunesse) afin d'atteindre le plus grand nombre de jeunes. C'est cette conception qui semble être à la base du projet de «clearing house».

Mais on peut également parler d'information jeunes en désignant les activités qui donnent l'occasion aux jeunes d'informer d'autres jeunes, l'opinion publique, les institutions européennes quant à leurs idées, leurs activités, leurs opinions, leurs désirs pour l'Europe.

Ces deux conceptions sont aussi importantes l'une que l'autre si l'on veut établir une politique d'information jeunes efficace au niveau de la Communauté ou de l'Europe. Aucune ne peut être négligée, à défaut de quoi on risque d'une part que «l'information jeunes» se limite à une propagande pour la Communauté et d'autre part que celle-ci ne soit plus du tout intéressée par le soutien de publications et magazines qui ne sont pas consacrés à la CE.

Si nous pouvons nous réjouir du développement de la politique d'information au premier sens du terme, nous ne pouvons qu'exprimer notre mécontentement quant à son second aspect.

La DG ICC a coupé tous les subsides aux OINGJ pour leurs publications internationales, sans que l'on sache vraiment pour quelle raison. Le motif officiellement donné est qu'il n'y avait «plus de fonds disponibles». Mais par la suite, des bruits de couloir nous apprennent qu'il existe un projet de centre ou d'agence de presse jeunes, ce qui semblerait prouver que le manque d'argent n'est pas vraiment le problème fondamental. Le problème est plutôt un manque de volonté de soutenir les magazines jeunes car ils ne peuvent, aux yeux de la CE, avoir un rôle assez efficace dans la diffusion de l'information qui la concerne ou ne touchent pas un public assez large. Il serait temps que l'on ouvre le débat de manière franche et posée sur la définition d'une politique «d'information jeunes» au sein du Forum Jeunesse et avec les services compétents de la CE.

Problèmes administratifs et financiers

«La Commission nous semble si complexe et distante qu'il est préférable de s'en tenir à distance».

« En tout cas, la Commission nous juge comme des partenaires totalement inintéressants en ce qui concerne la mise en oeuvre des programmes jeunesse».
« Nous ne disposons d'aucun moyen de contrôle sur les décisions des fonctionnaires de la Commission qui semblent parfois avoir comme simple justification qu'ils se sont levés du pied gauche ».

« Nous ne pouvons jamais savoir à temps si notre projet a été accepté ou non, alors nous devons tout annuler car nous ne pouvons nous le permettre financièrement».

«Qu'entend-on par 'votre dossier s'est égaré'?»

«Qui est la personne qui s'occupe de la demande de notre organisation ? »

« Quels sont les critères qui nous permettent d'obtenir le soutien de la Commission ? »

«Désolé, les orateurs de la Commission invités à la Conférence ne se sont pas présentés, et ils ne nous ont même pas prévenus».

Voici des remarques qu'il n'est pas rare d'entendre dans la bouche des responsables jeunesse qui ont des contacts avec la Commission. Bien sûr, nous avons retenu celles qui montrent qu'il existe des problèmes, des malentendus ou que l'information ne circule pas comme elle devrait le faire. Il faut bien entendu souligner que les programmes de la CE permettent aux OINGJ de réaliser certains de leurs projets et que cette évaluation ne peut donc pas être exclusivement négative. Nous pensons cependant que l'on peut apporter des améliorations à de nombreux égards, et, pour cette raison, présentons quelques-uns des griefs que les OINGJ formulent le plus souvent à l'égard de la Commission du point de vue financier et administratif: Ligne 32.20.

Cette ligne budgétaire a été spécialement créée afin d'assurer un soutien aux secrétariats européens des OINGJ. Cette année, elle s'élève à 440.000 ECU et le Secrétaire Général de la Commission est responsable de sa distribution.

La 32.20 n'a pas beaucoup augmenté ces dernières années alors que le nombre de bénéficiaires, lui, s'est accru de manière significative.

Cette ligne budgétaire est la seule soncacrée aux OINGJ et non pas à leurs activités.

Outre le fait que l'accroissement de cette ligne ne suit pas celui du nombre de ses bénéficiaires, d'autres problèmes se posent. D'une part, il est très difficile d'obtenir une liste des bénéficiaires ou des critères gouvernant l'allocation des subsides. D'autre part, ces subsides sont versés très tard (en 1990, la plupart des OINGJ les ont reçus en décembre), ce qui pose bien entendu de nombreux problèmes quant à la gestion quotidienne de leur budget.

Les causes de cette situation ne sont pas claires et elles tiennent peut-être simplement à un problème d'organisation interne du Secrétariat. Dans ce cas, il ne sera peut-être pas difficile de les résoudre. Voici quelques suggestions afin d'améliorer le niveau d'information et l'efficacité du système, également pour éviter que le malheureux fonctionnaire qui est chargé du suivi de ces dossiers ne soit submergé de coups de téléphone angoissés.

- a. Le paiement des subsides devrait être effectué dans les premiers mois de l'année, même si cela implique que l'on avance la date limite de recevabilité des demandes.
- b. Une liste des bénéficiaires de la ligne 32.20 devrait être envoyée aux Secrétariats du BEC et du Forum Jeunesse.
- c. Le formulaire de demande devrait inclure un feuillet précisant les critères et la personne chargée du dossier, ainsi qu'un tableau horaire indiquant quand la décision doit être prise et quand le versement doit être effectué.
- d. Lorsqu'une demande est refusée, une note expliquant les raisons de ce refus devrait être envoyée aux personnes concernées dans un délai suffisamment bref.

DGICC

Le secteur jeunesse a toujours occupé une place marginale au sein de la DG Information et Culture, puisqu'il ne représente qu'une partie des activités d'une Division qui elle-même ne dispose que de ressources limitées. Quelques-unes des remarques mentionnées à propos de la 32.20 et, d'une manière concrète, toutes les suggestions données ci-dessus s'appliquent également à la DG ICC.

En ce qui concerne les demandes de subventions, la situation est parfois compliquée. Il est difficile de savoir qui s'occupe de quel dossier et virtuellement impossible d'établir des relations suivies avec les fonctionnaires, en partie parce qu'ils changent continuellement.

En outre et une fois encore, les critères appliqués pour l'acceptation d'une demande, le montant des fonds disponibles, les justifications d'un refus ou les délais de paiement relèvent du mystère total. En ce qui concerne l'information jeunes, les fonds alloués aux publications jeunes ont apparemment été supprimés et nous aimerions savoir comment nous devons interpréter ce fait en regard de l'ef-

fort par la DG ICC afin d'établir une sorte de réseau par l'intermédiaire du projet Symbiosis.

Jeunesse pour l'Europe

Dans les relations entre les OINGJ et le programme «Jeunesse pour l'Europe», on retrouve les mêmes difficultés concernant les critères de choix et d'application qui ne sont souvent ni connus, ni justifiés. Une fois encore, cela donne l'impression que des règles plus ou moins occultes sont appliquées dans l'allocation des subventions. De plus, le jeu entre la Commission, le Bureau européen et les agences nationales concernant leurs responsabilités ne facilite guère la compréhension du fonctionnement du programme. Ainsi, en ce qui concerne la formation, l'Action E, Activités de formation, a été supprimée sans motivation exacte. De plus, en 1990, le Bureau d'échange déjeunes de la CE a promu les stages pilotes (financement, aspect théorique et suivi particulier de ces stages) alors qu'il se proclame lui-même sans autorité dans ce domaine. Enfin, sans revenir sur la mise en place du programme «Jeunesse pour l'Europe», notamment en ce qui concerne la décentralisation et la création d'un Bureau européen (qui ont néanmoins mené à un certain nombre de difficultés, voire d'impasses, liées à des blocages au niveau institutionnel, comme la difficulté de créer une agence italienne), il est cependant légitime de s'interroger sur la nature exacte du contrat qui lie la CE à Europa Union, l'organisation allemande responsable de la mise en place du programme au niveau européen. Les termes du contrat (obligations et devoirs liant les parties) n'ont pu jusqu'à présent être connus alors que la structure ainsi créée est *ipso facto* un service public dont les règles de fonctionnement doivent être transparentes.

UNE POLITIQUE JEUNESSE AU NIVEAU COMMUNAUTAIRE:

QUELQUES LIGNES D'ACTIONS POUR UNE CONTRIBUTION EFFECTIVE DES OINGJ

Toute la perspective de ce memorandum est bien la création d'une politique intégrée de la jeunesse au sein de la CE. Nous voudrions dans cette dernière partie fixer un certain nombre de points qui apparaissent comme primordiaux aux OINGJ et au BEC.

Une réelle prise en compte des sociétés civiles par la CE...

Malgré tous les efforts pour «l'Europe des citoyens», la Communauté européenne apparaît encore trop comme enfermée dans une logique mercantile et financière. Il va de soi que cette situation dépend moins de la volonté des institutions communautaires en tant que telles à se limiter à ces domaines que du fait que, jusqu'à maintenant, il n'a pas été possible de transformer la CE en une Union politique au sens propre du terme, et donc d'élargir ses compétences au-delà du domaine purement économique, à cause de la forte opposition des Etats membres. Il nous reste maintenant à voir si la réforme des Traités qui se prépare avec la convocation des Conférences intergouvernementales ira dans la direction que nous souhaitons ou pas. Une des priorités de toute politique jeunesse intégrée à une politique plus générale au niveau socio-économico-cultu-

rel doit être une réelle prise en compte des sociétés civiles. Cela passe et par un renforcement des pouvoirs du Parlement et par une reconnaissance réelle du travail des associations de jeunesse qui en sont les vecteurs. Ce n'est ni dans la famille, ni dans l'école, institutions souvent trop rigides, que les jeunes peuvent faire l'apprentissage de la démocratie, mais bien souvent dans les associations où, avec d'autres, ils peuvent prendre des responsabilités, choisir leurs centres d'intérêt, être citoyens. Considérer les associations de jeunesse comme un écran entre les pouvoirs publics et les jeunes peut être à moyen terme un choix dangereux dans la délégitimation des vecteurs sociaux qui pourrait conduire des jeunes ou des adultes soit à un rejet viscéral de toute politique (vie de la cité), soit à des relations de violence. Bien sûr, cela passe aussi par des moyens financiers adéquats, notamment un renforcement de la ligne budgétaire 32.20.

... devant mener à une réflexion commune sur le partenariat

Si, actuellement, beaucoup d'entre nous n'ont pas le sentiment d'être reconnus comme associés, une réelle prise en compte des sociétés civiles par la CE doit mener à

, une réflexion commune sur le type de partenariat entre la CE et les OINGJ. Ici, comme ailleurs dans ce document, il convient de souligner le rôle du Forum Jeunesse et d'insister pour que ce type de réflexion puisse y trouver sa place le plus rapidement possible.

Un des éléments de cette réflexion sur le partenariat est bien sûr la demande d'écoute, que la CE accepte qu'ailleurs qu'en elle-même il puisse y avoir des idées et des réalisations intéressantes visant des buts complémentaires sinon semblables. Cela demande aussi une reconnaissance du travail effectué.

Mais cela ne saurait suffire. Il faut en effet repenser le type de participation que les associations de jeunesse souhaitent réaliser avec la CE, notamment dans le cadre du Forum Jeunesse. Ici, on peut penser à la cogestion telle qu'elle se vit au sein du Conseil de l'Europe ou à l'idée d'un partenariat contractuel de type syndical ou à d'autres pistes à explorer. Cette réflexion doit aussi être menée par la CE (notamment la Task Force). On peut néanmoins affirmer qu'on ne pourra accepter une logique de courroie de transmission sans qu'il y ait une quelconque réciprocité dans la circulation des idées et des propositions.

Clarifier les rapports CE et autres pays européens

L'internationalité des OINGJ ne se limite pour la plupart d'entre elles ni à la CE, ni même au Conseil, mais bien à l'Europe au sens géographique du terme, quand ce n'est pas à un cadre plus large dans la mesure où elles sont souvent réellement internationales. On peut d'ailleurs noter

que cette internationalité, cette façon de vivre l'Europe au quotidien qui caractérise toute OINGJ devrait être un terrain de réflexion commune avec la CE.

H nous paraît donc impératif que la CE clarifie ses rapports avec les pays non communautaires, non pas au coup par coup, mais de manière réfléchie, en tenant notamment compte de l'existence du Conseil de l'Europe qui, dans le domaine jeunesse, a une expertise certaine à travers le CEJ et le FEJ. Actuellement, dans ce domaine, les relations ne sont pas satisfaisantes. Trop souvent, la Commission donne l'impression de ne pas être intéressée par le dialogue, de ne pas vouloir se laisser interpellé par la cogestion, par la dimension culturelle du Conseil, par l'interculturel tel qu'il est vécu ou pensé par les deux institutions : jeunesse du Conseil. Ce manque d'intérêt est sans doute aussi l'aveu d'une impuissance, d'une limite de la CE: comment prendre réellement en compte l'aspect culturel des 12 pays membres? Serait-il impensable que la Commission en tant que telle participe à des actions jointes avec le Conseil, non pas de manière condescendante, mais dans un souci de partenariat réel, qu'elle joigne financièrement le Fonds européen de la jeunesse?

Voici donc trois axes de travail très concrets. L'ensemble de ce memorandum en fixe également d'autres à travers «l'état des lieux» qu'il établit. De plus, dans beaucoup d'autres aspects de la politiques jeunesse (chômage/travail des jeunes, formation, logement, environnement, ...), les OINGJ se retrouvent dans les prises de position du Forum Jeunesse dont elles sont une des composantes. Ces trois axes leur sont, peut-être, plus spécifiques de par leur vocation d'associations de jeunesse internationales.

Organisations membres du Bureau européen de coordination des organisations internationales de jeunesse (BEC)

Association pour les échanges internationaux des jeunes chrétiens en Europe (AICYE)
Association mondiale des guides et des éclaireuses (AMGE)
Confédération européenne des syndicats (CES)
Confédération européenne des organisations des centres de jeunes (ECYC)
Etudiants démocrates européens (EDS)
Echange éducatif européen (EEE)
Fédération européenne pour l'apprentissage interculturel (EFIL)
Fédération internationale des jeunes libérales et radicales (IFLRY)
Mouvement international des faucons - Internationale éducative socialiste (IFM-SEI)
Fédération européenne de la jeunesse bon templier (EGTYF)
Organisation internationale de la jeunesse homosexuelle et lesbienne (IGLYO)
Fédération internationale des communautés de jeunesse catholique paroissiales (FIMCAP)

Union internationale des jeunes socialistes (IUSY)
Jeunes démocrates chrétiens européens (JDCE)
Jeunesse-étudiante chrétienne internationale — Mouvement international des étudiants catholiques (JECI-MIEC)
Jeunesse européenne fédéraliste (JEF)
Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne (JOC)
Mouvement chrétien pour la paix (MCP)
Mouvement international de la jeunesse agricole et rurale catholique (MIJARC)
Internationale des jeunes amis de la nature (NFJI)
Organisation mondiale du mouvement scout (WOSM)
Service civil international (SCI)
Organisation mondiale des jeunes esperantistes (TEJO)
Union chrétienne des jeunes gens (UCJG)
Union européenne des étudiants juifs (UEEJ)
Jeunesse pour le développement et la coopération (YDO)
Jeunesse pour l'échange et la compréhension (YEU)
Young Farmers and 4H Clubs (4H)
Jeunes acclistes européens (JAE)

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The Global Integrity Ethic

defining global social change organizations and the organizing principles which make transnational organizing possible

by Pamela C. Johnson
and David L. Cooperrider

This paper presents an initial review of four pilot case studies of Global Social Change Organizations (GSCO's) performed as part of a larger program of research entitled Social Innovations in Global Management at Case Western Reserve University. GSCO's are defined as organizations which are committed to effect change in the creation of a healthier and sustainable world, which organize in ways to enhance transnational cooperation across typically polarizing boundaries, who hold values of empowerment and people-centered forms of social action, and who function or have membership across two or more countries without primary loyalty to by one national government (Cooperrider & Pasmore, 1990). The case study approach utilized Appreciative inquiry, which emphasizes examining those factors which provide special competence or vitality and help GSCO's to realize their mission. There are two central propositions in this paper. The first is that GSCO's can legitimately be viewed as a distinct organizational form because they have a different underlying ethos, described as a Global Integrity Ethic. The article also proposes to describe GSCO 's as an "ideal type ", characterized by organizing principles of alignment, attunement, affirmation, authenticity and action. Each of these are described with respect to the ways in which they resonate with individual affect and organizational processes. The propositions and descriptions are emergent, and there is still much work to be done; however, they provide an important first step in a research agenda which may be able to enhance the work of GSCO's.

As we enter the 1990's, the last decade of both the century and the millennium we face as never before complex challenges to the survival of the planet and all of its species, including that of our own. These challenges have been recorded in many places (Brown, 1990; Brundtland Commission, 1987), and include such dilemmas as unbridled population growth, depletion of natural resources, global warming, extinction of species and threats to biological diversity, poisoning of the environment, debilitating poverty, chronic hunger and malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care, homelessness, chronic unemployment, injustice and violation of human rights, the increase in armed conflicts and potential for nuclear holocaust. At the same time, we have in recent weeks seen the collapse of the Berlin Wall, election of democratic governments in Eastern Europe, and hopeful signs that the government of South Africa may soon begin the process of col-

lapsing traditional barriers of racial oppression. With the pace of events in many instances outstripping our capacity to fully understand them, it seems as though we are witnessing a "fertile verge" (Voorstin, 1987), a point of encounter between the limitations of our past and the potentialities of our future. We are increasingly aware that our current assumptions are inadequate to ensure our survival, and understand that these challenges can only be addressed by acknowledging our collective interdependence as a global community and by becoming more open to learning and adapting new responses.

At the point of convergence lie the efforts of the thousands of transnational organizations which have emerged since World War II to address various aspects of these global challenges. With people-centered paradigms of service and technologies of empowerment, they appear to engage in innovative processes of transnational cooperation, organizing to bridge barriers between nations, religions, professions, cultures, and races in the service of a global impera-

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tive. In the same way that Bureaucracy represented an important social innovation which fueled the Industrial Revolution and its Capitalistic/Invisible Hand ethos, Global Social Change Organizations (GSCO's) may represent a similarly important social innovation for our time. Consider examples of the impact of their accomplishments (Cooperrider & Pasmore, 1990):

On May 8, 1980, the World Health Assembly declared that smallpox had been eradicated from the planet. It was the first, and as yet, the only global problem in human history ever to have been solved by organized action on a world scale. Dr D.A. Henderson's work with a quarter million volunteers from 69 countries stands as a towering symbol of humankind's cooperative capacity.

The global Hunger Project operated in 152 countries and has enrolled more than six million people in its campaign. Recently it held an unprecedented meeting via satellite, in which 30,000 people from Africa, Asia, Europe and North and South America talked, listened and learned with one another about strategies for ending hunger.

In 1985, less than five years after this remarkable organization was born, the Nobel Committee awarded the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) the Nobel Peace Prize for its service to all mankind in "creating an awareness of the catastrophic consequences of atomic warfare". Today, the IPPNW has 72 affiliates in 69 countries, representing over 500,000 physicians world wide. In recognition that the 1990's will be a pivotal decade, a new transnational organization has been formed — not by grassroots activists, but by active executives. The World Business Academy, made up of managers from the world's largest multinational corporations, exists to find ways to secure the planet's ecological and economic sustainability. Their credo: *"Beyond Business Through Business"*.

In a precedent-setting ruling in 1988 by the Council of Ministries, the International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Humanity became one of the first independent, international voluntary organizations ever to exist in the U.S.S.R. The promise of the foundation : to harness the best minds and the best technology the world has to offer for a collective assault on the perils that stalk humankind.

GSCO's appear to be an emergent organizational form with some characteristics which distinguish them from other types of organizations. They may be known by a variety of labels (international non-governmental organizations, inter-sectoral partnerships, transnational development organizations to name just a few), but are distinct in at least four different ways (Cooperrider & Pasmore, 1990): (1) *"Many have as their primary task a commitment to serve as an agent of change in the creation of a healthier and sustainable world;* (2) *They have discovered and mobilized innovative social-organizational arrangements that make possible human cooperation across previously polarizing and constraining boundaries;* (3) *They hold values of empowerment, egalitarian and people-centered forms of social action in the accomplishment of mission;* (4) *They function or have membership across two or more countries without primary loyalty, identification or reliance on national governments (i.e., they exist as entities beyond the nation state)."*

Currently, there is little systematic research concerning inventive processes of organizing which make possible transnational cooperation or about GSCO's as an organizational type. For this reason, it is important to determine some of those characteristics or qualities which make such cooperative human endeavors possible and the extent to which GSCO's may be validly defined as distinct and socially innovative organizations in this regard. There is little question, that we can differentiate between different types of business organizations, as for example, we can study sole-proprietorships and partnerships, corporations, family firms, multinational corporations, limited partnerships, etc. Further, one can distinguish between sectors in terms of government, private for-profit sector, and private not-for-profit or voluntary sector. GSCO's does not fit cleanly into any of these. They often bridge the various sectors and tend to have a transnational structure and an interdependent global focus which makes them different from some other non-profit organizations. Their agenda is less locally oriented on issues of individual rights or freedoms than organizations such as the National Rifle Association or the National Abortion Rights Action League. GSCO's tend to be more concerned with issues of community development and assuring that all of the world's people have access to basic human needs (i.e., food, shelter, health care, work, justice). They rarely operate in the for-profit arena, and are frequently non-governmental. The question is, do GSCO's represent a unique organizational form, and if so, what characteristics describe them? In what ways does their organizing rationality differ from corporations and more traditional business concerns? In what ways do they enable transnational organizing? And finally, what can we learn and what knowledge can we provide that will enhance their ability to achieve large scale global objectives?

It was with these initial questions that a research project named Social innovations in Global Management was begun in early 1989. Initially, the project had two distinct dimensions. First was the launch of a ten-year research program to define GSCO's as an organizational form, describe their characteristics, and begin to explore ways in which they manage and organize to achieve their mission. In doing this, we hoped to be able to discover what was effective, what aspects of organizing enhanced the life and vitality of such organizations, so that it could be shared with others attempting to realize large-scale global change projects. We began with pilot case studies of four GSCO's which appeared to represent particularly effective examples of transnational cooperation: The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), the Nature Conservancy's Latin America Division (TNC), the Institute for Cultural Affairs (ICA), and the Hunger Project (THP). The case studies would attempt to describe their distinctive competencies, methods of organizing, and values and ideologies contributing to their effectiveness. There is much we wanted to know including how they are governed, how they manage internal and external diversity of cultures, values and ideologies, how they make decisions regarding allocation of resources given multiple and conflicting priorities, how they foster growth and loyalty in organizational members and supporters, the way in which organizational control mechanisms are balanced by methods for generating consensus and commitment, and many others. This article will explore some emerging themes and propositions concerning GSCO's which have come from a

meta-analysis of these cases.

The second initiative was to conduct a Social Innovations in Global Management conference at Case Western Reserve University in November of 1989. In part, the conference was designed to spotlight the GSCO case studies themselves — to focus on their unique qualities as well as those which appeared to be held in common. To this end, representatives of the GSCO's who had participated in the pilot case studies attended the conference as active participants, as well as over 10 GSCO's interested in beginning case studies; these were from Africa, South America, Canada, the Philippines, Europe and the U.S.S.R. But another equally important reason was to attract attention to our shared concern about some of the global problems which the GSCO's address as well as our curiosity about what makes such forms of organizing possible.

The conference was also organized as a symposium. Invited contributors included an international array of leading scholars and global thinkers who presented papers and provided eminent perspective on the nature of global problems we now confront. They discussed historical trends and paradigm shifts leading to an altered view of these dilemmas, the special qualities of GSCO's, and the ways in which principles of organizing actually take form in India, Peru, and Africa. Keynote addresses were provided by Johan Galtung, founder of the International Institute of Peace Research in Oslo, Norway; Elise Boulding, Professor Emerita of Dartmouth and Secretary General of the International Peace Research Association; Howard Perlmutter of the Wharton School of Finance; and Amitai Etzioni, Thomas Henry Carroll Ford Foundation Professor at the Harvard Business School. A number of additional scholars presenting papers included Arun Gandhi, a leading theorist and activist on non-violent social change in India, L. David Brown of the Institute for Development Research and Boston University; Robert Chin of Boston University; Mutombo Mpanya of Notre Dame and the Institute for African Development in Zaire; Theodore Dams of the Institute for Development Economics in the Federal Republic of Germany; Mario Padron of the Center for the Study and Promotion of Development in Peru; Dennis Young, Director of the Mandel Center for Nonprofit Organization at Case Western Reserve University, and a number of others. The papers presented by these scholars will be reviewed shortly in a subsequent article.

The conference, jointly sponsored by the Weatherhead School of Management and the Mandel Center for the Study of Non-profit Organizations, was also intended to focus attention on the appropriate role of a management school and management education in recognizing and addressing global mandates. In part the goal was to "... *elevate the status of management to that of a noble profession, with concern beyond profit and an active acceptance of responsibility for stewardship of the planet's resources in the service of sustainable economic and human development*," (Cooperrider, 1990, p. 4). Scott Cowen, Dean of the Weatherhead School of Management at CWRU, contributed a speech staunchly advocating the appropriateness of this agenda for a school of management and noting that creative leadership and effective management will be critical in solving global problems. Entitled "Management Education and the Global Mandate : The Unmet Challenge", the speech will soon be published (see Vital Speeches, 1990). In a separate but no less significant attempt to raise awareness in the management school community, there

was also a large scale global simulation concerning the relative distribution of global resources such as "food energy, literacy, weapons. This was conducted by the World Game on the world's largest and most accurate; map, of the planet.

The conference was a bellweather event for legitimizing global perspective and focusing attention on the social responsibility of the profession of management. Similarly, it launched our ten-year research agenda dedicated to explicating socially innovative forms of organizing characterized by GSCO's, and examining their implications for creating a healthier and more sustainable future for all of the world's citizens. The purpose of this article is to explore what has been learned so far; to provide some glimpses of the qualities that make these organizations unique; to describe some of the values and processes which they share and the ways in which these influence the organization. Themes are derived directly from the case studies themselves, as well as from quotes of those interviewed within each of the four pilot GSCO's? While there is much more to be learned from the future studies which are even now in their initial stages, the "ideal type" described below indicates that GSCO's are indeed a new and socially inventive form of organizing.

Research setting

The case studies were conducted on four organizations, all founded in the United States, but organized transnationally to achieve cooperation in the realization of their respective missions. Each of the four are described below.

The Institute of Cultural Affairs (ICA) is a research, training and demonstration group concerned with the human factors in world development. While the ICA was founded in 1973, it has its roots in two predecessor organizations with an ecumenical Christian focus: the Christian Faith and Life Community created in 1952 and the Institute of Ecumenical Studies created in 1956. One of the intriguing aspects of this case is that seven of the faculty members for the IES and their families decided to experiment with the creation of a lay community in 1961. They pooled their salaries, and dedicated themselves to a lifestyle of research and study in the context of their religious views and their intent to help address social problems. In 1963, they moved to a westside ghetto in Chicago and began working with the residents to discover some of the most critical problems and work together in devising solutions. Forty five separate programs were developed, and four years later, there were substantive achievements realized. These included the presence of community gathering places, a health center, preschools, stores, churches and parks as well as new business enterprises. It was this project in which their "*Technology of Participation*" began to be created as a mechanism for community development. The learnings and principles were later piloted by the ICA in Human Development Projects in over 200 communities and 25 nations, systematically testing their applicability in diverse cultures. As a result of this effort, and their learnings, ICA developed a strong reputation as a leader in community development; a Human Development Training School was later established for training community leaders in India, the Philippines, South Korea, Africa, Indonesia and the United States.

The ICA was organized in recognition that the organization needed to adapt in more secular ways. The purpose was ... *to further the application of methods of human development to communities and organizations all around the world based on a secular philosophy... The principal aim of ICA is to "develop and test methods of individual, community and organization development"* (Srivastva, Cooperider, Thachankery & Tian, 1989). Currently, with over 100 offices in 39 nations, they remain actively engaged in stimulating local participation based on an integrated and holistic approach to community and rural development. Their core tasks include training and consulting to small groups, communities, organizations and voluntary associations. In addition, they are involved in projects which provide leadership training to village leaders, community education programs, integrated rural development including agriculture and irrigation development, women programs, environmental/ecological preservation, and many others.

They have a number of accomplishments which sustain their substantial reputation. One of their most large scale projects in the United States was the Town Meeting project. During 1975-1977, there were conducted over 5000 town meetings to cover every county in North America and over forty countries. The purpose of the town meetings, timed to coincide with the celebration of the Bicentennial, was to examine the social, economic, political and cultural issues affecting the community. These were examined with respect to how they facilitated or blocked the capacity of the problems by utilizing their own resources and cooperative effort. This is but one of their efforts, and their work throughout the world is recognized for making a difference in the lives of those who live within the communities they empower.

Their reputation has led to recognition and credibility. They were given Consultative Status by the U.N. in 1985. ICA has Category II Status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, Liaison Status with the Food and Agriculture Organization, working relation status with the World Health Organization, and Consultative Status with UNICEF. Currently, the organization is in the midst of transition as it further decentralizes to make each location a self-supporting unit.

The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) is a relatively recent organization, with a big reputation for making things happen. In 1985, after only five years in existence, they were awarded the Nobel Peace prize for their efforts in raising awareness about the medical consequences of nuclear war. But the story actually begins in the early 1960's, with the decision of Dr Bernard Lown, an internationally renowned cardiologist, and a small group of colleagues to research the probable medical consequences of a small nuclear attack on their own city, Boston. This research led to an article published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* which is still unrefuted as to accuracy. Reasoning that the primary commitment of the medical profession is the preservation and enhancement of life, and that nuclear war posed the greatest of health risks, Lown concluded that it was incumbent upon physicians to take the lead in averting nuclear holocaust. Part of this role would be to use their positions of trust and prestige within the community to influence politicians and military physicians with research based and factual information concerning the effects of nuclear war.

While his efforts were based in his role as a co-founder

of Physicians for Social Responsibility, Lown later realized that peace could not be achieved by a U.S. based organization acting unilaterally. This was especially true given one of the largest impediments to peace — distrust of the intentions of the Soviet Union. As a result, Dr. Lown established contact with another leading cardiologist in the U.S.S.R., Dr. Yevgeny Chazov, and asked for his help in creating an international physicians organization to help prevent nuclear war. Chazov, who was at the time the Deputy Minister for Health and a personal physician to a number of national leaders in the Communist Party, agreed and became co-president with Lown. The first international conference was held in Maryland in 1981, with representatives from ten nations in attendance. At its most recent international congress in Hiroshima, Japan, there were over 3000 people in attendance. Organized as a federation of member affiliate organizations rather than individuals, they have at most recent count seated 72 affiliates in 69 countries at their International Council. These affiliates account for more than 200,000 physicians world-wide, and the IPPNW is credited by the World Health Organization with being the fastest growing medical organization in the world.

As a result of their prestige and influence, the co-presidents have gained entree at a number of high government levels. Lown has periodically met with Gorbachev, and IPPNW has been prominently featured in Soviet broadcasts and publications. The Soviet extension of the moratorium on nuclear testing by the U.S.S.R. in the mid-80's was largely due to the influence and credibility of the organization with Gorbachev. While increased access is realized at superpower levels, prestige and credibility also permit entree by local IPPNW affiliates with government leaders in other countries was well.

The IPPNW has as its overarching mission the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. To this end, they are dedicated to educating world public opinion for the need to stop nuclear explosions, to protest the extension of the nuclear arms race, and to foster citizen diplomacy that counteracts dehumanized and dangerous stereotyping of fellow human beings. Frequently emphasizing the medical and environmental effects of nuclear war, this education tends to be as much scientific as ideological; as physicians, they respect and value empirical data to support their arguments. Within this objective, there are currently four strategic initiatives. The first is a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, promoted through their Cease Fire Campaign; they notify member affiliates any time a nuclear test is conducted anywhere in the world, and affiliates set up letter writing campaigns in protest. A second initiative, barring complete elimination of nuclear weapons, is a short-term goal of a 50% cut in nuclear weapons across the board. Recent creation of a commission to investigate the effects of nuclear weapons production on the environment and the health of those who live near the plants represents a third thrust of activity. And finally, they are promoting SatelLife, established to create a peaceful use of space in response to Reagan's SDI initiative. SatelLife will enable affiliates to have access to a global electronic network of medical information, to include medical libraries and data bases. This will be of particular usefulness to physicians from developing countries, who will be able to obtain information that will enable them to provide effective treatment for patients in remote and rural areas. During the most recent congress, they have broadened their mission to include "weapons of mass destruction."

tion", so as to incorporate chemical and biological weapons in its sphere of vigilance.

The Hunger Project (THP) was established in 1977, and is currently active in over 21 countries. Its purpose is to transform the prospect of ending hunger from a possibility into an opportunity that can be realized. It seeks to create a new era in which hungry people are provided with the means to bring their own hunger to an end, and to engender a global environment in which ending hunger becomes a priority on the political and economic agenda of nations and international institutions. Focusing on persistent and chronic hunger, as opposed to famine or disaster related hunger (an important distinction for THP), their intent is to transform the thinking of a critical mass of people to believe that an end to hunger is possible rather than a Utopian dream; they are fighting the hopelessness of the world's image of hunger. This is largely accomplished through public education, with the intent of mobilizing public demand for making an end to hunger a national priority and for effective responses to issues of sustainable development.

There are four strategic initiatives which are designed to help THP achieve its mission. These include the Africa Prize for Leadership for the Sustainable End of Hunger. The purpose of the prize is to highlight the commitments and contributions of African leaders in the social and economic advancement of their people. The People to People Initiative is a second thrust, emphasizing domestic hunger in the U.S. The intent is to raise awareness of hunger and homelessness and to empower people to take care of hungry and homeless people in their communities. A third initiative is the Bayad Taluka Project, co-sponsored by THP, intended to empower people to end their own hunger in one of the northern districts of Gujarat state in India. A final initiative involves strategic planning for the end of hunger by empowering people, communities and governments to take effective action in ending it.

It is important to note that THP has a very specialized niche in the "business" of hunger. There are other organizations that feed the hungry or provide relief funds. THP exists essentially to change people's minds, to help them realize that ending hunger is possible and to mobilize their support in influencing others that this is the case and that it deserves to become a global priority. The Secretariat, located in New York, is organized around six functions to make this happen, and these include: "(1) *initiating and coordinating special projects and global events*; (2) *raising funds and resources for global operations*; (3) *creating and disseminating global communications*... (4) *coordinating special efforts to end hunger in Africa*; (5) *overseeing financial operations of the entire project*; and (6) *supporting and 'empowering' the executive director and board*." (Barrett, Fry and Wilmot, 1989). There are indications that THP has been successful in its efforts; at most recent count, more than 6.1 million people in 152 countries have 'enrolled' in THP. Enrollment means that these individuals have made promises and committed themselves to engage in many conversations about hunger and to become involved in bringing a concrete project into existence which will empower hungry people to achieve a solution to their hunger. And in 1987, THP sponsored a global satellite teleconference, the largest ever held focusing on a single issue, with 41,000 members participating in 17 countries. With over one percent of the population in seven countries enrolled, there is a sense of growing optimism that a criti-

cal mass is being developed that can make a difference in ending chronic and persistent hunger.

The final case study conducted was of *The Nature Conservancy — Latin America Division (TNC/LAD)*. This represents one of the most prestigious of all conservation organizations in the U.S. Founded in the 1950's, with the objective of preserving rapidly disappearing 'open space', TNC has to date been responsible for the protection and preservation of over 4,000,000 acres of land in the 50 states, Latin America, Canada and the Caribbean. It owns and manages the largest privately owned system of nature preserves in the world. A recent financial report listed total assets of the organization at over \$565 million, and there are over 500,000 members.

The principle mission if TNC is the global preservation of natural diversity; it is organized to find, protect, and maintain the best examples of communities, ecosystems and endangered species in the natural world. To do this, TNC has the largest single computer data bank of biological diversity information in the world. This gives the organization the capacity to know precisely the kind of species and communities native to given ecosystems such as a prairie in Kansas or a swamp in Florida. This information facilitates the three primary arms of TNC: (1) Identification, or the strategic decisions about which sites should be saved; that is, the extent to which acquisition of the land under consideration would save the '*last of the least or the best of the rest*'; (2) Acquisition, or the various means and mechanisms to acquire the land; and (3) Stewardship, or land management and the need to balance "... *habitat needs of key species*... [and] *the species on which they depend*." (TNC News). In order to more fully envision the focus of TNC, it is important to realize that a metaphor for their work is that of providing an 'ark' or 'lifeboat' of biological diversity.

The case study focuses predominantly on the Latin America Division (LAD) which is distinct from the larger organization in some key ways. Early on in the history of the organization, there were those who realized that the largest percentage of the world's biological diversity is found in the tropics, outside the borders of the U.S. But while a Latin America Desk had been created for a short time in the 60's, there really was no agreed upon methodology for accomplishing their goals in Latin America. For one thing, it was hard in most countries, and impossible in others, to directly acquire land. It became clear that an alternative strategy was required, and this was developed in the late 70's and early 80's, largely based on a Peace Corps model. LAD currently utilizes four strategies for its work in Latin America: (1) To enhance in-country conservation capacity through institution building, with a special emphasis on self-sufficiency; that is, they select, train and consult to the efforts of local, indigenous non-governmental organizations (NGO's) whom they refer to as their 'partners'; (2) To create and maintain an accurate data management system; (3) To develop creative financing; LAD is one of a small group of conservation pioneers in purchasing small amounts of the national debt of Latin American countries at discounted prices (the largest amount purchased to date was \$9 million), and turning the note over to the local government to be converted into bonds purchased in local currency for the support of local conservation projects; (4) To focus on decreed parks and land protection to assure that parks which have been formally decreed are safe from damaging human encroachment; while this includes the

need for jeeps and guards, it also includes finding ways for local populations to utilize natural resources in ways that provide livelihood while not destroying the resource — an example is eco-tourism. TNC is regarded with respect and credibility in the U.S. and Latin America, and is currently in the process of expanding its international work to other areas of the world.

Methodology

The perspective guiding the research approach was that of "Appreciative Inquiry" (Srivastva & Cooperrider, 1986; Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987). This method of inquiry is intended to focus attention on what works well, rather than approaching the organization as a problem to be solved. In traditional approaches to organizational inquiry, the organization has been viewed as a detached object, to be studied clinically by researchers looking for evidence of problems, a highly evaluative stance. Appreciative inquiry emphasizes discovery of those processes of organizing which lend organizations their distinctive competencies and vitality. It calls for the development of close and collaborative working relationships between the researcher and organizational members. In discovering the "best of what is", it is possible to create an emergent set of propositions about the "best of what can be" capable of transforming the attention of the organization toward the higher ideal.

While there is a large body of social science theory supporting the efficiency and value of such a research approach, there are three main foundations. Philosophically, Appreciative Inquiry derives from a phenomenological stance toward understanding human beings in social systems; it posits that reality is subjective, the result of meaning attributed by the actor (Schutz, 1970). Similarly, there is a body of literature which views organizations as social constructions, iterations of interpretive attributions by its members, at once the creation and creator of that which we perceive to be real (Berger & Luckman, 1967; Gergen, 1982, 1985; Gioia, 1986). Finally, there is a body of literature on social cognition which demonstrates that positive images or projections of future possibilities (what is possible) can result in social processes of organizing which enact the shared construction of reality. (Weick, 1979, 1982). Methodologically, Appreciative Inquiry has close affinity to grounded theory building (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Martin & Turner, 1986); this is concerned with the discovery of theory from data rather than the testing of hypotheses, and is particularly useful where there is little directly relevant theory to the topic of study or when the theory which exists is too abstract and differentiated to be helpful.

Data for these case studies were collected in a nine month period during 1989. There were four teams of researchers each focusing on one GSCO, using the common Appreciative Inquiry approach. In three of the cases, the methodology was primarily directed toward organization research, and in one instance (ICA), the research became a figurative part of a major organizational intervention, in the tradition of action research. There were three major sources of data, described below.

1. Interviews, open-ended formal interviews were conducted with key members of each organization. In all cases, these included staff members of the central head-

quarters of each organization. In some instances, these also included members in branches, affiliates, or other local office locations. Individuals providing leadership were often interviewed, such as board members, founders, executive directors, and others with substantial influence on the activities of the respective GSCO. Interviews lasted one and one-half to three hours in duration and covered a range of general questions about what attracted members to the organization, leadership, management of cross-cultural diversity, core values, factors associated with success and perceptions about the future. A generic protocol is shown in the appendix, and was the model for the protocols used by each team of researchers. The first three questions were asked in each instance, the remainder of the protocol was tailored more specifically to the GSCO being studied. These interviews produced over 2000 pages of transcribed data.

2. Historical documents. Researchers examined newspaper articles, books, unpublished 'white papers', internal newsletters and publications, board reports, training materials, annual reports, meeting minutes, strategic plans, and a variety of other sources of historical information concerning each GSCO. These were reviewed, and in some instances, content analyzed.

3. Observations. Researchers spent time in each office observing daily interactions and organizational processes. In addition, they attended strategic retreats, internal training sessions, major national and international conferences. In some instances, researchers, joined with organizational members in performing work for the organization, although this choice was left entirely up to the individual researcher. These observations provided a direct experiential basis for understanding and complementing interview data.

The outcome was four individual case studies, prepared for presentation at the Social Innovations in Global Management Conference conducted in November of 1989, and currently in publication. The propositions which follow are derived from these case studies, as well as some of the interview data described above. The propositions are emergent, and much more in-depth data analysis is currently in progress. From what has been discovered thus far, the following characteristics seem to be held in common by each GSCO and provide an important first step in our research.

Characteristics of GSCO's

There appear to be at least five key organizing principles which are the warp and woof of the fabric lending competence and vitality to the GSCO's studies. Each of these principles are achieved in very different ways by each organization, but they are consciously attended to by all. The five principles find expression in the individuals who work within each GSCO, and in organizational processes and outcomes. Before describing these, it is important to state that these organizations are highly normative (Etzioni, 1968); that is to say, organizations whose collective values and sentiments provide an intensely persuasive and self-definitional "glue" for its employees and members, and to which purely utilitarian interests take second place. While many might be suspicious of organizations whose members collectively and individually display such a passionate commitment, thinking perhaps of Hitler's SS or various

religious cults such as that led by Jim Jones, there are attenuating forces which tend to provide balance. Specifically, this is the because each GSCO provides various mechanisms by which consensus can be formed from the bottom up; it is different than blind obedience because individuals

retain awareness of the implications of their actions and are encouraged to give voice to ideas, opinions and feelings which may improve the capacity of the organization to realize its objectives.

ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF GLOBAL SOCIAL CHANGE ORGANIZATIONS		
	FIGURE 1	
ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE	INDIVIDUAL AFFECT	ORGANIZATION OUTCOME
ALIGNMENT	COMMITMENT	AUTONOMOUS INTERDEPENDENCE
ATTUNEMENT	TRUST	CONSENSUAL PROCESSES
AFFIRMATION	HOPE/FAITH	GENERATIVITY
AUTHENTICITY	SELF-DISCOVERY/	CONTEXTUAL
	ACTUALIZATION	KNOWLEDGE
ACTION	POTENCY/	ACHIEVEMENT/
	EMPOWERMENT	PRESTIGE

Alignment

The first principle of organizing frequently found in the GSCO's we studied was that of alignment. (Harrison, 1988). Alignment is the extent to which there is evidence that organizational employees understand, value, and are intrinsically motivated to achieve the mission or cause represented. There is no question for any individual within the GSCO that if their collective objectives are achieved, the result will be a healthier and more sustainable world. So, for example, if nuclear weapons are eliminated, the risk of large scale annihilation is reduced, and if biological diversity is preserved there will be increased access to a broad spectrum of genetic resources for future generations.

To some extent, individuals who came to work for these organizations self-selected the issues around which they already had substantial personal commitment. Thus, the GSCO provides an arena in which the individual can act upon their own most integral values. This is very interesting because it casts a different light on what we typically think of as organizational socialization (c.f. Schein, 1984; Louis, 1984). This normally refers to the process of bringing newcomers into an organization. Formally they become familiar with job description, policies and procedures for work; informally, they learn what is really valued in the organization, especially as they see who gets promoted, recognized, rewarded, or passed over. Socialization is the process of aligning interests of the individual with those of the organization, of introjecting the culture and ideology of the organization within the individual. However, in GSCO's, individuals tend to be strongly committed to the issue for which they are working or are otherwise predisposed to

some type of social activism (as by a family background of activism, or by a specific religious orientation) when they join. Where individual interests are considered in some profit making organizations to be at odds with its overall purpose, and thus potentially untrustworthy (Culbert & McDonough, 1980), individuals joining GSCO's are realizing their personal interests and objectives by achieving organizational goals and objectives. Thus, the process of socialization is as much one of adapting the organization of each individual so that their individual talents and resources can be utilized as it is helping the individual to understand its policies and procedures.

Within each person, this is experienced as a deeply intense moral commitment to the cause represented by the GSCO. In several organizations, people spoke of how worthwhile it felt to give all or part of one's life in service to an issue. There is a strong sense that people are living heartfelt values and higher life purposes through their work at a GSCO. For example, at TNG, people said "...[you can have] an incredible impact on the future of the world... there is a morality, a high moral value to what we do... [and]... I can't think of a higher and better use of my time." One person with ICA was describing the mission and stated that "... the mission has to be so exciting that you want to say, 'I want to do something about that'. It is worth giving part of all of my life for." And in THP: "I lived in India for six months and saw the horror of children withering to bones, of mothers laying their diseased sons and daughters in graves. These experiences moved me to give my life to ending these horrors... The Hunger Project is my opportunity to do so."

The principle of alignment is particularly evident in the way in which individuals drive their activity to the achievements of their goals. There is a level of intensity in the performance of work; in every GSCO, people will work very long hours especially to accomplish some event or activity with a short time frame — and this includes everyone, not just those in leadership roles. So, for example, the staff of the IPPNW will work together very hard to pull off an auction, a rock and roll concert or an International Congress for its membership. Intense effort at TNC can be observed in preparing proposals for fund-raising, or the design and implementation of self-sufficiency training, or the design and implementation of self-sufficiency training (conducted in Spanish) for representatives of the NGO's who are their partners in Central and South America. And within THP, every individual is constantly focusing their activity on providing whatever is missing with the possibility of ending hunger; indeed, there are no pictures on desks walls and everyone must sign in and out reporting where they are at any moment — all of this with the intent of not doing anything to distract them from activity which would realize their objective. It is at THP that alignment is most consciously attended to and defined, as shown in this excerpt from the case study (Barrett, Fry and Wilmot):

"A guiding principle that drives organizing is that the project is an 'alignment of wholes', not a sum of parts. There is no 'part' for the individual to do; rather, the individual is the 'source' of the project. In this sense, each person in the Hunger Project owns the whole project: a member creates his or her conceptualization of the project, of what he or she will do to cause the end of hunger. Leaders refer to the Hunger Project as being an alignment of these sources. Members act as contributors to an integrated unity, each finding the opportunity to express his or her true purpose through the organization's purpose." (p. 18)

•Attunement

A second organizing principle shared is that of Attunement. (Harrison, 1988). GSCO's are places in which individuals enjoy, respect, assist, care about, and are deeply committed to one another. Like alignment, this principle was found in every GSCO studied, though expressed in a variety of ways. Most frequently, people describe the ways in which their interest in and attachment to the mission also is granted to the community of individuals working to achieve it. They appreciate the unique qualities and diversity represented by fellow workers, and many form strong friendships. Metaphors of family and community were frequently found in interview transcripts of two of the GSCO's. For example, staff members of the IPPNW discussed the ways in which the work environment resembled family life: they assist one another at work, eat together, celebrate each other's birthdays, socialize together outside of work, and take special care to make sure everyone is included (or at least invited) to participate.

While attunement is operationalized in very informal ways at IPPNW, it is referred to somewhat more formally at TNC. One individual said: *"I like being part of a group of people whom I respect, who are very committed to doing something that they view as critical for humankind... I respect people as individuals as well as professionals in what they do,"* In many interviews, people spoke of the

respect they have for one another as competent and committed professionals who freely share with one another their varying areas of expertise without constraints of 'turf' or rivalry. They spoke about how much they enjoy working with one another, and frequently discussed the unique qualities and distinctive expertise contributed by co-workers they admired. It is occasionally expressed in more affective ways as well: *"There is an essential quality of love, which is both for inanimate things, the green stuff and the critters, and for the community of people working together to detent that."*

The concept of 'corporateness' is language used by ICA to describe this principle, as defined in the following: "In corporateness, there is a recognition to interdependency. We have respect for each other and for our common mission. We have sensitivity to the human factor and humanity. We have vision for peace, for care, and for every human to realize their full potential." [and] "Corporateness is where people work together; where a group of people has a common goal, a common task; and where they are willing to do the impossible." Because much of the work of the ICA is in community development, thinking in terms of global community is an important aspect of their overall perspective, integral to the achievement of their goals.

An important aspect of attunement is the supportive environment it provides for individuals intensely invested in accomplishing an ideal which seems almost too big for any one lifetime. It is a "supportive holding environment" (Kegan, 1982) in which people feel cared for despite the intensity of their committed effort. People reported feeling valued, appreciated, and energized by their interactions with one another. When there are successes, they celebrate with one another; when things are not going well, they try to help each other figure out what barriers or obstacles can be removed in order to accomplish the goal. For example, THP has two concepts of Committed Listener and Breakthrough: every member of the organization has one person they have designated as a Committed Listener so that when things are not going well, or someone is feeling frustrated in their ability to accomplish a goal, they can talk it out with the Committed Listener. Similar in some ways to a therapeutic intervention (or the role of a Sponsor in any twelve-step program), this person listens intently and helps the individual to see what they are, are not, or could be done differently, and thus achieve Breakthrough — a new way of thinking about or framing the problem leading to a new and creative solution.

Attunement is involved with individual feelings of *trust*: one trusts others who share the same values, interests and level of dedication to a mission which acts as a common mortar. At the same time, one acts in trustworthy ways to reinforce that social bond. For example, staff members at IPPNW described some of the first projects for which they had assumed ownership. Sometimes, project leadership roles were taken on by clerk typists and others at organizational levels that one would not typically assume to take such a role. The act of taking responsibility for a project was perceived as an indication of the trust placed in the individual by the organization and the community of its members. There was a strong feeling of not betraying that trust, of doing anything necessary to make it successful. And the first project taken on is a kind of initiation in that it is symbolic of the individual's commitment to mission as well as their trustworthiness to the community.

Similarly, at THP, one makes a 'social promise' to take responsibility for ending hunger, and holds oneself accountable to others who are similarly engaged. As an example, with respect to whether the requirement to sign in and out was restricting, one individual answered: *"Absolutely not. Just the opposite. Responsibility is liberating. It's being responsible — letting people know there you are at all times. Holding yourself accountable. I want to contribute to ending hunger. Someone might need me for something and they need to know exactly where I am."*

The dual principles of alignment and attunement, individually experienced as commitment and trust, jointly provide conditions for two important organizational processes. The first is *autonomous interdependence* (Wolfe, 1988). This refers to the idea that each individual is given both responsibility and authority to achieve results, while simultaneously interdependent with, reliant on, and accountable to others for their success. For example, at TNG, is was expressed in these ways: *"...[it is] nurturing and asking for people's opinions and giving a lot of responsibility and accountability. The fact is, when most of us travel abroad, there's no one out there really to check up on us... And we're representatives of the organization, so there's a lot of trust placed in that relationship. We have some basic tools we operate with, and after that, it's up to each individual to perform in an environment that fulfills the individual's expectations of themselves, [and] You know what you are responsible for, you are surrounded by people who are willing and able to help you, you know you are given room to strive for what you are here to do, not always under somebody's thumb, but you're also not out on a limb by yourself without any feel for 'are you on the right track'?"* Having demonstrated trustworthiness in terms of commitment to mission (alignment) and accountability to and for the community individuals working together to achieve it (attunement), it seems reasonable to empower individuals with autonomous interdependence. In some ways, these act as integral mechanisms of organizational control; theoretically, where *trust and commitment* are equally strong, they would reduce dependence on other types of control mechanisms such as policies, procedures, close supervision and performance evaluations (Cummings, 1983). Interestingly, at TNC, the appraisal system used relies strongly not only on the manager's impressions of performance, but on self and peer appraisals as well. The latter may include not only co-workers in the office, but others with whom the individual interacts performing their job — thus, social accountability is even built into the process of the appraisal mechanism. In GSCO's, one can evaluate trustworthiness and commitment in terms of both community feedback and the extent to which the individual has accomplished results and met the objectives they established. Many of the GSCO's studies share a strong focus on objectives, a kind of 'global change by objectives' orientation, though at the THP objectives are referred to as 'social promises'; the selection of this language captures the very different way in which objectives are then to be approached.

Alignment and attunement also create conditions where *consensual processes* can flourish, and consensus is a highly valued organizational process in the GSCO's studied. In a study of the conditions under which managers invited participation in decision making by workers in corporations, Vroom and Jago (1984) reported three basic criteria used. They are locus of knowledge, need for com-

mitment as a prerequisite for implementation, and the amount of time one has to make the decision. Using these as a focus, GSCO's appear to represent ideal environments for consensual processes. First, most individuals are highly attributed with expertise, either for their technical knowledge (as in TNC, with specialties in Land Stewardship or Science), for their cultural competence (with great understanding of language and/or diverse cultures in which GSCO's operate), or for their ability to get things done — to take on and succeed in accomplishing certain kinds of tasks or projects.

There has already been a lot of discussion about commitment. When a typical manager is trying to decide whether to involve subordinates in a decision, their evaluation of commitment takes two forms: *"two what extent is the involvement of subordinates needed in implementing the decision, and to what extent can I trust that my subordinates are committed to important organizational goals and values represented in this decision?"* In normal corporations, the answer to the first question is enacted in various ways ranging from genuine participation to manipulative participation for the purpose of making people feel like they have a voice, whether or not they actually do. And the second question recognizes that individually perceives self-interests and important personal values may be at the expense of the organizational mission or the goals of the situation being decided. (Culbert & McDonough, 1980). At ICA, for example, consensus building represents less a decision making style than a philosophy (Srivastva, Cooperrider, Thackankery & Tian, 1989), as can be seen from this excerpt from the case study:

"... the power is in the middle of the table' for those who are willing to 'put their lives on the line'... 'It belongs to everyone, and to no one'. Therefore, they wanted to encourage more people to take full responsibility for the whole group to 'guide and influence the future.' The very life giving quality of consensus building was beautifully expressed in an proposition that, 'The technology of ICA decision making sets the stage with nonchalant meticulousness, and uses all wisdom to create a kaleidoscope of options, and visualizes the victory of doing the impossible dream.'" (p. 47). In GSCO's, the individuals are typically enacting deeply held values and high purposes through their work for the organization, and their commitment to the mission and their co-workers is in evidence. And there is no question that the commitment of each individual is necessary to be successful in implementing any decision taken. Two important conditions are thereby satisfied: (1) individuals are attributed as having knowledge important to the decision; (2a) their commitment is required for implementation; and (2b) their self-interest and personal commitment are closely aligned with those of the organization.

This leaves one final consideration, which is the time frame in which the decision must be made. And this introduces another factor which facilitates consensus: the extent to which the designated leader is trusted or empowered to make critical decisions when time is short. In organizations where participation is either infrequent or manipulative, decisions made by a manager in response to a critical time frame may not engender any more perceptions of trust or credibility by subordinates than any other decision he or she makes. However, in GSCO's, genuine involvement in discussing issues, contributing ideas and opinions, and generating consensus are frequent enough

that when decisions must be made quickly, leaders are empowered to make them. Their leadership style and willingness to take into account the views of others makes them highly credible and trustworthy for those they lead.

Examples of this can be found in THP, where one member said: *"Here, we empower up. When someone steps forward as a leader, we empower them fully. We provide them with whatever they need to be effective in taking us closer to the end of hunger."* And at TNC, there were numerous examples: *"... more broadly, the way the division is run and managed so that everyone is made to feel like they are involved in all important decisions that have to be made... [and] he has everyone's confidence without a doubt [and] [He] leads his staff by making people feel that he values what they think and what they say, by having a vision that he holds out there to start pulling everybody, and by being the kind of person you're comfortable working with... As long as people perceive you as caring about what they are doing, and what their opinions are and that your directions is valid and true and logical and right by the majority and there are no personal motives behind it, you're credible person and I think you've got the conditions for a leader. And I think we have that here now."*

Finally, while there are designated leaders whose leadership is trustworthy to and appreciated by their colleagues, it is important to note that there is a strong value of egalitarianism and shared leadership which also contributes to the collective capacity for consensus. Several staff at TNC mentioned this, giving examples of direct and informal contact they had with the chairman of TNC's Board around some particular project on which they were working or some new idea which might help to preserve more species in Latin America. One Country Program Manager for Brazil even noted that such informality and access was confusing to his colleagues in Brazil, a country characterized by high power distance (Hofstede, 1984). Many individuals in the Latin America Division of TNC saw significant opportunity to exercise leadership, as was also true at IPPNW, where people also noted the ways in which they were invited to share their opinions, contribute ideas and sometimes even to lead a project conceived from their idea. People said: *"In this organization, most people are leaders in different ways, [and] [the leader] lets you speak your mind and works with you. I can go to him with any problem. He won't solve it for me, but he will support me. He helps you figure it out for yourself; shares responsibility. He works with you; not like your 'boss'."* [and] *"They do a good job of making you feel needed and important. When it looks like you need a new challenge, they move you to give you a new opportunity."* [and] *"If tasks can be delegated, then each person's own sense of leadership is fostered."* Interestingly, these are from a variety of people who were relatively new to the organization, and who would be considered "junior members" of many typical organizations. To the extent that an egalitarian spirit and values of shared leadership which build on the strengths and talents of each individual are present, there is an additional condition for the realization of consensual processes. Consensus is achieved in very different ways at each GSCO. The IPPNW is very informal; input is provided at staff meetings and in discussions at lunch. If an idea takes on energy in the group, the person who contributed the idea will often be asked to take a leadership role in bringing it to fruition. Much communication across functional boundaries occurs via both work and social relationships.

By contrast, at TVC consensus is formed through more formal processes of collective strategizing and is operationalized in teamwork. Each year, the Latin American Division holds a two day retreat for which each individual prepares a 'white paper' concerning their area : the issues, challenges, major dilemmas or problems, and ideas for optional directions the division could take. Over the course of the retreat, each paper is presented, and there is active discussion, with each participant contributing their views in knowledgeable and competent ways. By the end of the retreat, decisions about the course the division will take for the following year made, and people leave with increased clarity about the parameters of work in their own area as well as the major issues in the work of others. During the year, quarterly meetings of country program managers and resource experts for a given region of Latin America are held to assess opportunities and challenges, keep each other informed, and determine appropriate responses.

Consensus at ICA transcends its use as a decision making mechanism, and becomes part of the philosophy of what it means to be human and to recognize the wonder and worth of every other individual. They describe the process of arriving at consensus: *"Consensus is creating common mind about what you want to do. [and] ... everybody has a voice and there is not a leader. There is equal consensus [and] if you will listen and hear where the group is, you can fairly clearly state what the consensus of the group is at that moment. That is life-giving."*

Finally, it is interesting to note that the same processes of alignment and attunement which may activate the normative features of organizational controls within these GSCO's, also appear to activate processes which may serve to balance or attenuate what some may consider the more negative aspects of these. That is to say, the importance placed on consensus and individual empowerment through the enacted value of shared (egalitarian) leadership balances the propensity of the organization to become "cult-like", despite the passionate commitment and loyalty to one another that employees share. In his conception of an active society, Etzioni (1968) discusses the importance of awareness, commitment and power to achieve results, and stresses the importance of both a "controlling over-layer" and "consensus-formation mechanisms" as both being necessary. In many ways, these GSCO's seem to intuitively understand and organize themselves along these lines.

Affirmation

Processes of affirmation in GSCO's take three different forms. First, there is great attention to affirming the highest potential for good within each person; there is expressed and implied appreciation for the experiences, knowledge, strengths and talents each person contributes within the organization. A second way is to constantly affirm every tangible success of concrete results which would indicate that the organization and the individuals within it have made a difference in realizing their common goal. Finally there is affirmation of every hint of potential or future possibility for new or renewed effort in relation to the global agenda, to constantly seek out and provide "what is missing" in their efforts toward creating a healthier and more sustainable world.

At an individual level, affirmation of the individual

occurs in a number of ways already discussed, i.e. opportunities to experience the trust of others for one's contribution, through processes of shared leadership, autonomous interdependence, and consensus formation. An important theme in each GSCO is the way in which individuals value and feel valued by others. Sometimes, this is experienced in the emphasis placed on people's skills and talents rather than their weaknesses. At TNC, people often reported feeling valued by the organization, and several members told of the way in which they felt that those in leadership positions emphasized the strengths and talents of each person. Each member has the sense that they are important, and that without what they contribute, the mission could not be realized in the same way. This is reflected in statements such as : *"The whole point is, you try to find out what somebody is doing well, does naturally and really encourage that... I think you waste a lot of time trying to look for the weakness and plug the gap. [and] / value my job because it's a job that lets me do something that I think I'm good at and enjoy. I value it because it's a job that most people don't like to do... so I feel like I'm really helping people with things they don't like to do, don't want to do, but need to do, and I can offer that service."*

Other GSCO's also show evidence of valuing the diversity of skills contributed by the employees. At IPPNW, for example, younger and newer employees mentioned that leaders observed newcomers for signs of interests or talents, and then found projects or tasks to which their capabilities could be applied. At ICA, values for the unique quality of what it means to be human permeates every aspect of their community development work; an important part of this is what they call "imaginai education", the effort to replace negative and self-defeating images that people have of themselves with positive and empowered images instead. One of the images they have created for the future work of the ICA is found in a statement describing of their ideal : *"... where interpersonal relationships are built upon understanding of the unique gifts of every person..."*. And at THP, affirmation is expressed in the philosophy that each individual is the Hunger Project. *"I'm responsible for everything. And so is Mary the secretary. She too is the Hunger Project and is responsible for everything in the organization. Everyone who enrolls is the whole Hunger Project. [and] We act out everything we believe in. — is probably my best friend. But not the way you usually think of friends... It's a different kind of friendship. She insists I be myself. There are times when she sees the real in me better than I see myself. I remember one I was complaining a lot about something and she said to me — how dare I be such a pain in the ass. And she was right. She knew my higher self wasn't coming through at that moment. And I stopped complaining and being negative. It really woke me up."*

In all of the organizations, people report feeling valued and affirmed. They talk about believing in others, of sharing the spotlight to let others take credit when there are successes, and in the feeling that others believe in them. People feel that they are invited to share their experiences, their insights, and their skills. They report feeling validated by this, experiencing that their voice is heard and honored, even when disagreements ensue. Disagreements are viewed as an essential part of the consensus process, and each individual is sufficiently empowered and affirmed that there is not much hesitation in making one's opinion heard. This is described by one individual who stated that each

individual was sufficiently secure to *"... suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous comment..."* in the course of the teamwork necessary to accomplish their goals.

Affirmation of every tangible indication of success is an important part of individual and collective affirmation. Every GSCO has a dream or vision that is very large in scope, and in some cases, could require lifetimes of effort. So, for example, saving 10% of the land in Latin America representing the last and best examples of biological diversity would mean saving five hundred million acres, with only 3 million currently saved world wide by TNC. Other missions are highly abstract and difficult to measure, such as the prevention of nuclear war. If nuclear war does not occur, can it be said that it was because of the efforts of this organization or any of its members? And how do you know what incremental effects their efforts may have had? Thus, the goal becomes smaller — abolition of nuclear weapons. But even the smaller goal could take a very long time to achieve, especially given the 1 trillion dollars spent each year on the global arms race. Given the broad scope and abstract nature of some of the most important values and goals of any GSCO, it is important to find evidence that the efforts of the organization are making a difference in the world, and that the efforts of individuals are making a difference in the organization.

GSCO's find many ways of affirming indicators of success, and individuals frequently report feeling as though their unique contribution was an important part of helping the organization to make a difference. There is maximal celebration of every indication of even minimal success, with attention paid to the way in which that success furthers the ability of the GSCO to reach their broader objective. People are encouraged to see all the ways in which their efforts to organize a fundraising auction, design a training program, write a foundation proposal or make it possible for someone without funds to attend a conference related to the overall goal for which they are collectively striving. There is a sense of impact, accomplishment, self-esteem, and joy at being able to contribute something that made a difference. There is almost never a story about something which did not work, or of blame attached to an individual for a failure; in most instances, individuals were easily able to relate instances in which there was a success and the way in which they helped to influence a positive outcome.

The ability to affirm individual contribution seems to be related in some instances to the presence of very clear, tangible and measurable indicators of success. At an organizational level, for example, TNC focuses on tangible measures such as number of acres "saved", number of preserves created, total assets and total membership. In the Latin American Division, where conservation efforts are through local NGO's and land is not directly acquired, measurement is much more difficult. How is it possible to evaluate the success of the institution-development strategy TNC has used in collaboration with its partners? Is it appropriate to evaluate the efforts of partners in achieving results ? And how can one know the direct effect of the division's efforts in the success of their partners? In response to some of these dilemmas, the Latin American Division has adapted two measures. Believing that a formal evaluation of their partners would represent the worst kind of power-distanced relations, they choose to collaboratively evaluate results together with their partners, mutually focusing on how they may better work with each other to

accomplish their goals. The other measure is provided by a new "Parks in Peril" project, a list of parks that have been designated in name only, and which are themselves in danger of misuse and deforestation. This list of 200 parks will provide a starting point for evaluating efforts: how many of these parks have been better protected by hiring park guards, buying jeeps, and finding uses for the land which provide a means of economic support which does not destroy it. The list is the measure.

Other organizations focus on tangible results as well. At ICA, they emphasize "... rapid and visible signs of action in every program arena" (Srivastva, Cooperrider, Thachankery & Tian, 1989, p. 12) as an integral part of initiating community development. It is a sign that something new is happening and that the villagers are seeing immediate impact on their own development. Other examples of indicators are found in reports of projects from different countries concerning increases in the number of villages who initiated development projects, and reports of health clinics, preschools, roads and drains completed. They also find encouragement in "testimonials" of those villagers who reported that their lives had been changed in some way by projects or interventions in which the ICA was involved, such as the following from reports submitted by village leaders: "[India] We have learned how to improve our situation, how to improve our economic and social conditions. What we have learned we shall not forget, and nobody can take that away from us. The future is on our shoulders, [and Jamaica] The Blue Mountain area in particular needs a catalyst, it needs just what the ICA is doing — motivating people to help themselves. Like most dormant factors, you never really are sure what you have got and what you can do unless you do something that awakens you."

IPPNW focuses on events and specific projects as an indicator. The most important of these is the biannual international Congress. To an important degree, the central business of the organization is to help people connect directly and interpersonally with one another in ways that build trust and remove a key impediment to the elimination of nuclear weapons (suspicion). So, people report feeling like they have made a difference when they helped design and staff a conference at which Palestinians and Israeli physicians can shake hands and talk with one another about disarmament; when they have an opportunity to see what affiliates in other countries are doing; when physicians from other countries visit the Boston office to meet them and talk about what is happening. Thus, measurement of impact is in accomplishment of tasks which enable a project goal to be realized, and in the subjective experiences of success in bridging cultural differences to build trust.

Finally, THP has as its mission the total elimination of chronic hunger by the year 2000. The goals are broken down into time frames and discrete sub-units, and there is an assumption that if everyone meets their hourly, daily, weekly, and monthly goals, that the goal of eliminating hunger by 2000 will also be met. Therefore, the focus tends to be on achieving these, and removing any barriers or obstacles to their realization: "We will meet our ultimate deadline of ending hunger by the year 2000 because we meet our daily deadlines in this office. If we meet in the morning and decide that by the end of the evening we will do all this, we won't leave the office without doing it. That's what keeps us here 14 hours a day. It works the same way

with the top priorities we decide to tackle at the beginning of a week. It gets done. So when we set that kind of rigorous standard for ourselves day by day, week by week, month by month and year by year, we are definitely going to meet our eleven year deadline."

Attention directed to finding tangible evidence of the organization's impact on the mission, and the individual's impact in the organization also allows the individual to feel affirmed and valued. Commitment is validated and renewed when one can either participate directly in the realization of what they accomplished (as when IPPNW staff members attend an international Congress they worked very hard to organize) or indirectly through efforts they contributed. It is important to realize that each individual does not have to participate directly to feel as though they played an important role. A secretary in the TNC spoke of feeling that her efforts contributed in a very important way to helping her colleagues save land in Latin America, even though she did not run down to Brazil herself to save trees. And a clerical assistant in IPPNW spoke of feeling that her efforts in reading and preparing responses to correspondence from affiliates in different countries made her feel important in helping the linkages to be made; indeed, she felt a kind of "pen pal" affection for and interest in the efforts of these correspondents.

The third area for affirmation is that of affirming the smallest hint of potential or future possibility for action which will influence their global agenda. They are constantly seeking ways to achieve "breakthrough", to find out what is happening and what is needed to advance the cause. This can be seen in the way in which they attend to their specific "niche" as a GSCO. For example, TNC would not be nearly as successful if it were not for organizations such as Greenpeace and the Sierra Club. All of these organizations have sufficiently distinct roles that they are not redundant; at the same time, as a group, all three organizations make up a larger group which reflects and fosters the internal conservation ethic of the United States. Because there is enough differentiation, TNC can focus (in the U.S.) on the direct acquisition of land necessary to preserve rare and endangered species. Likewise, there are many organizations trying to respond to hunger, some by providing direct relief, some through community development, and so on. Because these organizations exist, THP is able to focus specifically on consciously managing the attention of the public in such a way that they will change their belief that hunger is "just the way things are", and understand that there is more than sufficient food to feed everyone. The organizations are constantly looking for what is not being done so that they can provide strategic new direction and mission in that arena. So, for example, IPPNW has recently announced a prominent scientific commission to study the effects of nuclear weapon production wastes on the environment and the health of surrounding communities. In addition, they have recognized that chemical and biological weapons represent as important a threat to global security (as they define it) as nuclear weapons, and have recently expanded their mission to include all weapons of 'mass destruction'.

The triadic processes of individual affirmation, affirmation of success and tangible indications of goal achievement, and affirmation of the smallest hint of potential action for the future jointly produce individual feeling of *hope and optimism*. While many of us in the world, numbed to inaction, members of GSCO's feel that they are important, that

they do make a difference, and that there is every possibility that their shared vision can be realized. The sense of optimism and hope is neither Pollyannish nor inflated; it is tempered with a sense of urgency about the issue at hand, and the sense that for every success, there is still so much more that should be done. The affirmation of success coupled with dissatisfaction of the status quo and an possibility of realizing a preferred future state is a powerful equation for any kind of change effort (Beckhard, 1984). Essentially, there is a profound faith that their hope and optimism will be justified through their action.

The organizational outcome of the principle of affirmation and the experience of hope is *generativity*, which refers to the generative capacity of the organization. Generativity is a term frequently used in developmental psychology to refer to the nurturing of future generations and continuation of the species, usually by having children (Erikson, 1958, 1980). There is emerging research to indicate that generativity may be internally motivated by strong needs for both power and intimacy (McAdams, 1985). It is somewhat related to Etzioni's concept of transcendental capacity, that is, the capacity of human beings to project an ideal vision of a preferred future and pull themselves toward it, thus capable of transcending limitations of the environment and of the individual (Etzioni, 1968). In this case, generativity refers to the organizational and social focus on posterity, on willing a world to future generations that one would most like to inherit. It is what Kolb calls the response of caring as it applies to "... a generative social contract [which asserts] 'Accept responsibility for the world and you are given the power to change it'" (Kolb, 1988, p. 75).

Powerful and compelling statement of vision are found in every GSCO studied. There is sense of living one's life in the service of the highest possible ideal for the future. At ICA, their vision is : *"All the world belongs to all the people as do all the gifts and goods of nature, all the decisions of history, and all the gifts of humanness. [and] The thinking that captures our mind the most is the vision of the planet Earth."* The vision of ending chronic hunger by 2000, of preserving 10% of the land in Latin America to assure availability of natural resources for future generations are all big dreams. And people seem willing to assume responsibility for the world in this way, to recognize the complexity and interdependence of many critical problems, and to take on the challenge of tackling these in a variety of different ways.

Authenticity .

In the first instance, authenticity refers to the way in which people live and enact personal and heartfelt values in response to the compelling vision of the organization. That is to say, people are not working for a system or performing tasks which are inauthentic for them. In a very important way, they are working at something which provides a core of meaning for their life, at least for the time being (some people move on to other kinds of work or other GSCO's). It is in a sense what Vaill has referred to as '*working spiritually smarter*' (Vaill, 1989), or the ability to stay connected with one's own highest principles and purposes and to make sure that one's activities are consistent, or at least not inconsistent, with these. For the time they are there, they define their identity and life mission in

terms of the work they are doing. There is a sense of noble purpose and heroic effort as they go about this.

Authenticity is, according to Etzioni (1968), a critical component of any active society because it is a remedy for (or response to) forces of alienation. Alienation is described as the *"inability to participate authentically in forces that shape social being... [it is experienced as] no only a feeling of resentment and disaffection, but of objective conditions which subject a person to forces beyond his or her understanding and control"* (pp. 618-619). When one is alienated, it is easy to perceive that one cannot make a difference, and that one's actions are without meaning. In GSCO's, attention to authenticity in the context of a collective project related to a social movement may be an important antidote to alienation, whether or not his is consciously perceived by participants or attended to by GSCO's. In its affirmation that people are making a difference, a GSCO also creates a system in which it is genuinely responsive to its members and constituents, and which empowers their participation in achieving important outcomes.

When one is learning to act with authenticity, they are also attempting or transcend their own limitations. People speak of not only acting upon, but being transformed by the mission : At an individual level, this is involved with the willingness for self-discovery, for operating at the uncomfortable edge of one's competence and learning what needs to be done in the moment one is doing it. This can be both exhilarating and frightening. GSCO's appear to support and encourage individuals for stretching to risk a new challenge or champion a new project. So at TNC, one said that the risk was not for failing, but for not trying, and IPPNW finds ways to encourage its younger and junior members to take ownership of projects while simultaneously providing community support.

At ICA, authenticity is realized in the individual emphasis on reflection and learning, and on attention to "spirit life", which does not imply any specific religion of credo, but on an inward and self-defined spirituality. Spirit life is realized through metaphor, story, and song; it is *"... that which touches you in deep places and brings forth your care."* In an affirmative statement about the ways in which spirit life would be experienced in the future, they say : *"Personal spirit life is encouraged, nurtured, and challenged in a rich corporate [here referring to community, not corporation] dialogue that pushes the wonder, glory and depth of what it means to be human."* And as an organization whose practice in community development is partially that of teaching and learning, their commitment to personal study and reflection is an important part of their spirit life. In the context of community development work, they work towards *"... transformation of organizations, communities and individuals... with a holistic and long range orientation."* In the context of their own learning, they hope for a similar kind of personal transformation through their efforts in working and learning together.

Finally, at THP, there is a *"tough love"* quality to authenticity; an unwillingness to act in ways that are not representative of their highest, most authentic self. Authenticity is achieved by going beyond what is comfortable and risking creative insights and *"break-through"* in with the possibility of ending hunger. There is a sense of demanding that one be *"the best that they can be"*, of acting deliberately upon the promises they have made. As the case study reveals, to live authentically is not to be limited by automaticity of habit and buy-in to the assumptions of the past; it is having

people say brutally honest and tough things when one is not "on purpose" or is interfering with the ability of self or others to keep a promise. Finally it is "... to live responsibly, to be accountable for all the circumstances surrounding one's existence"

"We support people to be who they are. We don't support their problems, their pettiness, their worries. Some people allow terrible circumstances to come into their life. They're late because they missed the subway, their car broke down, the dog got sick. We don't listen to apologies. Guilt is too cheap an emotion to carry the day. It won't produce the necessary action. The lesson is, we are responsible for the persistence of hunger. We are responsible for the end of hunger. We are responsible for being on time. More gets done out of responsibility than guilt." [As quoted in Barrett, Fry and Wilmot, 1989]

Finally, the organizational outcome of the organizing principle of authenticity in GSCO's is that of *contextual knowledge* (Etzioni, 1968). It is important for GSCO's to be able to collect, synthesize and distribute knowledge that will promote action on behalf of their mission. The knowledge that they collect and produce is integrated or encompassing knowledge. They value, collect and promote empirical and rational knowledge which informs the intellect and adds to the understanding of the global issue being addressed; at the same time they consciously use and promote the use of art, music, drama, and metaphor as the medium of a symbolic language which facilitates knowledge. (Barrett & Cooperrider, 1987; Srivasta & Barrett, 1988; Judge, 1989; Westley, 1989). For example, the IPPNW curriculum at its congresses includes many papers on medical consequences of nuclear war (immunological effects of radiation, for example). However, they also pay attention to having contests among affiliate members for music, video spots, poster art, which capture the power of their message for the members and for world leaders. Affiliates may put together peace concerts, plant trees to create peace parks, and annually float paper lanterns on August 6 in commemoration of Hiroshima.

While objective, rational and empirical data is very useful and valued, it is still a simplification or reduction of reality; it is only when granted interpretation, meaning and context that it becomes capable of transforming and activating effort. And GSCO's lend such information context by paying attention to symbolic acts and processes which provide a meaningful gestalt. Symbolic processes represented by metaphor, art and drama transcend barriers of understanding, engage the emotion and unleash passion, they are in some ways more accurately reflective of the internal experience of the participant than more "objective" knowledge. It activates a kind of aesthetic moment in which there is a profound integration of reason and emotion (Dewey, 1934). It may be that this is what awakens people from collective numbness and inspires committed action and authenticity even in the face of overwhelming challenges. And to the extent that they do attend to this aspect, GSCO's can awaken a will to engage in learning, feedback, and self-discovery to act on the issues at hand.

There is evidence that all GSCO's deliberately engage in symbolic processes which transform collective awareness of global realities and potentialities, evoking some affective response on the part of the participant. Sometimes, these are specific events such as rock concerts or other performances which will manage attention toward the

vision desired by the GSCO. TNC publishes full color photographs of the lands and wildlife they are working to save in each publication, and early on included lyrical and descriptive prose describing wildlife and natural areas. Symbolic processes may be highly oriented towards creation of highly unique language for its members, as when ICA speaks of "corporateness" or THP speaks of "truing" or "breakthrough". For ICA, symbolic processes are an integral part of spirit life, but also speak to the contextual accuracy of the knowledge: "ICA's spirit is the creation of poetic ways to look at reality that allows a person to experience life fully through the use of such tools like the conversation method, the charting and the song creation. All we do is help people face life as it is." And the case study for THP strongly asserts that the entire *raison d'être* of the organization is to manage and focus collective attention and awareness concerning the possibility of ending hunger. Indeed, a key conclusion of the study is that in THP, symbolic processes of vocabulary formation less a by-product than a key organizing principle, that THP may have:

"... at its technological and ideological core, the task of managing and transforming members' attention to ensure that at every moment members are aware of how their actions contribute to desired outcomes, how these actions can create generative and unintended consequences, and how deliberations are guided and limited by past actions and assumptions." (Barrett, Fry and Wilmot, 1989, p. 8)

It appears that as GSCO's synthesize and produce knowledge which integrates the aesthetic and empirical, the objective and subjective, the rational and the intuitive, they can awaken the interest and capture the passion of those they hope to influence. To the extent that individuals are acting in authentic ways with respect to their relationships with one another and their purpose while attending to processes of self-discovery and transformation, they are creating the conditions in which knowledge can be made collectively available, synthesized, and produced for their members, clients and general publics. Contextual knowledge which is broadly encompassing of this integration is a necessary prerequisite to action, which is the last theme revealed in the case study data.

Action

The fifth organizing principle is that of action. Hannah Arendt draws a distinction between action and work in her concept of "vita activa". Work involves the making of a thing or product. Action, on the other hand, is "... the only activity that goes directly between men without the intermediary of things or matter, corresponds to the human condition of plurality, to the fact that men, not Man live on the earth and inhabit the world." (Arendt, 1985, p. 7). It is in action that the cumulative effect of all the other principles realized. Indeed, in all of the GSCO's, the principle organizational product or outcome is action in Arendt's sense of the term.

Every aspect of the organization is geared to encouraging action. They value taking risks in service of the mission, and allow individuals to champion new ideas or projects, often seeing them through until completion in a leadership role. Jobs are frequently flexible, allowing people to help one another by contributing talents or skills. Thus, TNC is organized in a semi-structured matrix where

some country program managers have a functional expertise (such as stewardship or science) and others do not, requiring CPM's without the skill required to involve the person who has it; the nature of this involvement is in quarterly meetings of regional program teams. And in IPPNW, people cross boundaries and functions to help each other on many projects, and new hires are observed for evidence of talents and skills that they are later given opportunities to use. In considering each person the 'source', that is the entire Hunger Project, THP grants the freedom to do or provide whatever is observed as being missing in a situation to enhance the possibility of ending hunger.

GSCO's are entrepreneurial in their attention to action. There is a sense that obstacles will not stand in the way, that they are simply a challenge to be met. Each GSCO established this in its own way. Both ICA and THP interviews reflected the importance of being able to discern in any "mess" those critical barriers which needed to be overcome, with strong attempts to find a way to achieve goals that others might find intractable, as in the commitment to breakthrough. And at TNC, one person said: I think there is a corporate sense of optimism — a sort of can-do attitude. You come to a problem, and it's not a hand-wringing way, "Why won't this work?", but, "How can we make this work?..." I am the most optimistic guy around because everything they said didn't work means that they are not going to try to work on it very hard. That is exactly what we think we can make work, and we do."

The ability to act, to exert effort and see results that have had impact not only in the organization, but on global objectives, enhances individual feelings of *potency*. It also enhances self-esteem as the realization and affirmation of core values. People feel that they are in charge of their lives, that they are Origins and not Pawns (DeCharms, 1968). People at ICA spoke of the way in which they tried to achieve this kind of empowerment in the communities with whom they worked. The sense of being able to make a difference, and being able to help others become similarly self-sufficient and empowered to make a difference, is an important aspect of each GSCO: in the TNC's work with Latin American NGO's, in ICA's work in community development, in IPPNW's work with affiliates and individual physicians, vocabulary and actors to end hunger. In some ways, it seems as though some GSCO's are designed in accordance with some of the attributes necessary for an active society (Etzioni, 1968). That is, individuals are aware, committed and potent in realizing purposes that are closely aligned with those of the organization. They are not alienated victims of processes beyond their control or capacity for influence — their opinions and ideas are sought, valued, discussed, and often acted upon. They have voice in organizational decisions. Organizationally, there are concomitant normative control mechanisms (alignment and attunement) as well as mechanisms for consensus formation (ways of staying in touch with the collective will from the "bottom up").

Just as the individual effect of heightened capacity for action is *potency*, the organizational effect is that of *achievement and prestige*. Individual GSCO's gain a reputation for what they are able to demonstrate they have actually accomplished. To the extent they are granted legitimacy through their achievement, so they are also able to attract donors, grants, volunteers, and prestigious board members. The organization's prestige appears to be related to its access to critically important interpersonal

and professional networks for fundraising.

Several of the GSCO's we studied seemed to utilize their prestige as an important way of achieving their goals. Physicians, for example, represent a prestigious profession. In any community from tribal to urban, they are usually granted a great deal of respect and deference. They are highly credible; generally, they are perceived as having specialized knowledge and expertise, power over life and death. They are trustworthy because they are concerned with curing illness and maintaining health, and they are a powerful sub-group of almost every society. Part of IPPNW's success is due to the relationship of the Soviet and American co-presidents, both cardiologists of great renown who met at an international medical conference. And much of the reason for their access to Gorbachev has been that Dr. Chazov was the highest ranking physician in the government. Thus, after only five years of existence, IPPNW was awarded the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize, and this is also lends legitimacy and prestige to the organization.

At TNC, prestige is attached to their achievements, which are reported in each edition of *The Nature Conservancy News*. They focus on the over 4 million acres saved worldwide, of having the largest private preserve system, of membership over 500,000 and of assets which total over \$565 million. Even early in their history, however, much of their success was due to their capacity to attract prestigious board members, nationally and locally. These were individuals who could lend particular specialization (such as ecology or science), financial support, or access to networks which would open doors for attracting interest, clout and funds. And in Latin America, part of the strategy of each NGO with whom TNC is working is to identify and invite the participation of key community leaders and figures on their boards. While TNC and IPPNW are examples of GSCO's who use their prestige to achieve results, this is true of other organizations as well. Prestige is based on results, which attracts resources, enhances achievement and increases prestige.

Having examined each of the five organizing principles which appear to emerge from the case studies, their individual impact and the way in which they support and are supported by organizational processes, it is time to turn to the last question to be addressed. Having described these qualities, in what way are they distinct from other types of business concerns and corporations?

Underlying organizational rationality and the global integrity ethic

What is the fundamental "rationality" or basis for organizing to pursue any collective objective? Prior to the Industrial Revolution, organizations were personalistic, characterized by favoritism, personal loyalties and *sinecure*; the basis of organizing was highly traditional (Perrow, 1986, 1979, 1972). Weber contrasted traditional forms of organizing, based on utilitarian relations among individuals, rules which applied equally to all, and an implied employment contract with authority, vested in a manager by virtue of his or her place in the hierarchy. (Weber, 1987). Weber also hypothesized that the spirit of capitalism was fueled in part by the emergence of a Protestant work ethic. This suggested that work was a calling through which, in the accumulation of material goods and profit, one could find assurance of having been pre-destined to the grace of God

(Weber, 1958). The result was an ethos of Capitalism, an "Invisible Hand" philosophy, in which market forces were attributed almost metaphysical properties in explaining reality. Bureaucratic forms of organization were the result of this rational-legal rationality grounded in the ethos of Capitalism.

More recently, however, we have come to see the limits of this organizing rationality. With time, those who enacted this ethos lost the "habits of the heart" (Bellah, et. al., 1986) or moral center which moderated unbridled ambition, opportunism and acquisition. It could be argued that one counter-reaction to this was the emergence of philanthropic institutions (often founded by prominent industrialists) in the mid-19th century; these frequently reflected a very American "Booster" spirit largely based on pride in community and benefit to her citizens more than charitable intent. (Boorstin, 1987). Nonetheless, business enterprises were unabashedly exploiting natural and human resources in the name of "progress" without much thought about the future implications of their action, and with short term focus on market competition to obtain a profit.

Interestingly, it is also true that bureaucracy, or any aspect of a system which can be described "bureaucratic" is now perceived in great disfavor. Largely, bureaucratic rules and red tape are seen as evil, a root of our problems in global competition (along with inflated labor costs), and largely an impediment people trying to influence outcomes toward their business objectives (and personal interests, c.f. Culbert & McDonough, 1980; see also Perrow, 1972/1979/1986. It is something to be "worked around", not viewed as facilitating work processes. On management shelves in bookstores across the country are books which try to alleviate the effects of bureaucracy : how to achieve a "passion" for excellence through excellent customer service and leadership which affirms employee achievements, heightens commitment and solicits involvement through teamwork. (Peters & Waterman, 1984; Peters & Austin, 1986). It seems that any book title with the word "leader", "entrepreneurial" or "excellence" is sure to be a financial success in this market. Given that organizations today are trying to alleviate some of the negative aspects of bureaucracy, to grant more autonomy and authority especially to their professional (or gold collar) employees, it seems that there may be many more similarities between the internal function of GSCO's and typical corporations. What can account for the distinction of GSCO's as an organizational type?

The answer to this lies in the underlying ethos and types of rationality, which permeate each. Even while some aspects of organizational life might be similar, the distinctions between these organizations at a deep and almost unconscious level mean that even similar functions or processes will be enacted in very different ways, and thus give each a unique character. It is at this level of analysis that the distinctions will be drawn.

The Capitalistic Ethic emphasizes market forces and utilitarian relations; reality is defined in terms of political and economic transactions between competitors which may be corporations as well as nation-states. There are three primary organizing rationalities which establish patterns of governance for organizations with this underlying ethos: *Technical Rationality*, *Organizational Rationality*, and *Political Rationality*. (Scott, Mitchell & Peery, 1981).

Technical rationality has as its primary goal the quality

of efficiency, that is the ability to produce the greatest volume of product at the least cost possible. It accomplishes this through processes of specialization, where individuals only complete specific or discrete tasks related to production of the final product. It is also oriented toward extrinsic, and often financial incentives geared to productivity. In many ways, this way of thinking about organizing resulted from experiments in mass production on factory floors early in the century; more recently, however, such concepts are also applied to the emerging service industry. The desired outcome of technical rationality is profit. Profit is a very important yardstick with which management effectiveness is measured. Because many corporations are owned by shareholders, profit represents the ability to return dividends and increase shareholder value of stock. Many shareholders consider a corporation's ability to increase the value of their holdings as symbolic of managerial effectiveness or ineffectiveness.

Organizational rationality is chiefly concerned with coordination and with methods of administration. This is involved with the capacity of the organization to achieve integration of diverse efforts; where there is specialization, there must be ways of integrating effort or making sure that activities represented by various functions is consistent with the overall mission, objectives and strategy by various organization. One way of accomplishing this integration is through organizational controls such as policies, procedures, managerial supervision, performance review, and various kinds of reporting mechanisms. The principle outcome is productivity, the knowledge that product value has been added and that the integrity of the whole has been maintained.

Legitimacy and justice are the primary goals of a political rationality. These are concerned with fairness and equity. Who can be promoted into a managerial role and who is eligible for what salary? Who has access to information and access to influence decisions? In large part, this is concerned with identifying those who will be granted legitimate authority to guide and direct the efforts of employees and the directions of the organization; it is also concerned with how disputes over the fairness of such processes will be determined — what formal of informal grievance processes will be available when the answer is in dispute. Ability to influence and determine organizational strategy is the desired outcome of political rationality.

Based on the case studies, it may be proposed that GSCO's have a different underlying ethos which will be called a Global Integrity Ethic. The primary goal of this is a service rationality. The organization is acting in service to a global imperative that will affect future generations if left unchecked. It is in service to the integrity and interdependence of the planet — in terms of ecosystems as well as human systems. The very word integrity contains all of these meanings, as shown in the Random House dictionary where it is variously defined as (1) sound, unimpaired, in perfect condition; (2) moral and ethical principles; (3) holistic, containing interdependent parts (1987). GSCO's and those who work within them are responding to all of these perceiving a high moral value in what they are doing. They see themselves in service to a human community.

It can be hypothesized that the presence of this Global Integrity Ethic is what facilitates transnational organizing; that regardless of national, cultural, religious, racial or other differences which typically divide people, trust is built

UNDERLYING ETHOS AND ORGANIZING RATIONALITY

FIGURE 2

CAPITALISTIC ETHIC		GLOBAL	
INTEGRITY ETHIC			
Scott, Mittschel & Perry, Technical (1981)	Organizational Rationality	Political Rationality	Service Rationality
Primary Goal	Efficiency	Coordination	Stewardship
Means	Specializ./Incentives	Integration/Controls	Linking/Connecting
Desired Outcomes	Profit	Productivity	Sustainability
Structure		Bureaucratic	Network
Basis of Knowledge		Empirical/Objective	Empir. & Subjective
Interaction w/Environment		Competition	Collaboration
Type Leadership		Rational-Legal	Charismatic
Authority		Legit/Reward/Coerc.	Info./Community
Decision Making		Autocr./Participative	Consensual
Jobs/Tasks		Delineated/Clear	Flexible/Permeable
Organizational Controls		Mngr./FdBk. /Norms	Alignmt./Attunment.

when this is present. In several of the organizations, there is an apotheosis of an overarching set of values capable of bridging differences and establishing a basis for trust; it is in these that the Global Integrity Ethic is realized. An example is found in the IPPNW. One of the factors that makes transnational organizing for the IPPNW possible is that they share a common base of knowledge, practice and tradition as physicians. Whether from Nigeria or New Zealand, there is a body of knowledge physicians hold in common despite differences in specialization. They have had similar training, and share many traditions. Ethically, the Hippocratic Oath binds all physicians to heal their patient and to do no harm. And, as mentioned previously, physicians are widely viewed as trustworthy and credible sources of information and advice in most societies.

While these medical bonds unite physicians and facilitate organizing transnationally, they are not the same, all physicians would be members of groups such as Physicians for Social Responsibility, the American affiliate of IPPNW. The values which have achieved apotheosis for physicians in the IPPNW are represented in the metaphor of primary intervention. That is, where most doctors treat disease or illness, few doctors in the world today would not warn of the risks of smoking on health. In the same way, physicians in the IPPNW see their work in educating and attracting attention to the necessity of ending the international arms race as a primary intervention in the health of the planet. It viewed as necessary to preventing disease, to reducing the possibility of terminal illness on a global scale. And there is anger at those who continue to promote a globally dangerous addiction to weapons of mass destruction. However, there are still many physicians whose emphasis is not on prevention, but curing the disease after the fact. In this instance, physicians from the IPPNW would argue that there is no treatment after onset; that the only way of

dealing with the threat is prevention. There is a sense of collective outrage about excessive amounts of resources expended internationally for weapons with far less availability by contrast to assure quality of life and basic health-care for millions of people. There is clearly a transcendent ethos which places this derives from the profession of medicine, it is enacted by physicians in IPPNW in ways that demonstrate an overarching concern for the life and health of the planet and the community of peoples who inhabit it.

At ICA, there is also a vision for the whole planet, as when they affirm: "... ICA's revolutionary passion is to transform the planet to... an ethical understanding that all resources, decisions and gifts of the globe belong to all the people... The concept of global collegiality is thus the basis of our personal relationships." (p. 45). There is a sense of "living on behalf of the big picture". They see interconnectedness of villages, communities, cities, states and nations, and act on the principle that whatever does not work well for people in any one area ultimately impacts everyone. This sense of global community, interdependence, and service are shared in each of the GSCO's.

The Global Integrity Ethic is also basis for trust. At TNC, conservation, or what is known as the Land Ethic, is the common "nationality". The Land Ethic, defined in a classic essay by Aldo Leopold which has gained apotheosis at TNC, is the idea that man is subject to the "... same ecological constraints as other species... If we ignore the ecological facts of life and act as if we really had conquered nature, sooner or later nature will get even... [questions must be examined] in terms of what is ethically and esthetically right, as well as what is economically expedient. A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise." As an example of the way in which a shared ethos such as the Land Ethic can transcend cross-

cultural differences, the following quote represents an eloquent story by a very new country program who was sent to a particular Latin American country for a year to work with their partner NGO.

"... there were times I expressed myself more as a North American rather than the way I was trying to express myself, as a friend who fits into the community... I feel that the relationship is strong enough and these people are high enough quality professionals greatly committed to the work that they are doing, that they look away from one or two things I might have done as a pushy gringo... I think people who can be successful cross-culturally are people working for something other than themselves. If you're working for a cause or working for the people you're working with, if they know that and express that, you'll be successful, even if you don't speak the language or know the customs as well, they'll give you slack because they know you care, doing something to benefit the country or them.

Where service rationality is the primary goal of the Global Integrity Ethic, the principle means through which it is achieved is linking and connecting people from widely diverse cultures, bridging differences and building trust. This is absolutely essential given the interdependence of the problems and issues themselves — they are all intertwined and cannot be resolved by any one group or nation. Thus, TNC has as deliberate goal of its training and fellowship programs various kinds of networking : linking people from Latin American NGO's with state chapters to gain training, access to resources and enhance awareness of global conservation; linking NGO representatives from Latin America with other such representatives so that they have a support group and set of role models who are not "gringos". IPPNW focuses on its biannual international congress, with regional meetings in the off years, and also has various other programs to connect physicians who are travelling to other parts of the world with IPPNW colleagues in that area. ICA also has international conferences which link people working with various training and community development technologies in different parts of the world. Global interdependence is facilitated by the increasing availability of organized forums for dialogue between people from diverse cultures who share a common concern.

The gifts of technology are fully utilized by GSCO's as one way of maintaining such linkages. Examples include the global meeting held by THP via satellite mentioned earlier in this paper. TNC has its Heritage programs and CDC data bases, a body of scientific data which is widely shared and perceived as a credible source for cooperative action. IPPNW is close to realizing its SatelLife program. It will soon launch a satellite which will make possible a global electronic network of medical information. In mobile units about the size of a backpack, it utilizes a lap-sized computer connected to small radio transmitter/receivers. The network will include medical libraries and data bases, clinics and medical centers so that health professionals in rural areas of developing countries will be able to obtain information that will enable them to provide effective treatments for their patients; it will also facilitate disaster relief efforts such as those in Armenia. The availability of technology and the importance of creating interpersonal links reflecting the common interest and interdependence of all people are critical ways in which connections are established and networks maintained.

Finally, the most desired outcome of the service rationality is that of global sustainability. This was defined in the Brundtland Commission report as the ability to derive economic livelihood from the land in ways that do not endanger the future availability of those resources (1987). But sustainability is also a word which is in "fad" right now, and in some development projects, people cringe when they hear the word. This is because sustainability is increasingly defined (especially by "helpers" from the industrialized world) as the amount of time it takes for a project to achieve its own financial viability; it is a tool for measurement in end-of-project reports. It is also a word whose meaning at a conceptual international level is quite different from working issues of sustainability on the land in a community.

Increasingly, the term must come to include the notion not only of economic sustainability, but cultural and political sustainability as well (Brown, 1990). Cooperative development work must honor and be consistent with the traditional wisdom and culture of the people for whom it is being performed. And institutional systems of governance within community and country must be influenced in such a way that development interventions which work can be sustained in the long term.

Thus, the goal of a service rationality is global sustainability in people-centered forms which are also "... just... and inclusive of all people... Authentic development action is pro-people and pro-environment. It contributes simultaneously to increased human well-being and environmental sustainability. Neither can be measured in purely economic terms. The people centered vision embraces a strong sense of community, and of pride in place and heritage... People and their local environmental resource base become the point of departure for development action-people using their own resources to meet their own needs." (Korten, 1989, p. 4). This is the vision of sustainability which GSCO's seem to share, and which is the desired outcome of the service rationality.

There means of accomplishing this outcome is through stewardship. This term has different connotations than the term "manage", though the meaning of management is contained within the term. Stewardship refers to caring for something on behalf of another; it is long term and seems related to the idea of generativity reviewed earlier. One is a caretaker, a nurturer, driven by a desire to maintain an inheritance for one's children and their progeny, clearly a fiduciary responsibility. Paradoxically, stewardship also connotes a sense of the temporary nature of the role — one is protecting a resource until a new generation can assume the responsibility. Paradoxically, stewardship also is protecting a resource until a new generation can assume the responsibility. One does not "become" a steward in the same way that one becomes a manager; one simply is a steward if they choose to act and live in ways that assure sustainability of planet and her communities.

In conclusion, this article proposes that GSCO's are a distinct organizational form because they are vitalized by an ethic of Global Integrity which is substantively different than the ethic of Capitalism which characterizes most business organizations. It is also different from non-profit associations who form for some political purpose related to local interest or individual rights. While GSCO's may act at times in political ways, the underlying ethos is different. That is not to say that GSCO's are not concerned with effi-

ciency, that they do not find it in their interest to attend to administration and coordination, and that they are not concerned with productivity and strategy as they define them. Nor is it to say that business organizations could care less about service — many organizations are excellent providers of service to customers and clients (c.f. books authored or co-authored by Tom Peters for examples of excellent service and customer relations). Indeed, Harrison equates service in organizations as an expression of attunement, which he also refers to as processes of love and care. And organizations have become very involved with networking, with ways of cooperating in joint partnerships with their competitors. The argument is that the expression of a service rationality in an organization with an ethos of Capitalism is different than its expression as a *primary* goal within GSCO's. And the expression of technical, organizational and political rationality in GSCO's will be different-within a GSCO. This article does not and cannot discuss all of the ways in which these differences are expressed because there is just too little yet known from the four pilot studies; hopefully, this will be a concern of future research efforts. If the first proposition of this article is that GSCO's do represent a distinct organizational types because of the substantive difference is their underlying ethos, the second is that there are some distinct characteristics which describe these organizational types. Organizing principles of alignment, attunement, affirmation, authenticity and action are hypothesized to be key attributes of GSCO's.

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The Language of Networks

by Christian de Laet *

There are now a large number of subdisciplines concerned with networking — the network processors, the network regulators, the network reservoir specialists, the flow specialists, the cybernetic networkers — and as a result, networks are not easily amenable to uniform definition.

From a practical point of view, it may be easier to think of the expression « networking » as a metaphor, rather than as a clearly defined image of a particular reality. As a metaphor, networking can claim the attention and seize the imagination as a wisdom applied to the understanding and the undertaking of complex, interactive, often organic-like processes. *Sapientia sed non scientia*: it is necessary to back intuitive wisdom with « knowing », even if not, at this stage, of a scientific kind.

To be sure, there is a physical reality to networks in more limited technological realms than those covered by the image. We will address those shortly, such as in telecommunications networks. But networks of any kind compel us to remember that « techné » is the Greek for « art », not for material physical tool: an appropriate distinction.

Networks can be imagined and imaged in terms of nets and weaves and interconnected patterns and displays; maps of concepts, isomorphic maps of problems, locating nodes and gauging the kind and the degree of their interconnectedness and interactivity. If network nodes and links are not processing information or « transformation », the support system calls for the image of a grid more than that of a network.

Many sets of questions can be asked of and about networks: What are the nodes doing? Are they consuming or generating goods or services on the links between them? Are any nodes, and for what reason, changing patterns of operation into hierarchical forms, or of hybrids for accidental purpose or by design? Should networks contain their own regulatory processes; should they develop their own ongoing tests of relevance, of timeliness of appropriateness of response to the challenges which gave rise to them. Or are networks a spontaneous response of humans, as an expression of unvoiced instincts not completely overcome by the institutional « organisation » of modern developments. In the imagery we have proposed, information is to networks what water, chloroplast or blood is in the natural realm. The analogy could be profit-

ably followed through to see if it cannot produce interesting lateral insights into the functioning of networks.

In spite of the impressionistic strength of the network concept, hierarchical modes of organisation and of functioning are there for all to see in Nature and other non-human biotic processes such as in food chains. This suggests that the natural world may be operating with a «two-mix» system of varying proportions and complexity, as the occasion demands. We have not yet made the epistemological proof of the natural order, nor even of the human conditions. Networks might thus be better left for the moment to the realm of imagery.

Throughout this mass of elements, of phenomena that we perceive of a «network» kind, we must be concerned with searching diligently for a body of knowledge which would encompass them. Are there some immanent structural truths, some useful taxonomies, some predictable behavior related to networks? Very little work appears to have been done on the subject : we have tended to assume the notion of network as we have that of development, that it must be good and, therefore, that we must be for it at the risk of dismissal from polite society (Polis, the Greek for the city). We know now, and we have had our suspicions for a while already, that «yes or no» answers as to the Good or the Bad are not plausible, much less sustainable about the world around us and our organisation of it. Our knowledge base is simply too fragile, if not inexistant in many domains. The unquestioned assertion of Right can only come, in the human realm, from leaders who happen to be dominant at a particular time, in particular time and space frames and circumstances, and for specific purposes that, consciously, have nothing to do with human survival as a species.

Anthropologists and sociologists have worked on social networks — for example on kinship relations —. But in terms of functional organizational networks, we know very little. A group of people who do have considerable knowledge of networks, but who do not normally discuss or write about them are electronic engineers, railway timetable specialists, airline schedulers, and taxi dispatchers. They are essentially networkers who have empirical knowledge about networks, but this knowledge has little to do with graph theory, theory of structures, of dissipative structures, of lattice theory, of fuzzy sets and other bodies of mathematical work which can claim reference to networks.

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None of it seems to have permeated the planning and the organisation of our daily societal activities.

It is possible that network is not even an all-encompassing image but simply what we think we see of a specific environment, from a particular point of view; that networks cannot be defined from a structural, much less a knowledge basis. In fact, when practitioners and theoreticians consider networks, the definitions used in their respective disciplines often conflict with one another. A mathematician would object if you suggested that a lattice was really a type of network; you might hear them talk about the theory of fuzzy sets, but contrary to what many might think, it is a very precise theory about a very specific concept. Very often in networks you have to deal with fuzzy sets and with degrees of fuzziness, of variation, of oscillation, of alternances as it applies to the various structural elements of nodes and of links.

Legitimate suspicions can be expressed about the critical mass of knowledge we have about networks: do we know enough about them to speak with any kind of authority. Are we willing to enter caveats in our assertions, yet talk about them and act on the basis of workable hypotheses. Perhaps we should take the pragmatic view of defining them in terms of our present knowledge. For example, what can be done with networks? How should we view them, and should we develop a body of theory about them? Since it fits more comfortably to jack up the floor below one's own beliefs, perhaps we must go ahead on the basis of what we know now.

People have generally developed a greater affinity for structures and hierarchies than for networks. This may be rooted in some instinct such as for territoriality, dominance, aggression. A good case for networks can be made in terms of their relationship to wider and established systems. A wide range of concepts can be associated with networks, as we have already noted: the mathematics of networks, with theories on graphs, dissipative structures and the like. The qualitative aspect of network analysis appears also as a fruitful domain: can we define some attributes of networks in terms of centrality, coherence, range, content, directedness, durability, intensity, frequency, and so on.

The variety and the diversity surrounding the network concept is evidenced at meetings and discussions between theoreticians and practitioners of networking. Typically, the participants include mathematicians, electronic engineers, psychologists, neurophysiologists, and neurosurgeons (who must know a lot about networks : when there are dozens of billion of neurons, presumably more or less connected in a human head, we may confidently speak of a network problem !). Such specialist in the inner worlds of minds and machines talk to practicing networkers — farm specialists, church groups and spiritualists, and the rest — including taxi drivers. Two questions are inevitably raised : concerning the performance of networks and, second, concerning their vulnerability to a host of obstacles. To what extent does a network node, an outpost node perhaps, become vulnerable ? It's a question national defence people must be interested in... Now many strands of communication can a node lose before it ceases to be effective as part of the network? Now many telephone or other communication links could we afford to lose around, say, a Distant Early Warning station before that particular outpost stops being useful? Such questions indicate that much of the richness of the discussion on networks is gained by

having meetings between theorists and practitioners.

Another element in the development of indicators to mark the advances, or otherwise, of the network process has to do with actual practical experience — the record of the history of successes and failures in networking. For instance, transnational corporations are deemed an extraordinary success of the network process. Intergovernmental committees and international cooperation groups, particularly the UN type, are networks that are often failures in terms of problem-solving. In the work they carry out to insure global peace and security, they often play primarily a placatory role where participants are mere antennas of the institutional egos of the group they represent, in their attempt to nudge themselves into greater strategic advantage: networking on behalf of the Organisation in which they piously profess a belief, is not even, any longer, an expected outcome; seldom is networking used as a constructive, positive consensus making device.

In some urban situations, networking can be seen as a functionally effective substitute, or at least a complement, to more rigid and structured systems of centralized hierarchies. This is not new. We have always had interdepartmental committees or interfaculty committees, and clearly these are *ad hoc* networks designed for a particular purpose; but are they really operating networks? We all have had some experience in intergovernmental or generally potential links exist, but is not behaving effectively as a live, interactive network, as we have already said. It is worth repeating that only too often the attendance is made up of people who are merely representing the institutional ego of their sponsoring organizations. They are not really putting themselves into the mindset nor the spirit required to engage the requisite level of communication to make a network work, and the result is therefore predictable, as a failure to plan and to structure a functioning, serviceable network.

There are many networks embedded in hierarchical systems and, at the same time, there are many hierarchies that have the opportunity of creating networks. The art of networking effectively over a period of time is related to the attributes and to the role of its leadership. But the fact that leadership is frequently concentrated in one node for reasons of personal interest, or because of particular competence, or a particular problem form, does not mean that the node should assume a continuing position of primacy or superiority. The great failure of our urban systems, and most of our operating systems, is that the person or group with a functional leadership role to play should not necessarily take over a power role in the wider-reaching decision-making structure, beyond the limits of the network's system boundaries. Ideally, networking often involves the withdrawal of a person from a hierarchically superior role to a peer relationship with network members after his function has been carried out. In the light of operations research, cybernetics, Buddhist economics, or any kind of frontline social or economic theory, such a changing relationship is more effective than creating permanent hierarchical systems for a particular purpose, which then have a tendency to maintain themselves over and beyond their useful life. However, credibility is another concern: how credible can a network be when you cannot pinpoint those in authority and hold them to account?

We know little about the strategy of operating networks, and even less about the evaluative mechanisms to test their usefulness. Generally speaking this is because

people will not easily let go of their institutionalized, hierarchical perches and 'fly' in a network mode, trusting their wing design, their latent power nor their inner intentions. They behave much like parrots, or other such birds which clutch on a branch and simply don't let go unless they have their claws on another. We need to be 'looser' in the appreciation we have of ourselves, in our self-confidence and there is a great challenge in using networks in order to *"get there and let it all hang out"*.

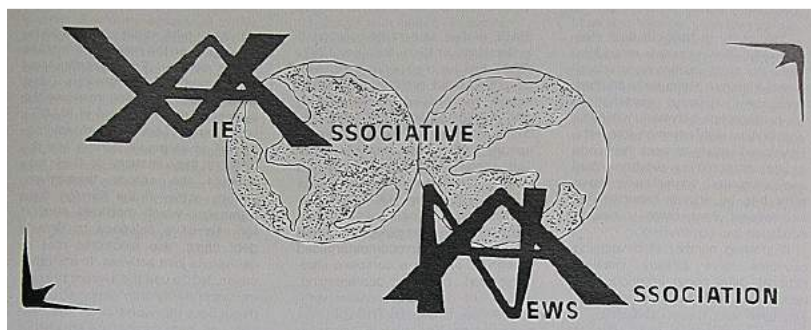
The exploratory stance referred to is closely related to the question of creativity and innovation. It is generally conceded that any kind of organization, structured or not, individually or collectively, can be the locus of inventiveness. But are traditional «hierarchy-only» structures capable of innovating? That is, of taking, say, a social invention such as schooling, marriage, public transportation or health, and actually innovating on the basis of actual practices. Do networks have a greater capacity than traditional organizational forms to trigger and generate innovation, let alone invention? There is simply no doubt in anyone's mind that many of our societal institutions have reached the peak of their efficiency some time ago, that we are in need, not of cosmetic, surface improvements, but of deep structural and attitudinal change. Change or chance? Many cities are stuck into evolutionary dead-ends in terms of urban organization and of financial viability. Of course, vested interests and «tunnel visioners» deny that we are facing a long period of instability; they won't acknowledge that we have used up most of the built-in resilience of natural and of some man-made systems. They can't be asked to see it, because they haven't been trained look for it. The personal suspicion they may have that there is another world out there is not matched by the responsive awareness that they have a responsibility to look beyond their professional and experiential boundaries. Bureaucrats and administrators, technocrats and other meritocrats, politicians are either closed to the underlying problématiques, or they are willfully refusing to *«raise the lid of Pandora's Box»*. The image of a city as a spatial spread calls for an image in geometry: extend the radius of your perceptions and you increase the surface of your commitment by a square function; the volume of the problems generated will

likely increase as a cube function. We could add that the inertia of the resistance to the required change will likely rise to the fourth power!

Until recently, we could count on a reserve of residual strengths, of alternative pathways, of escape mechanisms, of bypass systems, and of shunting systems to do patchwork and to lure us in the belief that the social systems were essentially stable. But our political, economic, cultural, social, and financial institutions are simply so hierarchically structured and reduced to myriads of apparently innocuous «yes or no» decisions, that they are unable to interact sufficiently to meet the complexity of today's problems nor the uncertainty attached to the existing problem-solving processes. We are in an evolutionary cul-de-sac.

Canadians as a whole simply do not yet feel pressed enough, nor constrained enough in their urban expectations, to look hard at other systems and at alternative options. With regard to urban innovations, there is a muted belief that people must be in charge, somewhere : don't we pay enough taxes as it is? We do not feel committed to take action other than through support or otherwise of our democratically elected politicians? Surely, nothing more drastic is needed!... We certainly need to raise the alarm if our house is on fire, at the risk of passing for alarmists. We must create that sense of emergency in order to start building a framework for urban networks... and renewal. Perhaps we can start by a literature search and case studies from here and elsewhere, pinpointing a number of issues relating to the activities of existing networks in various communities, whether these have been a success or a failure, and of trying to establish new networking initiatives to assist these issues towards a satisfactory, durable, sustainable outcome.

We must look at the network phenomenon because sole reliance on the established institutional systems simply reduces our capacity to « see » solutions to an unworkable, an unacceptably low, degree. We need to explore the kind of creative and innovative processes, and mechanisms (shades of Newton?) that are available through a network approach, in order to unblock the constraints on planning, on decision-making, on managing our living on this *« Only One Earth »*.



Local NGOs and regionalization: A dual challenge to International Associations

The state system is again in a state of flux in which some areas are integrating (as in Europe) and other areas are disintegrating (as in independence aspirations in the Soviet Union and in ethnic and national movements in other parts of the world). This is a challenge to NGOs because they wish to be responsive to changing political borders so that they can exercise influence in the inter-state system. At the same time, however, the traditional tendency of NGOs to organize themselves in the image of the state system is being challenged by new kinds of local movements. One prominent example is the European-based Towns and Development movement in which hundreds of European towns and cities are directly linked with towns and cities in the Third World in collaborative development programs. Furthermore, these sister-city programs have banded together in an international movement. Other examples of this "Think Globally and Act Locally" approach are the nuclear free zone, infant formula and Anti-Apartheid movements. A very significant feature of these movements is the fact that

they are increasingly involving local and provincial governments in their activities. An indicator of the growth of this approach was the appearance of the *Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy* in 1986.

As NGOs ponder the appropriate response to changes in the state system, as in the case of European integration, it is important that this concern be balanced by concern for peoples movements which are bypassing in the state systems. It would seem that we are moving into an era in which all levels of government will be directly involved in world affairs as they respond to the direct world involvements of local movement.

Although the present flux in the state system, and increasing direct involvement of local movement and governments in world affairs, is presenting difficult challenges to certain traditions in international associations, this is indeed a time of great opportunity. One of the great shortcomings of international associations has always been the difficulty of mobilizing grassroots support and participation. As a result, active

membership and leadership of many international associations has tended to consist of a few devoted members located in a few primate cities. But now new potential is emerging for building a stronger grassroots base in international associations. Strategies must be found to forge links between new movements in towns, cities and provinces and more traditional international associations. This will offer a healthy balance to regionalization where there will be tendencies to link together people in "centers" and to ignore those in the "peripheries".

In other words, international associations must be responsive to changes in the state system, but at the same time they must be responsive to the fact that the people of the world are exhibiting remarkable creativity in transcending that system. It is consistent with the true spirit of UIA traditions to work with, and even facilitate, this new grassroots internationalism.

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Alternex: A Computer-Based Network by and for NGOs

The ability to transmit data electronically, allowing people around the globe to send messages or documents from one computer to another, presents tremendous opportunities for collaboration between individuals and groups with common interests. Developed largely to meet the needs of large corporations, electronic mail and computer conferencing have proved to be equally important for international cooperation, science, education and government.

A growing number of developing countries have already installed national data communication systems and electronic mail systems. Yet, even with these capabilities, a common problem is high cost of international computer-based communication-up to twenty times the cost in industrialized countries. There are two main reasons for this expense: most electronic mail systems are based in the United States or Europe, requiring an expensive international data communications connection; and royalty fees and hardware used for electronic mail drive up the price of this service. These high costs generally mean that such services are unaffordable to most academic and private users, and to non-profit organizations. But now non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Brazil have discovered a low-cost way to enjoy the benefits of computer networking.

The Brazilian Experiment

In Rio de Janeiro, a research group known as IBASE (the Portuguese acronym for Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analysis), which carries out socio-economic analysis in collaboration with labor unions, church groups, slum dwellers associations and other community groups, has been one of the first Brazilian NGOs to use microcomputers for research and data communications. In fact, IBASE has stimulated many other NGOs throughout Latin America to use these tools.

Since the mid-1980s, IBASE has been able to communicate via computer with several Latin American and European NGOs through a commercial service known as Genet. But this system required all communications to be routed through London, at considerable expense, even when

IBASE wished to contact colleagues in Santiago or Lima. So since 1987, IBASE has been experimenting with electronic mail systems that would permit cheaper information-sharing with partner organizations and academic institutions and that it could operate and maintain itself.

It soon made contact with the Institute for Global Communications (IGC), a U.S.-based NGO devoted to the application of low-cost and small-scale computer technology. IGC had developed a microcomputer-based system to operate a complete electronic mail, computer conferencing, and on-line data base service, without the need to subscribe to commercial services. The system has been successfully implemented to link up approximately 5,000 activists and NGOs in more than 70 countries through its two main computer networks: PeaceNet, which is devoted to peace and disarmament issues, and EcoNet, which is devoted to environmental concerns.

The collaboration between IBASE and IGC resulted in the proposal to install a similar system, which would be automatically linked to IGC's international computer network. The project, known as Alternex, received financial support from the United Nations Development Program and from a private Italian donor agency.

In July 1989, only a few months after approval of the project, Alternex was fully operating 24 hours a day. Today, more than 130 individual and group users in Brazil and abroad participate in the network, and this number is increasing daily. Users pay a monthly fee, the equivalent of about US \$7.50, which includes one hour of on-line connection. On-line connection runs approximately \$5 per hour, cheaper than nearly all other electronic mail services. Any computer equipment, from small personal computers costing as little as \$300 in the international market to the terminal of a large mainframe system, can be used when connecting with Alternex. The connection can be made through standard telephone lines, by using a modem in conjunction with the computer terminal or by using a special line for data communications.

Most Alternex users rely on electronic mail and computer conferences as a way to coordinate regional

activities with their counterparts, reaching even the most remote areas of the country. For example, local environmental organizations that mobilize their own resources use the system to make inquiries of IBASE's computerized directory of environmental development donors and the projects they finance, or they may conduct the search themselves. Groups active in the Foreign Debt Campaign, which mobilizes support for alternative solutions to Brazil's debt crisis, use electronic mail to coordinate joint activities. In still other cases, NGOs use the system to communicate easily with donor agencies throughout the world or as the cheapest and most appropriate channel to distribute their news clippings or press releases. Several NGOs are also acting as « community E-mail agencies», providing electronic communication services to small local groups, permitting interaction with their counterparts around the world. And, through IBASE's international connection, Alternex users can now link up with the 4,500 users of the PeaceNet and EcoNet systems, as well as to commercial services.

How the System works

The system designed by IGC combines low-cost, standardized computer equipment based on the new generation of IBM-compatible machines with software it has developed in collaboration with Community Data Processing, another NGO. The tremendous increase in the power of microprocessors in personal computers today made it possible to design such sophisticated software. As a result, the new system has all the capabilities of mainframe computer messaging systems now in use throughout the United States, Europe and Japan, but the hardware costs only about \$15,000 - about one-tenth the cost of a mainframe system - and the software is free to NGOs which collaborate with IGC. Unlike the centralized systems used by the large commercial telecommunications services, this microcomputer-based system distributes the message to whatever service can deliver it quickly and cheaply. One microcomputer-based system can served a limited geographical

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region, but each regional system can interconnect with any other regional system. A primary advantage to this arrangement is that it avoids the previously high cost of international communications connection. The concept behind the Alternex system is that the user never needs to make an international connection, no matter where he is. Users make a local call, but still address their electronic mail internationally. The local messaging system collects the international mail, bundles and compresses it, then sends it to the appropriate foreign messaging system for dis-

tribution using a special high-speed connection, and therefore affordable for groups with limited resources.

A second advantage is that regional systems can be tailored to serve the specific interests and needs of its users. Different language capabilities, different information resources, different command menus are all possible. Presently, the Alternex system menus are available in English, Spanish and Portuguese, while a facility that will allow users to switch from one language to another has just been implemented.

Finally, although most commercial

electronic mail services will not link up users across different networks other than their own, the present system allows different systems to exchange messages, including various commercial services and the hundreds of academic computer networks, as well as fax and telex. And, with advances in telecommunications that allows the transmission of data practically error-free, even using poor quality telephone lines, remote areas in the some of the least developing countries now enjoy the possibility of communication via computer.

Elsewhere in Latin America

The Alternex project in Brazil is only one among many examples of computer networking among research and development organizations Latin America. But in contrast to Alternex, most rely on US- and European-based electronic mail services for inter-country connections. Following is a sample of other activities in the region:

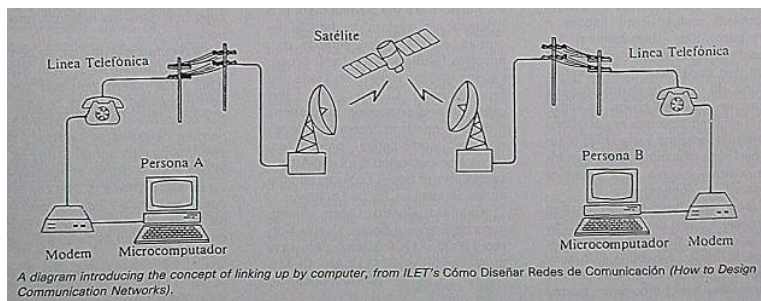
— Eight Latin American research institution involved in the United Nations University Biotechnology Research Project on Brucella, a bacterial disease which afflicts animals, are using microcomputers and an electronic mail system to communicate among themselves and with cooperating institutions outside the region. A recent evaluation indicated that users exchanged about 16 messages and submitted three entries discussing their findings to the ongoing computer conference

each month.

— Since 1985, the Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (ILET) in Santiago, Chile, has played a leading role in experimenting with electronic mail and computer conferencing and in encouraging other non-governmental organizations in the region to follow suit. In the process, it identified the technical, legal, and economic conditions necessary to permit computer networking. It has also produced a well-illustrated booklet in Spanish, *How to Design Communication Networks*, based on its experience in establishing computer links with NGO research centers in Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Mexico for joint research projects. A follow-up effort will test and evaluate software packages used within the Latin American Trade Information Network. In addition, ILET coordinates

Latin American participation in Interdoc, a global computer network of non-governmental researchers active around labor and economic concerns, and document its networking experience in Interdoc's monthly bulletin, *Contract-O*, published in both English and Spanish.

— ILET's sister institute by the same name in Mexico City has also carried out an experimental effort linking four Mexican universities via electronic mail. University researchers compiling databases on subjects such as medicine; literature, desert plants, and communications are using the system to eliminate duplication of effort and to share methodologies. As part of the project, ILET has published a directory of databases produced by Mexican institutions.



Still, the full potential of such systems have yet to be exploited. A study by Soledad Robinson of ILET-Mexico showed that a generally low level of computer literacy and the

lack of awareness of available information sources hindered use of existing computer-based information systems. Stronger efforts are needed to increase awareness

about the capabilities of information systems and to provide training in operations.

André Roussi
(Development Communication
Rapport 1989/4)

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

L'Assemblée parlementaire de la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe, dont la création a été décidée mercredi 4 avril à Madrid par les délégués des Parlements des trente-quatre pays de la CSCE, se réunira pour la première fois à Budapest dans la première semaine du mois de juillet 1992.

Cette Assemblée sera composée de deux cent quarante-cinq parlementaires délégués par les trente-quatre pays de la CSCE, fonctionnera sur le système de la "résolution", et son rôle restera donc consultatif. Elle ne fera que "proposer" ou "recommander" toute mesure favorisant la coopération et la sécurité en Europe et se penchera également sur les autres catégories de "corbeilles" prévues par l'Acte final d'Helsinki, notamment les problèmes des droits de l'homme et de l'environnement.

(AFP).

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Les ministres des affaires étrangères de la Colombie, du Mexique et du Venezuela, réunis à Bogota mercredi 3 avril, ont annoncé leur intention de créer une zone de libre-échange entre leurs pays à la mi-1994. En attendant, les trois Etats s'octroient mutuellement l'accès à leurs ports. Plus généralement, des accords de coopération dans les secteurs des transports, des communications, de l'énergie et des réseaux électriques sont en cours. Le Mexique a déjà entamé des négociations d'une part avec les Etats-Unis, d'autre part avec plusieurs Etats d'Amérique centrale, en vue de la signature d'accords de libre-échange.

L'annonce des trois ministres intervient à peine une semaine après la signature du traité d'Asuncion, par lequel le Brésil, l'Argentine, l'Uruguay et le Paraguay ont défini les contours du nouveau marché commun austral (appelé Mercosur). Celui-ci prévoit,

pour 1995, la mise en place de droits de douanes communs applicables aux pays extérieurs à la zone.

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The Latin American Center for Social Ecology (CLAES) is an international NGO based in Montevideo, Uruguay, which is the coordinator of the Latin American Network of Social Ecology. The network stress south-south communication in the region, strengthening Latin American NGOs as tools for the expression of local communities, and recovering an integrated perspective of human-human and human-environment relationships. The network produces a bulletin (Teko-ha), and holds members and subscribers, in 12 countries. CLAES support network members with its publications, exchange of information and material, direct assistance particularly on human-environment relations, participatory methodologies and communication skills, and promotes joint efforts on research and promotion. Network members meet for the first time in 1989, at Montevideo (Uruguay), and more recently in 1990 at Buenos Aires (Argentina). New features of the network are the development of a bibliographic system to handle literature after a social ecology perspective (SIES) and the Latin American Information System on Trade and Environment. CLAES also has research and promotion programmes focussing on environment and development, participative procedures. Claes also published the Latin American Journal of Social Ecology, and the series Studies on Social Ecology.

Address : Centro Latino Americano de Ecología Social, Casilla Correo 13000, 11700 Montevideo, Uruguay. Fax 598-2-921117 Atn. CLAES (Correspondence)

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Ministre soviétique des Affaires étrangères jusqu'en décembre dernier, Edouard Chevardnadze a inauguré, le 20 février 1991, à Moscou, l'Association pour les problèmes de politique étrangère, l'un des premiers «réservoirs à pensée» non gouvernementaux de l'URSS. Fondée avec l'appui des maires «libéraux» de Leningrad et de Moscou, l'association s'est fixée pour mission d'élaborer des recommandations sur les grandes questions de politique internationale.

«Nous pouvons être fiers du fait que la politique extérieure soviétique fondée sur de nouveaux principes a beaucoup contribué à ce que l'homme, l'individu deviennent des catégories précieuses et à ce que notre Etat occupe une digne place dans la famille des peuples du monde.

Le lien entre la politique intérieure et extérieure est devenu une thèse courante, mais il faut prendre conscience du fait que la politique, au Heu de diviser les peuples et les nations, doit avoir à sa base les mêmes normes dans ses attitudes envers l'homme, de son respect de ses sentiments, des traditions, de la culture aussi bien à l'intérieur du pays que dans les relations internationales.

La réputation d'un Etat, sa perception par d'autres pays, sont aujourd'hui déterminées non pas par ce qu'il proclame, mais par ce qu'il fait, par la manière dont il respecte les normes civilisées et juridiques dans ses affaires intérieures. Si un Etat est indifférent la dignité et au niveau de vie de ses citoyens, s'il ne comprend pas la valeur de l'individu, personne ne croira, dans le monde extérieur, qu'il peut être un partenaire digne de confiance »

(Le Soir, Bruxelles,
23 février 1991)

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Vie associative

La création d'une Fédération européenne des Clubs Unesco et une plus grande solidarité avec les pays du Sud figurant parmi les recommandations d'une réunion des Clubs Unesco européens à Strasbourg (France) du 17 au 21 décembre 1990.

(Sources Unesco, février 1991)

*

Le 23 août 1990 a été créée à Gand (Belgique) une association sans but lucratif dénommée European Largest Textile and Apparel Companies (ELTAC). Elle a pour but de contribuer efficacement au processus de pleine réalisation d'un marché unique européen dans le cadre d'un marché textile mondial, conçu en vue d'une intégration des intérêts de ses membres, leurs clients, leurs employés et leurs actionnaires. Les membres sont les sociétés les plus représentatives des secteurs du textile et de l'habillement des divers pays de la CEE et qui comptent au moins un membre de chaque pays constituant la Communauté où l'industrie textile est d'une certaine importance. La cotisation est fixée à 0,2% du chiffre mondial consolidé de la société. Les membres fondateurs au nombre de 14 proviennent de : Belgique (2), France (2), Grèce (1), Pays-Bas (1), Italie (5), Grande-Bretagne (1), Allemagne (2). Le siège est situé : Square de Meeus 19-20, B-1040 Bruxelles. (Annexe au *Moniteur Belge*, 29 nov. 1990)

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At a meeting in Treviso (Italy) the seventeen organizations representing the architectural profession in the twelve member states of the European Economic Community decided to restructure themselves on a European level.

A new organization was created : the Architects' Council of Europe, composed as follows :

- the Assembly, which is made up of delegations from the seventeen participating organizations, meets once a year,
- the Executive Council, a representative from each member state.

President of the Council for this year is Romano Viviani (Italy). The 8NA (Netherlands) will be in charge of the Council's administration until 1990.

The new Council will examine the following main points :

- directive on public service contracts
- architectural training (in relation to the 1985 Directive)
- liability and professional insurance
- copyright.

The Council also publishes a monthly Newsletter.

Information: CAE - ACE, c/o BNA Royal Institute of Dutch Architects, 321 Keizergracht — Postbus 19606 NL 1000 GP Amsterdam (Netherlands) Tel. : 31 20 228111. Fax. : 31 20 232679

IUA Newsletter, Oct. 1990)

*

Favoriser la communication inter-culturelle, la recherche et la formation sur la nature culturelle du « développement », tel est l'objet du Réseau Sud-Nord Cultures et Développement fondé le 26 novembre 1989, en tant qu'association internationale selon la loi belge du 25 octobre 1919. L'accent est mis sur le respect des cultures autochtones contemporaines et le Réseau s'efforcera de faire connaître auprès de la CEE, des organisations gouvernementales et non gouvernementales les concepts et méthodes d'analyse des projets mis au point par lui-même. Le président est Rubel César Fernandes (Brésil).

Le secrétariat général est assuré par Edith Sizoo (Pays-Bas), coordonnatrice du Réseau et Thierry G. Verhelst (Belgique) coordonnateur des recherches.

Le siège est établi : rue Joseph II 172, 1040 Bruxelles.

(Annexe au *Moniteur Belge*,

29 nov. 1990)

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L'Union européenne de l'industrie du gaz naturel (EUROGAS) fondée le 20 mars 1990, groupe des fédérations professionnelles nationales de l'industrie du gaz naturel ou à défaut des sociétés ayant, en matière de gaz naturel, des activités à l'échelle nationale. Le président est Francis Gutman, président du conseil d'administration de Gaz de France et le secrétaire général Peter G. Claus, de nationalité hollandaise, résidant en Belgique. Le siège est fixé : avenue Palmerston 4, 1040 Bruxelles.

(Annexe au *Moniteur Belge*,

29 nov. 1990)

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Facteur-clé de l'unification européenne, les différents secteurs de transport se doivent de réfléchir davantage que par le passé aux aspects concernant la sécurité des systèmes de transport et des infrastructures existantes. Pour absorber l'offre croissante de transport et notamment le transport de marchandises dangereuses, il convient d'uniformiser les règles de sécurité en vigueur dans les différents pays européens.

M. Van Miert, commissaire aux transports a convenu avec le président du Conseil néerlandais pour la sécurité des transports d'examiner les possibilités de mettre sur pied un Conseil européen indépendant pour la sécurité des transports. Cet examen devrait avoir lieu en collaboration avec les Conseils existants dans les autres Etats membres de la Communauté.

Compte tenu des dangers du transport routier (50.000 morts par an en Europe), l'examen des conditions améliorant la sécurité dans ce secteur devrait être prioritaire.

(*EURINFO*, dec. 1990)

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L'Assemblée générale constitutive du CETOS (Conseil européen du Tourisme social) a eu lieu le 8 octobre 1990 à Bruxelles. Les participants en ont adopté les statuts et constitué le Bureau. Celui-ci comprend M. Benito Perli, président, Mme Ida Ossi et MM. Christian Fournier, Karel Gryseels, André Guignand et José Vieira, vice-présidents. La charge de secrétaire général du CETOS a été confiée à M. Raymond Stélandre.

(*BITS Information* 103, 1990)

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Le 7 juillet 1990, à Oelde en Westphalie (Allemagne) a été fondée l'Organisation Européenne pour l'Accueil Touristique au Village et à la ferme par les représentants de réseaux proves et représentatifs de propriétaires d'équipements d'accueil locatifs touristiques à la campagne de 10 pays européens: Allemagne, Espagne, France, Hongrie, Grande-Bretagne, Irlande, Islande, Italie, Portugal et la Belgique.

(*Wallonie Bruxelles Tourisme*,

sept. 1990)

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Les ministres des affaires étrangères et de la défense des pays membres du Pacte de Varsovie ont décidé lundi 25 février à Budapest de prononcer la dissolution de la structure militaire de l'ancien bloc socialiste.

Plusieurs fois retardée à la demande de l'URSS, cette session du comité consultatif avait été saisie d'une proposition de M. Gorbatchev, transmise aux Etats membres le 11 février, visant à liquider avant le 31 mars le haut commandement "unifié" du pacte, dont le siège est à Moscou, ainsi que son état-major, qui dirige le général soviétique Vladimir Lobov. Selon des experts est-européens qui ont siégé samedi et dimanche à Budapest, le document final de la session a mis fin aux obligations militaires du pacte, qui prévoyait dans son article 4 *"une assistance immédiate" en cas d'agression "contre un ou plusieurs des Etats signataires (... par tous les moyens qui lui sembleront nécessaires, y compris l'emploi de la force armée"*.

En revanche, l'avenir de la structure politique du pacte devra faire l'objet de nouvelles consultations et ne sera tranché que lors d'une prochaine session, le 1er juillet à Prague. Le ministre polonais des affaires étrangères, M. Skubiszewski, avait souhaité que soit décidé à Budapest le *"démantèlement total"* de l'alliance, sur les plans tant politique que militaire, tandis que l'URSS voulait limiter les présentes discussions aux seuls aspects militaires.

Fondé en 1955 entre huit Etats (Albanie, Allemagne de l'Est, Bulgarie, Hongrie, Pologne, Roumanie, Tchécoslovaquie et URSS), le Pacte de Varsovie avait perdu deux membres (l'Albanie en 1968 et la RDA en 1990) et en fait toute raison d'être depuis la signature d'accords sur le retrait des troupes soviétiques de Tchécoslovaquie et de Hongrie. Dans ces deux pays, le départ de l'armée rouge se poursuit selon le calendrier prévu et devrait être achevé au 30 juin. En revanche, Moscou refuse de retirer ses 50 000 soldats stationnés en Pologne avant le retrait de ses dernières troupes en Allemagne en 1994, alors que Varsovie souhaite voir cette opération s'achever avant la fin de cette année.

(AFP, Reuter)

Réunis à Asuncion le 27 mars 1991, les présidents Andres Rodriguez (Paraguay), Fernando Collor (Brésil), Carlos Menem (Argentine) et Luis Alberto Lacalle (Uruguay) ont paraphé le traité, d'intégration économique créant, à partir du 1er janvier 1995, le Mercosur (Mercosul en portugais) une zone de libre échange de 280 millions d'habitants. Le Traité d'Asunción prévoit la libre circulation des biens, des services, des capitaux et des travailleurs, la suppression progressive des droits de douane et la coordination des politiques économiques. La gestion de la dette restera cependant l'apanage des pays membres. Depuis 1960, date de la fondation de l'ALALC (Association latino-américaine de libre commerce), le grand dessein communautaire n'a guère dépassé le stade des velléités. La création, en 1980, de l'ALADI (Association latino-américaine d'intégration) a certes marqué un progrès au niveau des pratiques tarifaires, mais les résultats se sont révélés peu convaincants: les transactions commerciales entre les pays membres (1) ont augmenté d'à peine 3% entre 1981 et 1988. Au cours de la décennie passée, la chute en cascade des dictatures a contribué à ressusciter un projet que l'on croyait condamné par le nationalisme isolationniste des régimes militaires.

Rompant avec la méfiance paranoïaque qui caractérisait les relations bilatérales du temps des généraux-présidents, les ex-présidents brésiliens et argentins, José Sarney et Raul Alfonsin, ont, dès novembre 1985, posé les premiers jalons du programme d'intégration. La "déclaration d'iguazu", du nom de la petite ville frontalière où eut lieu la rencontre entre les deux chefs d'Etat, jetait les bases du futur marché commun, associant les deux géants de la région. A l'exemple du rôle joué par la France et l'Allemagne au sein de la CEE, l'axe Brasilia-Buenos Aires tiendrait lieu de charpente maîtresse de l'édifice communautaire sud-américain.

Le traité d'intégration, ratifié par les deux Parlements, en 1989, prévoyait sa concrétisation dans un délai de dix ans. Les deux gouvernements se donnaient le temps de mener à bien le démantèlement progressif des barrières protectionnistes héritées d'une longue période de cordiale inimitié.

Le calendrier a été précipitamment revu quand George Bush a lancé, en juin 1989, son "initiative pour les Amériques" axée, pour l'essentiel, sur la formation d'un *"hémisphère de libre échange allant de l'Alaska à la Terre de feu"*.

L'Acte de Buenos Aires, signé le 6 juillet 1990 par le Brésil et l'Argentine, a écourté de cinq ans la gestation du marché commun encore limité aux deux pays.

Le nouvel ordre mondial, marqué par l'essor des blocs commerciaux régionaux (Grand Marché européen de 1992, négociations en cours sur la création d'une zone de libre échange entre les Etats-Unis, le Canada et le Mexique), a poussé le Paraguay et l'Uruguay à accrocher en catastrophe leurs wagons au train du Mercosur. La Bolivie a déjà manifesté son intérêt. Le Chili, beaucoup plus libéral que ses voisins dans le domaine commercial, hésite entre ("Initiative pour les Amériques" et le Mercosur.

(1) Pays membres: Argentine, Brésil, Chili, Colombie, Equateur, Mexique, Paraguay, Pérou, Uruguay et Venezuela.

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A la fin de l'année 1990 a été créée une association européenne de pharmaciens fonctionnaires d'Etat qui contrôlent les produits et/ou inspectent les sites de fabrication dans le domaine des sciences pharmaceutiques et plus particulièrement leurs applications industrielles.

Inspectorans Rerum Publicarum Europaeorum Pharmacopopularum Societas (IRPEPS) tel est le nom officiel de l'association (Association des pharmaciens inspecteurs européens).

L'objectif recherché vise à favoriser le développement des relations entre fonctionnaires d'Etat, dans le cadre d'une conception humaniste de la société à l'image de la philosophie d'ensemble du Conseil de l'Europe, en vue d'une meilleure connaissance mutuelle à l'heure où la construction de l'Europe entre dans une nouvelle phase.

L'association est régie par la loi française de 1901. Le président est M. Jean-Pierre Deroubaix (Belgique). Pour faciliter les contacts avec le Conseil de l'Europe le siège est fixé: 4, place St-Nicolas aux Ondes F-67000 Strasbourg.

IAPCO Seminars grow from strength to strength

With an increase in size of its annual seminar and the successful launch of a new seminar for senior management PCOs, the International Association of Professional Congress Organizers has established itself as a leader in the field of congress training.

IAPCO has been running courses on the professional organization of international meetings since 1975. The 17th was held in Switzerland in January. The number of applications proved it is more popular than ever, despite the depressed economic climate and cut-backs in spending by companies. For the second consecutive year, the doors were opened to 50 participants (the maximum had previously been 40) and still there was a waiting list.

Such a response is significant in several respects. Employers in service industries related to international conferences still respect the value of education as a useful tool in a competitive market. Promoters or hosts of conferences appreciate that time and finance are in short supply, while meeting standards and delegate expectations are high-sophistication is at a much higher level than, say, 10 years ago. Therefore professionalism is at a premium.

Such diverse interests mean that attendance at the annual IAPCO seminar is fascinatingly mixed. Participants come not only from independent PCO offices, but also from the ranks of international associations, national organizations, conference centres, convention bureaux, travel agencies, hotels, airlines national tourist bodies, corporate meeting planners, exhibition management companies and interpretation and translation companies.

They are all executives who deal with international meetings, directly or indirectly, and need to consolidate their knowledge of what constitutes a successful conference. Their varied backgrounds, coupled with the combined experience of 15 or so teaching staff, enhance the learning experience.

The next IAPCO Seminar on Professional Congress Organization will be held from January 19 to 25, 1992. Venue will once again be the Wolfsberg Management Center, Ermatingen, about 60 kilometres north-east of Zurich. Wolfsberg is the training headquarters of the Union Bank of Switzerland and well known for its modern teaching amenities.

Senior Management Seminar

With the annual seminar running smoothly, IAPCO members identified a gap in the market for specialist training for management-level congress organizers and meeting planners.

Last December the first IAPCO Senior Management seminar for Professional Congress Organizers was held in the Netherlands, at the International Conference and Study Centre Drienerburght which is part of the University of Twente, near Enschede.

Twenty people enrolled, including some IAPCO members. The teaching panel comprised highly qualified international management experts who lectured on topics such as business strategy, marketing, communications, financial management, personal interaction and decision-making. IAPCO speakers balanced this by relating each subject to the day-to-day problems of providing a good congress service.

During the week a personnel management profile was compiled of every participant. The analyses were made by Anita Hall of Professional People Development of London who described the importance of teambuilding with people who complement each other. *«All working relationships are extraordinarily complex. It's a wonder any are compatible. It must be a credit to the social skills of the human race in general, and managers, in particular, that they do — most of the time — manage to make decisions jointly».*

IAPCO courses around the world

All IAPCO seminars are regulated by the IAPCO Institute for Congress Management Training. Chairman of that body is Christer Carlsson, Conference Director of SCB, Stockholm, Sweden. Last November, Christer travelled with two other speakers to Manila, in the Philippines, to conduct a condensed IAPCO Seminar for 39 executives working in the congress sector. The event was organized and sponsored by the Philippines Convention & Visitors Corporation and co-sponsored by Philippines Airlines and the Westin Philippine Plaza Hotel.

Organisations wishing to hold a National IAPCO Seminar in their country, particularly in places where there are interested groups for whom travel to Europe for the regular IAPCO Seminars would be impractical, can contact the secretariat. Alternatively, IAPCO can arrange for individual members to speak at congress-related events and symposia promoted elsewhere.

IAPCO Secretariat, 40 rue Washington, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgium. Tel. (32.2)640 18 08. Fax (32.2) 649 32 69.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD PROBLEMS AND HUMAN POTENTIAL

THIRD EDITION (Available April 1991)

Produced by the Union of International Associations (editors of the *Yearbook of International Organizations*)

This unique 2-volume reference book of 2,140 pages, is a comprehensive sourcebook of information on recognized world problems, their interconnections and the human resources available to analyze and ultimately respond to them. Many are seldom, if ever, described elsewhere in specific or precise terms. Much of the information derives from the United Nations and other intergovernmental agencies, as well as from the many international nongovernmental bodies documented in the companion 3-volume Yearbook of International Organizations.

The Encyclopedia is innovative in that considerable effort has been devoted to identifying and juxtaposing the many conflicting perceptions and priorities which constitute the dynamic reality of world society. Such information is usually difficult to extract from research literature stressing theories, administrative documents justifying programs, political manifestos defending ideological positions, or from news commentaries focusing on current events.

The Encyclopedia is the unusual result of a monumental effort to collect and present information on the problems humanity perceives itself to be confronted with; to clarify the conceptual challenges they represent to the human value system; and to encourage the discovery of a new conceptual dynamic for understanding and action that is sufficiently complex to encompass the factions, conflicts and paradigms by which people are separated - from each other and from a promising future.

No other publication identifies such a complete range of problems transcending national boundaries. The world problems in Volume 1 are complemented by a group of sections in Volume 2 indicating ways in which appropriate responses may be conceived. What emerges are patterns, relationships and configurations uncharacteristic of the usual fragmented and specialized perceptions, or of the policies and institutions that have themselves become barriers to understanding and meaningful change.

The phenomena identified in this publication are those which inspire both hopes and fears, whether real or imaginary, about the world's future. They constitute a challenge to creative remedial action, functioning as a powerful stimulus to the development of society. The Encyclopedia deliberately presents fundamental contradictions -- of cultures, ideologies, beliefs and even facts" - in an effort to explore the complex, dynamic middle ground of possible solutions to the problems of the global village.

Major additions and modifications have been made to the last edition (produced as a single volume in 1986):

- Volume 1 : The number of world problems registered has increased by 29% to 13,167, and the number with descriptive entries has increased by 86% to 8,721. The number of cross-references between problem entries has increased by over 350% to 80,394. The number of pages devoted to world problems has increased by 92% (in a slightly smaller print size). A bibliography of 4,745 items has been added.

- Volume 2: The number of human development has increased by 154% to 4,051, with the cross-references between them increased by 237% to 15,027. The number of pages for this section has increased by 190%. Bibliographies have been added to most sections. The commentary material has been completely restructured and extended, notably in relation to metaphors.

Sections

The Encyclopedia is divided into two volumes. The second volume is organized into 5 sections:

- World Problems (Volume 1)
- Human Potential (Volume 2)
 - Human development
 - Human development concepts
 - Modes of awareness
 - Integrative knowledge
 - Integrative concepts
 - Embodying discontinuity
 - Patterning disagreement
 - Metaphors and patterns
 - Metaphors
 - Patterns of concepts
 - Symbols
 - Transformative approaches
 - Transformative conferencing
 - Transformative policy cycles
 - Human values and wisdom
 - Constructive values
 - Destructive values
 - Value polarities
 - Value types

Additional sections

In addition to the sub-sections, in which the descriptive entries are located, each main section has three other sub-sections associated with it:

- Bibliographical references
- Index to the entries in the section
- Notes (Comments and explanatory information)

There are separate indexes to each volume as well as the individual indexes for each section.

Cross-references

There are cross-references between entries in the principal sections. If present, these are listed at the end of each entry. In some cases there are also cross-references between entries in different sections.

Generally there are two main groups of cross-references:

- Logical relationship between entries in a section :
 - Broader, or more general, entries
 - Narrower, or more specific, entries
 - Related entries
- Functional relationship between entries in a section:
 - Causally preceding entries: Other entries that may be considered to precede the entry in any causal chain or process;
 - Causally following entries: Other entries that may be considered to follow from this entry in any causal chain.

In the case of world problems, a further distinction may be made in each case between a constructive and a destructive causal chain.

See accompanying note for further details

The Encyclopedia as a whole contains 20,958 entries. These are linked by 114,395 cross-references. The two major indexes for each volume contain a total of 91,385 entries (in addition to the 5 section indexes of Volume 2). There are 5 bibliographies totalling 10,130 entries.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD PROBLEMS AND HUMAN POTENTIAL (third edition 1991)

The Encyclopedia as a whole contains 20,958 entries in 2 volumes, totalling 2,140 pages. These are linked by 114,395 cross-references. The two major indexes for each volume contain a total of 91,385 entries. In addition there are 5 section indexes (or Volume 2. The 5 bibliographies contain a total of 10,130 entries.

WORLD PROBLEMS (Section P)

The purpose of this section, filling Volume 1 as the largest in the Encyclopedia, is to identify the complete range of world problems perceived by international constituencies, whether as a focus for their programme activities, their research, their protest, their recommendations, or as part of their belief system. An entry has been established on each. This provides a context within which the network of specific relationships perceived between these problems may also be identified.

As a whole this section endeavours to present all the phenomena in society that are perceived negatively by groups transcending national frontiers. These are the phenomena which engender fear and irrational responses as well as constituting a challenge to creative remedial action. Groups are very strongly motivated by the problems which infringe their values and arouse their indignation. As such they are a major stimulus driving the development of society.

The section contains entries on 13,167 "world problems" (28.7 percent more than in the 1986 edition). It is divided into 8 sub-sections. Of these, Sections PA through PF contain descriptive entries, whilst the entries of Sections PG and PJ are indexed and cross-referenced, but are not printed in this edition. Sections PG and PJ are used to register problems on which information is being sought, or which are inadequately distinguished from others already described, or which, as sub-problems, fall below a cut-off level of specificity presently documented in some hierarchy of problems appearing in Sections PA through PF.

With each entry may be associated up to 7 different types of cross-reference to other problems: more general, more specific, related, aggravating, aggravated, alleviating, alleviated. There are 80,394 cross-references of this kind (355 percent more than in the 1986 edition).

The index to the section has 64,934 entries. There is a bibliography of 4,745 items. Comments and explanations on the section are given in a set of Notes.

HUMAN VALUES AND WISDOM (Section V)

The importance of values is frequently cited in relation to the global problématique, whether it be in debates in international assemblies, in studies criticizing "value-free" approaches to research, or in discussion of quality of life and individual fulfilment. Values are deemed especially important in questions of cultural development and are central to concern for the preservation of cultural heritage.

The purpose of this section is to register a complete range of values with which people identify, to which they are attracted or which they reject as abhorrent. The elusive notion of "wisdom" may be useful considered as the art of dealing with value dilemmas.

The section contains 2,270 entries, it is divided into four parts: Section VC, Section VD, Section VP, Section VT. Section VC contains 960 constructive value words (e.g. peace, harmony, beauty), whereas Section VD contains 1,040 destructive value words (e.g. conflict, depravity, ugliness). The entries in these two sections are linked by 6,000 cross-references to 225 entries in Section VP. These entries are value-polarities (e.g. agreement-disagreement, freedom-restraint, pleasure-displeasure) derived from the organization of *Roger's Thesaurus*. These in turn cross-reference 45 entries in Section VT in an attempt to identify major value categories. The section as a whole contains 14,463 cross-references.

None of the entries contain 'descriptions' of the value(s) Implied. In most cases this would be superfluous. The words in Section VC

reflect values which tend to be accepted without questioning. Those in Section VD reflect values which tend to be rejected without questioning. The emphasis is placed on using the cross-references to indicate the range of connotations of particular value words. The entries on value polarities, Section VP, do however list proverbs, aphorisms or quotations selected to illustrate the dynamic counter-intuitive relationship between constructive and destructive values.

They endeavour to draw on popular wisdom or insight to demonstrate the negative consequences and limitations of blind adherence to constructive values or to demonstrate the positive consequences and creative opportunity of judicious action in the light of destructive values. They point to the existence of a more fundamental and challenging dynamic than that implied, for example, by peace-at-all-costs and total rejection of conflict.

The section also includes an index of 2,549 entries and a bibliography of 398 Hems. Comments and explanations on the section are given in a set of Notes.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT (Section H)

The purpose of this section is to describe briefly the complete range of concepts of human development with which people identify, consider meaningful or reject in their search for growth and fulfilment in life. The scope of this section has been deliberately extended beyond the unrelated concepts accepted with great caution by intergovernmental agencies: the job-fulfilment orientation of ILO, the health-oriented concepts of WHO and the education-oriented concepts of UNESCO. It includes concepts legitimated by the psychological and psychoanalytical establishments as well as those promoted by the various contemporary growth movements. It also includes concepts from religions and from belief systems of different cultures. Entries are included on explicit concepts of human development and on therapies, activities or experiences in which a particular understanding of human development is implicit.

The section contains 4,051 entries (154 percent more than in the 1986 edition), it is divided into two parts: Section HH and Section HM. Section HH describes 1292 concepts of human development. Section HM endeavours to describe 2,759 modes of awareness, namely the experiential states associated with different stages in the process of human development as perceived by different groups (and preferably using wording with which such groups would identify).

The entries have been interlinked by 15,027 cross-references. These either indicate relationships between more general or more specific concepts, or especially in Section HM, the relationship between succeeding modes of awareness in some process of human development (whether linear or cyclical).

The section includes a special index on numbered sets of concepts of 3,356 Hems and a bibliography of 2,488 items. Comments and explanations on the section are given in a set of Notes.

INTEGRATIVE KNOWLEDGE (Section K)

A principal characteristic of the global problématique is its inherent complexity. This calls for a complex response interrelating many different intellectual resources and insights and involving sensitivity to very different kinds of constraint. Integrative approaches of this kind have proved inadequate or exceedingly difficult to implement in a society characterized by specialization and fragmentation.

The purpose of this section is to assemble descriptions of the range of concepts or conceptual approaches which are, in some way, considered integrative and which are held by some International

constituencies to provide the key to the organization of any effective strategic response to the global problématique. Many of the words used to label these concepts are those which are considered indicators of the power of an advocated approach. They frequently appear in project proposals to trigger favourable response, whether or not any content can be given to them in practice. Words like 'global', 'integrative', 'networking' and 'systematic' are the magical 'words-of-power' in the modern organizational world.

(b) Content: The section contains 702 entries on integrative concepts. K is divided into three sub-sections. Section KG describes 632 integrative, interdisciplinary or unitary concepts in the broadest sense, namely it includes advocated methods of integrating awareness favoured by these who reject a purely conceptual approach.

The 70 entries in Section KD comment on recent efforts to interrelate incompatible conceptual approaches and the nature of the challenge that this implies. This material is derived from papers prepared by the editors during their participation in the Goals, Processes and Indicators of Development project of the United Nations University, especially on problems of methodology.

In Section KP, the final group of 20 entries is an exercise in designing a pattern of relationships between incompatible concepts in the light of insights in a wide range of different concept schemes that use sets of concepts of different sizes to contain qualitative complexity. Its merit lies in its deliberate attempt to internalize discontinuity and disagreement within the pattern.

The section includes an index of 1,609 items and a bibliography of 2,200 items. Comments and explanations on the section are given in a set of Notes.

The section as a whole attempts to respond to the dramatic problem of how to interrelate vital conceptual insights which are essentially incommensurable and in practice often mutually antagonistic. A plurality of responses is not in itself an adequate response, especially since each fails to internalize the discontinuity, incompatibility and disagreement which its existence as an alternative engenders. It is for this reason that the second part explores the possibility, implicit or explicit in recent studies, that a more appropriate answer might emerge from a patterned alternation between alternatives. This calls for a focus on the models of alternation by which the pattern and timing of cyclic transformations can be ordered between mutually opposed alternatives. It highlights the possibility that the kind of integrative approach required may not be fully describable within the language of any single conceptual framework, however sophisticated.

METAPHORS AND PATTERNS (Section M)

Any form of international 'mobilization of public opinion' to engender the much sought 'political will to change' is dependent upon communication, especially when the insights required to guide that change are complex, counter-intuitive or simply not clearly communicable within any one conceptual language.

The purpose of this section is therefore to review the complete range of communication possibilities and constraints. This is partly in response to the narrow focus of recent major intergovernmental initiatives under the extremely misleading titles of 'International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems' (limited to the mass media) and the 'International Communications Year' (telecommunications hardware) by UNESCO and ITU respectively. It is however a direct consequence of participation by the editors in the Forms of Presentation sub-project of the Goals, Processes and Indicators of Development project of the United Nations University.

The section consists of 444 entries. It is divided into three sub-sections. Section MM explores through 88 entries the possibility of designing metaphors that are appropriate to engendering a creative response to the global problématique. This section recognizes the unique importance of metaphor in politics, education, religion and scientific creativity as a means of communicating complex notions especially in transdisciplinary contexts. The entries have been elaborated as an experiment to stimulate interest in this mode as one of the few means of rapidly stimulating innovative breakthroughs in development problems, since it is not dependent on lengthy specialized education and can, for example, be intimately interwoven into pre-existing rural community experience.

Section MP explores a 'pattern language' of 253 patterns interlinked by 3,491 relationships. The pattern language was originally elaborated as an aid to designing physical contexts in which quality of life is enhanced. Selected patterns have been used, according to the methods of the previous section, as substrates for metaphors such as to suggest ways in which social, conceptual and intra-personal contexts may also be 'designed'. Its special merit is the integration between the component patterns provided by relationships reflecting an understanding of the socio-physical environment which is both extremely realistic and exceptionally harmonious.

Section MS reviews in 103 entries the range of symbols used in modern and traditional cultures as a way of communicating multiple levels of significance in a compact and reproducible form. K emerges from the recognition of the special importance of symbols in embodying significance and giving focus to any campaign or programme and establishing its identity in relation to other initiatives. As a focus for public attention, their choice is far from being an arbitrary matter. It is a response to constraints which need to be better understood if human resources are to be more effectively mobilized. They give visual form to abstract concepts by which development processes are organized especially in traditional cultures which do not respond to conventional forms of presentation. The relationship between the symbols by which people are motivated (or alienated) is also of vital importance.

The section also includes an index of 1,485 entries and a bibliography of 299 items. Comments and explanations on the section are given in a set of Notes.

TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES (Section T)

The purpose of this section is to provide a context for the presentation of accessible techniques, which offer possibilities of making an immediate difference to the manner in which resources are mobilized in response to the global problématique. The section contains 304 entries. It is divided into two sub-sections.

Section TC contains 207 entries with descriptions on new ways of conceiving meetings and meeting processes. Meetings, and especially international meetings, are a vital feature of social processes and the initiation of change. They are a principal means whereby different perspectives are 'assembled'. Through such occasions resources are brought to bear upon questions of common concern. They may also provide the environment in which supposedly unrelated topics can emerge and be juxtaposed. But despite the assistance of professionals and the increasing number of such events, there is rising concern that many do not fulfil the expectations of participants, nor of those whose future may depend upon the outcome. This is particularly true of events most concerned with social transformation. Current meeting procedures, despite efforts at innovation, on such questions tend to give rise to little of more than short-term public relations impact and in this form can themselves constitute an important obstacle to social change. In a very real sense meetings model collective (in)ability to act and the ineffectiveness of collective action. The challenge is therefore to provoke reflection on a new attitude or conceptual framework through which meeting dynamics may be perceived and organized in order that they may fulfil their potential role in response to the global problématique.

Section TP contains a network of 64 entries, linked by 384 relationships, based on the pattern of concepts implicit in the much-publicized Chinese classic, the *Book of Changes*. These are transposed into a language which highlights the significance of such a complex pattern of transformations in relation to sustainable policy cycles. Its special merit is the explicit recognition of the need to shift from condition to condition in order to ensure both healthy development and the ability to respond to a turbulent environment.

The section also includes an index of 1,191 entries. Comments and explanations on the section are given in a set of Notes.

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Statistics

TABLE 1. World problems and human potential entries (1976 - 1990)

Sections	Section code		Entries				Pages (incl. notes)	
	1986	1990	1976	1986	1990	% Increase	1990	% Increase
WORLD PROBLEMS								
Descriptive entries	PP	PA-PF	2653	4700	8721	85.6%	-	-
Indexed only	PQ	PG/PJ	4791	5533	4446	-19.6%	-	-
TOTAL WORLD PROBLEMS			7444	10233	13167	28.7%	865	91.6%
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT								
Concepts	HH	HH	228	628	1292	105.7%	-	-
Modes of awareness	HM	HM		968	2759	185.0%	-	-
			228	1596	4051	153.8%	340	190.6%
INTEGRATIVE KNOWLEDGE								
Integrative concepts	KC	KC	421	632	632	-	-	-
Embodying discontinuity	KD	KD		70	70	-	-	-
Patterning disagreement	CP	KP		20	20	-	-	-
			421	722	722	-	104	26.5%
METAPHORS AND PATTERNS								
Forms of presentation	CF			528		-	-	-
Metaphors	CM	MM		88	88	-	-	-
Patterns of concepts	CP	MP		253	253	-	-	-
Symbols	CS	MS		103	103	-	-	-
				972	444	-	103	12.0%
TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES								
Transformative conferencing	TC	TC		207	240	15.9%	-	-
Transformative policy cycles	CP	TP		64	64	-	-	-
Multi-polarization	TM			11		-	-	-
				282	304	7.8%	62	3.3%
VALUES AND WISDOM								
Constructive values	VC	VC	704	960	960	-	-	-
Destructive values	VD	VD		1040	1040	-	-	-
Value polarities	VP	VP		225	225	-	-	-
Value types	VT	VT		45	45	-	-	-
			704	2270	2270	-	103	21.2%
STRATEGIES								
Strategic polarities	SP		-	239		-	-	-
Collective strategies	SQ		-	7148		-	-	-
Strategic roles	SR		-	224		-	-	-
Collective strategies	SS		-	679		-	-	-
Strategic type	ST		-	45		-	-	-
				8335	-	-	-	-
TOTAL HUMAN POTENTIAL			1353	14177	7791	-	712	34.5%
TOTAL PROBLEMS + POTENTIAL			8797	24410	20958	-14.1%	1577	61.1%

In addition to the entries indicated, the 1976 edition contained the following separate sections which were not included in the 1966 or 1990 editions: International organizations (3300), Traded products and commodities (241), Intellectual discipline, and science. (1845), Economic and Industrial sectors (132), Occupations and jobs (739), Multinational corporations (606), Human diseases (775), International periodicals

(1197), Multilateral treaties (931), International organization (24, 180) are described in the current Yearbook of the International Organizations with multilateral treaties. Volume 3 of that series classifies organizations, treaties and world problems by subject (3000 categories)

Statistics

TABLE 2. World problems and human potential cross-references and bibliography (1976 - 1990)									
Sections	Section code			Cross-references			Index entries	Bibliography	
-	1986	1990	1976	1986	1990	%	> Increase	1390	1990
WORLD PROBLEMS Descriptive entries Indexed only	PP PQ	PA-PF PG/PJ		17636	74399 5995	321.9 %			
TOTAL WORLD PROBLEMS			13574	17636	80394	355.9%		64934	4745
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT									
Concepts	IH	HH		917	4356	375%			
Modes of awareness	HM	HM		3544	10671	201.1 %			2488
				4461	15027	236.9%		*22915	
INTEGRATIVE KNOWLEDGE									
Integrative concept	KC	KC							
Embodying discontinuity	KD	KD							
Patterning disagreement	CP	KP	— —	— — —					
								1610	2200
METAPHORS AND PATTERNS									
Forms of presentation	CF								
Metaphors	CM	MM			-				
Patterns of concepts	CP	MP		3491	3491				
Symbols	CS	MS		636	636				
				4127	4127			1485	299
TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES									
Transformative conferencing	TC	TC				-	-		
Transformative policy cycles	CP	TP	-	(384)	(384)	-	-		
Multi-polarization	TM		-		-	-	-		
				(384)	(384)			1191	
VALUES AND WISDOM									
Constructive values	VC	VC		3568	3568		-		
Destructive values	VD	VD		3440	3440	-	-		
Value polarities	VP	VP		7231	7231		-		-
Value types	VT	VT		224	224	-	-		
		-		14463	14463	-	-	2549	393
STRATEGIES									
Strategic polarities	SP			7590		-	-		-
Collective strategies	SO				-	-	-		
Strategic roles	SR					-	-		
Collective strategies	SS			132		-	-		
Strategic type	ST			237	-	-	-		
		-		7959		-	-		
TOTAL HUMAN POTENTIAL				31394	34001	8.3%		*26451	5385
TOTAL 'PROBLEMS +POTENTIAL'			-	49030	114395	133.3%		91385	**10130

* The special Index for Human Development (Section IH) contains only 3,358 items. The 19,559 item keyword Index to Section H is incorporated with the Volume 2 index.
 ** There is a 1,8% overlap between the bibliographies

Overview: intended uses of the Encyclopedia

A project of this kind evokes amongst some the response "Why bother, when we already know what ought to be done?" Who, after all, needs another book parading the range of problems with which the global community is confronted? Key people no longer have time to read more than one page summaries and each international body is acting as best it can to contain the problems to which it is sensitive.

In 1984 the Director of Political Affairs of one major intergovernmental body considered this project both presumptuous and ridiculous. He then went on to argue that problems did not 'exist' in a way which allowed them to be identified and described in a book. For his institution they were agenda items which came and went according to the political currents of the moment, ceasing to 'exist' once his organization was no longer obliged by political pressures to deal with them.

Others would argue that it is a grave mistake to focus on problems in any way because this 'gives them energy', hindering the necessary 'positive thinking' from which appropriate social transformation can emerge. There is widespread belief that the action required can be simply defined. Food aid is a topical example, although even major intergovernmental bodies are now acknowledging the counter-productive aspects of such generosity. A modicum of humility would require the recognition that most seemingly positive initiatives have at least minor counter-productive effects - omelettes cannot be made without breaking eggs.

There are however many who point out that international institutions are not containing the problems faced by the global community; rather they are being overwhelmed by them. To function at all, such bodies have to concentrate on very small portions of the pattern of problems, denying the relevance of other portions or even their very existence. This is especially the case when they are constrained to prove the value of their own initiatives even though they may aggravate such other problems. Many claim to know what needs to be focused on, or done, or avoided to resolve the crisis - if only everybody else would subscribe to their particular set of priorities. In such a context it is appropriate to present these many 'action vectors' within a single framework, in effect bringing them collectively to consciousness rather than denying or repressing those which do not fall neatly within some favourite paradigm.

This Encyclopedia is therefore intended for those who question whether they are receiving information from a sufficiently broad range of perspectives. It is for those who believe that much might be learnt from the variety of perspectives on what constitute significant problems and significant responses to them. In particular it is for those who recognize the possible dangers and limitations of attempting to filter this variety down to a handful of 'essential' problems which can be appropriately contained by a single policy, strategy or blueprint based on a single conceptual framework guided by a single set of values. The decision that any particular class of information in the Encyclopedia is irrelevant can be seen as raising valuable questions as to the nature of the assumptions on which each such judgement is made.

It is expected that the majority of readers will use this book to locate specific items or groups of information. Some users will respond to the challenge of ordering, comprehending and presenting such a range of information in new ways, because of the extent to which it reflects the variety of issues with which people and groups identify and by which they are motivated. It is hoped that some will also be further stimulated to explore the possibility of patterned dynamic relationships between incompatible conceptual languages, encompassing the discontinuity between them, in order to develop a dynamic conceptual foundation appropriate to the global order of the future.

The users of this volume will therefore include:

1. Commercial enterprises and entrepreneurs
Corporations concerned with navigating in a complex and turbulent social environment can detect problems which may affect them, whether directly or indirectly. For them, problems may also be looked upon as potential business opportunities, since some require heavy investment for remedial action.

Seemingly trivial problems, such as acne, may represent an important market. Each problem can be viewed as affecting or concerning a portion of the population. As such there is a potential market associated with each problem. Corporations may respond to this market with remedial products (as in the case of water pollution), with consultancy and other services (as in the case of environmental impact assessment), or with publication and information services (as with registers of pollutants).

2. Education

The information may be used in programmes with students in many fields who need to acquire an overview of the range of global issues, how they may relate to one another, and the difficulties of ordering such information within one conceptual framework. Of special interest is not only the information given here but also its weaknesses and the controversies associated with particular claims or counter-claims. It is an interesting challenge to students to attempt to detect problems which are not present here, especially in the light of their awareness of problems in their own environment. Such explorations can be extended to the international organizations supposedly concerned with the problem area.

3. Integrative studies

University departments (international relations, environments, law, social science) concerned with interdisciplinary issues can use it to stimulate discussion among students. It should be of particular value to departments responsible for designing general studies programmes for students.

4. Policy development

In many ways the Encyclopedia provides a form of checklist for policy-related issues. Ideally in attempting to elaborate a policy framework in a particular domain, the information here could be used to identify related issues which may need to be taken into consideration and which would otherwise be neglected until too late. It is especially valuable for relationships between problems across disciplinary and paradigm boundaries. For, whether concerns are a matter of established fact or deeply held opinion, they may need to be given serious consideration in any policy design.

5. Management sciences

The total set of problems suggests interesting lines of research into the modes of governance in a complex environment. This is especially the case where the issue is how to manage networks of problems using cycles of policies which encompass more than one budgetary or electoral cycle.

6. Foresight and futures research

Because the data included covers both currently fashionable and seemingly marginal or improbable concerns, it provides a much more appropriate source for use in anticipating new kinds of issues which may emerge to greater prominence than can currently be imagined. Many problems registered reflect the concerns of groups sensitive to issues that conventional bodies are unable to recognize.

7. Government

The information here may be used by government departments designing programmes which need to be sensitive to problems and possibilities in other sectors. Of special interest is the possibility of using the identified problems as a checklist to determine which government department, if any, is concerned with each problem, and thus evoking discussion about issues which are not the explicit responsibility of any department.

8. Briefings

The Encyclopedia is an interesting background document for briefings of diplomats or members of delegations, whether for

ministries of foreign affairs or for other bodies. As such it may also be used in training programmes. It provides a corrective to easy assumptions about mono-problem situations, based on single-factor explanations, leading to simplistic solutions.

9. Law and treaty preparation

Legal instruments are designed in part to regulate or contain problems. The range of problems included highlights the question of the degree of match between existing laws and the problems recognized in society. Does the existence of certain problems suggest the need for new laws, whether immediately or in a more distant future?

10. International organizations

Governmental and nongovernmental bodies concerned with the potential range of problems should find it useful to explore this Encyclopedia when considering the design of new programmes. It could provoke useful discussion in the effort to locate counter-part organizations, focusing on related problems, with a view to collaboration or the exchange of information.

11. Information sciences

The Encyclopedia is basically an experiment in information collection and presentation. In order to handle the variety of fuzzily defined forms of data with which the Encyclopedia is concerned, methods have been used which raise interesting questions for further research in the information sciences, whether for classification theory or for the use of computers in database management, or in the graphic presentation and analysis of networks of concepts. The data may be used to test methods for handling such difficulties.

12. Expert systems

The data on the network of perceived problems continues to provide an interesting challenge to those working on expert systems and artificial intelligence because it is of a higher order of complexity than artificially constructed databases or those usually available. It should prove of even greater interest when available on CD-ROM.

13. Values and ethics research

Researchers grappling with the ill-defined fields of values, human development and states of consciousness, especially in their relationship to global problem-solving, will find an extensive range of information which is otherwise difficult to locate and assemble.

14. International relations

The Encyclopedia presents a much broader range than is usually available of information of potential interest to any research on international relations, especially that touching on international organizations. It raises many questions concerning the capacity of the network of international organizations to respond to the network of problems.

15. Security

For those bodies concerned with potential (and low probability) threats to national and international security, and with facts leading to the destabilization of societies, the information collected suggests leads for further investigation. Of special interest are the ways in which several minor threats may combine or interact so as to constitute a major threat.

16. Challenge to creativity

There are bodies and individuals who are specifically interested in having their perspectives and priorities challenged as one way of learning how to learn. The range of information, and the manner of its organization, highlights new linkages and evokes new levels of thinking. It reinforces recognition of the need for a paradigm shift. The information is a direct challenge to fixed patterns of thinking.

17. Foundations and funding agencies

A factor contributing to the difficulty in launching new initiatives is that funding agencies tend themselves to be locked into particular, and often outdated, patterns of priorities. The information collected here offers alternative perspectives which may suggest more fruitful approaches. It is also valuable in providing a sense of context for specific initiatives.

18. Media

The information gathered here constitutes a rich guide to possible for new investigatory reports and documentaries. It also offers perspectives from which established positions can be fruitfully challenged in any interview.

19. Human development programme design

The range of information on human development and modes of awareness provides a rich and unique source of insight into new possibilities for research in this area. It serves to demonstrate the scope of human development, as seen from many cultural perspectives. It provides reminders that there are many unexplored opportunities for human development whose existence has not been widely recognized. It is a direct challenge to the simplistic understanding of human development evident in official policies.

20. Imaginative responses to intractable problems

The information gathered here, and especially in Volume 2, suggests the possibility of new ways of thinking about the intractable problems (such as unemployment, substance abuse, poverty, violence, and the like). Much of that volume points to existing disciplines, and other possibilities, for using the imagination to reconfigure or reframe such problems into a more tractable form - whilst simultaneously reimagining the self that is exposed to such problems. It raises the possibility that problems such as drug abuse may, at least in part, be a consequence of imaginal deficiency reinforced by authoritative repression of imagination.

Comments on the Encyclopedia

"The 3rd edition of the *Encyclopedia* is on indispensable stop forward in providing contents to the idea of an interrelated world. N there existed a global Think Tank this *Encyclopedia* would be a major basis for its work. Even a Platonic Global Ruler would gain much knowledge from it. This is a real treasure treve providing multiple insights into problem perceptions which both reflect and shape pivotal realities."

(Yeheskel Dori, Professor of Policy Analysis European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht, and Professor of Public Administration, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

There is nothing like it, either in depth or scope. A unique contribution to our understanding of the global problématique.'

(Peter Russell, Management Consultant, Author of the "Global Brain")

'A catalogue of this scope ... reflects back to the early 'encyclopedia' experiments... It suggests a reawakened yearning to grasp the universal human condition... The book's presence is totemic. Research centers and foundations should be interested... by the ongoing nature of the project' (Jeff Foxes, US Association for me Club of Rome)

What an original idea! Where others make yearbooks with such entries as countries, events, and famous names this is an Encyclopedia focussing on problems and the potential for possible solutions! And where others put countries on sheets of paper called maps, relating them in space, this Encyclopedia traces all kinds of links between problems and potentials, with the reader no doubt filling in gaps. Warmly recommended, a fresh, creative approach that hopefully will stimulate even more creativity in all of us. How about learning to connect problems with possible solutions, not only the names of capitals with the names of countries? How about using this book as a major educational tool? (Johan Galtung, Olaf Palme Professor Peace Studies, Stockholm)

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Cooperatives in today's world <i>Les coopératives dans le monde contemporain</i>	3/1988, 1/1990. 5/1990.
Evaluation of association work <i>L'évaluation des projets associatifs</i>	5/1987, 4/1988, 4/1990.
Voluntary work <i>Le travail volontaire</i>	2/1989, 3/1990, 4/1990, 6/1990.
Cooperation between development NGOs and the EEC <i>La coopération entre les ONG de développement et la CEE</i>	3/1990.
INGOs' view of environmental problems <i>Les OING et les problèmes écologiques</i>	3/1989, 4/1989, 1/1990.
Humanitarian aid <i>L'aide humanitaire</i>	2/1988, 6/1989. 4/1990.
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Europe 1993	5/1990, 6/1990.
Language in a transnational perspective <i>Langage et transnationalité</i>	1/1991.

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La coopération entre OIG et OING (Unesco, Banque mondiale, CEE)
- Civil Society in Africa
La société civile en Afrique
- Kill or Cure for the rain forests?
Les forêts tropicales en sursis
- Social change in Eastern and Central Europe
L'évolution sociale en Europe centrale et orientale

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